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Feudalism (?) in the Moslem Kingdom of Delhi

BY

W. H. MORELAND

IN this note I examine the question whether the kingdom of Delhi in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries contained any institutions to which the terminology of feudalism can properly be applied. In the chronicles[1] of the period, the main divisions of the kingdom, and the persons who held charge of them, are described in two groups of terms. The first group is *wilāyat*, *wālī*. The word *wilāyat* is used in the chronicles in various senses, which can almost always be recognized by the context; it may mean, (1) a definite portion of the kingdom, that is, a province; (2) an indefinite portion of the kingdom, that is, a tract or region; (3) the kingdom as a whole; (4) a foreign country; (5) the home country of a foreigner (in which last sense a derived form has recently become naturalized in English as 'Blighty'). *Wālī* occasionally means the ruler of a foreign country, but the ordinary sense is Governor of a province of the kingdom, that is to say, a localized officer serving directly under the orders of the King or his Ministers.

[1] The references are to the volumes of *Bibliotheca Indica*. 'T. Nasiri' stands for the *Tabaqāt-i Nāsirī* of Minhāj-us Sirāj: 'Barni' for the *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī* of Ziyauddīn Barni: and 'Afif' for the chronicle bearing the same name by Shams-i Sirāj Afif. The *Tārīkh-i Mubārakshāhī* of Yahya bin Ahmad, which has not been printed in this series, is quoted from Or. 5318 in the British Museum. The references to Ibn Batūta are to the translation by Defrémery and Sanguinetti (Paris, 1874-9).

So far as I know, it has never been suggested that the *wālī* held anything but a bureaucratic position at this period, and the word Governor represents it precisely, as is the case throughout the history of Western Asia. The position is different in regard to the second group of terms, *iqtā muqti* (more precisely *iqtā' muqti'*). Various translators in the nineteenth century rendered these terms by phrases appropriated from the feudal system of Europe; their practice has been followed by some recent Indian writers, in whose pages we meet 'fiefs', 'feudal chiefs' and such entities; and the ordinary reader is forced to conclude that the organization of the kingdom of Delhi was heterogeneous, with some provinces ruled by bureaucratic Governors (*wālī*), but most of the country held in portions (*iqtā*) by persons (*muqti*), whose position resembled that of the barons of contemporary Europe. It may, therefore, be worth while to examine the question whether these expressions represent the facts, or, in other words, whether the kingdom contained any element to which the nomenclature of the feudal system can properly be applied. The question is one of fact. The nature of the European feudal system is tolerably well known to students: the position of the Muqtis in the Delhi Kingdom can be ascertained from the chronicles; and comparison will show whether the use of these archaic terms brings light or confusion into the history of Northern India.

The ordinary meaning of *iqtā* in Indo-Persian literature is an assignment of revenue conditional on military service. The word appears in this sense frequently in the Mogul period as a synonym (along with *tuyūl*) of the more familiar *jāgīr*; and that it might carry the same sense in the thirteenth century is established, among several passages, by the story told by Barni (pp. 60, 61), of 2,000 troopers who held assignments, but evaded the service on which the assignments were conditional. The villages held by these men are described as their *iqtās*, and the men themselves as *iqtādārs*. At this period, however, the word *iqtā* was used commonly in a more restricted sense, as in the phrase 'the twenty *iqtās*' used by Barni (p. 50) to denote the bulk of the kingdom; it is obvious that 'the twenty *iqtās*' points to something of a different order from the 2,000 *iqtās* in the passage just quoted; and all through the chronicles, we find particular *iqtās* referred to as administrative charges, and not mere assignments. The distinction between the two senses is marked most clearly by the use of the

derivative nouns of possession ; at this period, *iqtādār* always means an assignee in the ordinary sense, but Muqti always means the holder of one of these charges. The question then is, was the Muqti's position feudal or bureaucratic?

To begin with, we may consider the origin of the nobility from whom the Muqtis were chosen. The earliest chronicler gives us the biographies[1] of all the chief nobles of his time, and we find from them that in the middle of the thirteenth century practically every man who is recorded as having held the position of Muqti began his career as a royal slave. Shamsuddīn Iyaltimish, the second king of Delhi, who had himself been the property of the first king, bought foreign slaves in great numbers, employed them in his household, and promoted them, according to his judgment of their capacities, to the highest positions in his kingdom. The following are a few sample biographies condensed from this chronicle :—

Taghān Khān (p. 242) was purchased by Shamsuddīn, and employed in succession as page, keeper of the pen-case,[2] food-taster, master of the stable, Muqti of Badāūn, and Muqti of Lakhnautī, where the insignia of royalty were eventually conferred on him.

Saifuddīn Aibak (p. 259) was purchased by the King, and employed successively as keeper of the wardrobe, sword-bearer, Muqti of Samāna, Muqti of Baran, and finally *vakīl-i-dar*, apparently, at this period, the highest ceremonial post at court.[3]

Tughril Khān (p. 261), also a slave, was successively deputy-taster, court-usher, superintendent of the elephants, master of the stable, Muqti of Sirhind, and later of Lahore, Kanauj, and Awadh in succession ; finally he received Lakhnautī, where he assumed the title of king.

Ulugh Khān (p. 281), afterwards King Balban, is said to have belonged to a noble family in Turkistan,[4] but was enslaved in circum-

[1] T. Nasiri, book xxii, pp. 229 ff.

[2] *Dawāt-dār*. The dictionary meaning of 'Secretary of State' does not seem to be appropriate here, for we are told that on one occasion Taghān Khān was sharply punished for losing the king's jewelled pen-case, and I take the phrase to denote the attendant responsible for the care of the king's writing materials.

[3] The exact status of the *vakīl-i-dar* at this period is a rather complex question, but its discussion is not necessary for the present purpose.

[4] The chronicler is so fulsome in his praise of Balban, under whom he was writing, that this statement may be merely a piece of flattery, but there is nothing intrinsically improbable in it, having regard to the circumstances of the time.

stances which are not recorded. He was taken for sale to Baghdad, and thence to Gujarat, from where a dealer brought him to Delhi, and sold him to the King. He was employed first as personal attendant, then as master of sport, then master of the stable, then Muqti of Hānsī, then Lord Chamberlain, and subsequently became, first, Deputy-King of Delhi, and then King in his own right.

It seems to me to be quite impossible to think of such a nobility in terms of a feudal system with a king merely first among his territorial vassals: what we see is a royal household full of slaves, who could rise, by merit or favour, from serviie duties to the charge of a province, or even of a kingdom—essentially a bureaucracy of the normal Asiatic type. The same conclusion follows from an examination of the Muqti's actual position: it is nowhere, so far as I know, described in set terms, but the incidents recorded in the chronicles justify the following summary :—

1. A Muqti had no territorial position of his own, and no claim to any particular region: he was appointed by the King, who could remove him, or transfer him to another charge at any time. The passages proving that statement are too numerous to quote: one cannot usually read ten pages or so without finding instances of this exercise of the royal authority. The biographies already summarized suffice to show that in the thirteenth century a Muqti had no necessary connection with any particular locality; he might be posted anywhere from Lahore to Lakhnautī at the King's discretion. Similarly, to take one example from the next century, Barni (pp. 427 ff) tells how Ghiyāsuddīn Tughlaq, on his accession, allotted the *iqtās* among his relatives and adherents, men who had no previous territorial connection with the places where they were posted, but who were apparently chosen for their administrative capacity. Such arrangements are the antithesis of anything which can properly be described as a feudal system.

2. The Muqti was essentially administrator of the charge to which he was posted. This fact will be obvious to any careful reader of the chronicles, and many examples could be given, but the two following are perhaps sufficient. Barni (p. 96) tells at some length how

Writing in the next century, Ibn Batūta recorded (iii. 171) a much less complimentary tradition: it is unnecessary for me to enquire which account is true, because both are in agreement on the essential point, that Balban was brought to India as a slave.

Balban placed his son Bughrā Khān on the throne of Bengal, and records the advice which he gave on the occasion. Knowing his son to be slack and lazy, he insisted specially on the need for active vigilance if a king was to keep his throne, and in this connection he drew a distinction between the position of King (*iqlīmdarī*) and that of Governor (*wilāyatdārī*); a King's mistakes were, he argued, apt to be irretrievable, and fatal to his family, while a Muqti who was negligent or inefficient in his governorship (*wilāyatdārī*), though he was liable to fine or dismissal, need not fear for his life or his family, and could still hope to return to favour. The essential function of a Muqti was thus governorship, and he was liable to fine or dismissal if he failed in his duties.

3. As an instance from the next century, we may take the story told by Afif (p. 414), how a noble named Ainulmulk, who was employed in the Revenue Ministry, quarrelled with the minister, and was in consequence dismissed. The King then offered him the post of Muqti of Multān, saying 'Go to that province (*iqtā*), and occupy yourself in the duties (*kārhā wa kardārhā*) of that place.' Ainulmulk replied: 'When I undertake the administration (*'amal*) in the *iqtā*, and perform the duties of that place, it will be impossible for me to submit the accounts to the Revenue Ministry; I will submit them to the Throne.' On this, the King excluded the affairs of Multan from the Revenue Ministry, and Ainulmulk duly took up the appointment. The language of the passage shows the position of a Muqti as purely administrative.

4. It was the Muqti's duty to maintain a body of troops available at any time for the King's service. The status of these troops can best be seen from the orders which Ghiyāsuddīn Tughlaq issued (Barni, p. 431) to the nobles 'to whom he gave *iqtās* and *wilāyats*'. 'Do not,' he said, 'covet the smallest fraction of the pay of the troops. Whether you give or do not give them a little of your own rests with you to decide; but if you expect a small portion of what is deducted in the name of the troops, then the title of noble ought not to be applied to you; and the noble who consumes any portion of the pay of servants had better consume dust.' This passage makes it clear that the strength and pay of the Muqti's troops were fixed by the King, who provided the cost; the Muqti could, if he chose, increase their pay out of his own pocket, but that was the limit of his discretionary power in regard to them.

5. The Muqti had to collect the revenue due from his charge, and,

after defraying sanctioned expenditure, such as the pay of the troops, to remit the surplus to the King's treasury at the capital. To take one instance (Barni, pp. 220 ff), when Alāuddīn Khaljī (before his accession) was Muqti of Karra and Awadh, and was planning his incursion into the Deccan, he applied for a postponement of the demand for the surplus-revenue of his charges, so that he could employ the money in raising additional troops; and promised that, when he returned, he would pay the postponed surplus revenue, along with the booty, into the King's treasury.

6. The Muqti's financial transactions in regard to both receipts and expenditure were audited by the officials of the Revenue Ministry, and any balance found to be due from him was recovered by processes which, under some kings, were remarkably severe. The orders of Ghiyāsuddīn Tughlaq, quoted above, indicate that under his predecessors holders of *iqtās* and *wilāyats* had been greatly harassed in the course of these processes, and he directed that they were not to be treated like minor officials in this matter. Severity seems to have been re-established in the reign of his son Muhammad, for Barni insists (pp. 556, 574) on the contrast furnished by the wise and lenient administration of Fīrūz, under whom 'no Wālī or Muqti' came to ruin from this cause. The processes of audit and recovery thus varied in point of severity, but they were throughout a normal feature of the administration.

This statement of the Muqti's position indicates on the face of it a purely bureaucratic organization. We have officers posted to their charges by the King, and transferred, removed, or punished, at his pleasure, administering their charges under his orders, and subjected to the strict financial control of the Revenue Ministry. None of these features has any counterpart in the feudal system of Europe, and, as a student of European history to whom I showed the foregoing summary observed, the analogy is not with the feudal organization, but with the bureaucracies which rulers like Henry II of England attempted to set up as an alternative to feudalism. The use of the feudal terminology was presumably inspired by the fact that some of the nobles of the Delhi Kingdom occasionally behaved like feudal barons, that is to say, they rebelled, or took sides in disputed successions to the throne; but, in Asia at least, bureaucrats can rebel as well as barons, and the

analogy is much too slight and superficial to justify the importation of feudal terms and the misleading ideas which they connote. The kingdom was not a mixture of bureaucracy with feudalism: its administration was bureaucratic throughout.

The question remains whether there were differences in status or functions between the Wālī and the Muqti. The chronicles mention a Wālī so rarely that it is impossible to prepare from them a statement similar to what has been offered for the Muqti. The constantly recurring double phrases, '*wālīs* and *muqtis*', or '*iqtās* and *wilāyats*', show that the two institutions were, at any rate, of the same general nature, but they cannot be pressed so far as to exclude the possibility of differences in detail. A recent writer has stated that the difference was one of distance from the capital,[1] the nearer provinces being *iqtās* and the remote ones *wilāyats*, but this view is not borne out by detailed analysis of the language of the chronicles. Looking at the words themselves, it is clear that Wālī is the correct Islamic term for a bureaucratic Governor: it was used in this sense by Abū Yūsuf, the Chief Qāzī of Baghdad in the eighth century, and it is still familiar in the same sense in Turkey at the present day. I have not traced the terms *iqtā* or Muqti in the early Islamic literature, but taking the sense of assignment in which the former persisted in India, we may fairly conjecture that the application of *iqtā* to a province meant originally that the province was assigned, that is to say, that the Governor was under obligation to maintain a body of troops for the King's service. It is possible then that, at some period, the distinction between Wālī and Muqti may have lain in the fact that the former had not to maintain troops, while the latter had; but, if this was the original difference, it had become obsolete, at any rate, by the time of Ghiyāsuddīn Tughlaq, whose orders regarding the troops applied equally to both classes, to 'the nobles to whom he gave *iqtās* and *wilāyats*'.

The chronicles indicate no other possible distinction between Wālī

[1] Qanungo's *Sher Shah*, p. 349, 350. Barni, however, applies the term *wilāyat* to provinces near Delhi such as Baran (p. 58), Amroha (p. 58), or Samāna (p. 483); while Multān (p. 584) and Marhat, or the Maratha country (p. 390), are described as *iqtā*. Some of the distant provinces had apparently a different status in parts of the fourteenth century, being under a Minister (Vazīr) instead of a Governor (Barni, pp. 379, 397, 454, etc.), but they cannot be distinguished either as *wilāyats* or as *iqtās*.

and Muqti, and the fact that we occasionally read[1] of the Muqti of a Wilāyat suggests that the terms were, at least practically, synonymous. The possibility is not excluded that there may have been minor differences in position, for instance, in regard to the accounts procedure of the Revenue Ministry, but these would not be significant from the point of view of the general administration. In my opinion, then, we are justified in rejecting absolutely the view that the kingdom of Delhi contained any element to which the terminology of the feudal system can properly be applied; apart from certain regions which were directly under the Revenue Ministry, the entire kingdom was divided into provinces administered by bureaucratic Governors: possibly there were differences in the relations between these Governors and the Ministry, but, so far as concerns the administration of a province, it is safe to treat Wālī and Muqti as practically, if not absolutely, synonymous.

It may be added that the latter term did not survive for long. In the *T. Mubārakshāhi*, written about the middle of the fifteenth century, the title is preserved in summaries of earlier chronicles, but in dealing with his own times the writer consistently uses the term Amīr. This term had already been used by Ibn Batūta a century earlier; he speaks of Indian Governors sometimes as Wālī, sometimes as Amīr, but never, so far as I can find, as Muqti; and possibly Amīr was already coming into popular use in his time. Nizāmuddīn Ahmad, writing under Akbar, usually substituted Hākim, as is apparent from a comparison of his language with that of Barni, whom he summarized: Firishta occasionally reproduced the word Muqti, but more commonly used Hākim, Sipāhsālār, or some other modern equivalent; and Muqti was clearly an archaism in the time of Akbar.

[1] For instance, T. Nāsirī; Muqti of the Wilāyat of Awadh (pp. 246, 247); Muqti of the Wilāyat of Sarsūti (p. 256). As has been said above, Barni (p. 96) describes the duties of a Muqti by the term Wilāyatdārī.

Notes on Indian Painting

BY

N. C. MEHTA, I.C.S.

MR. O. C. GANGOLY 'does not claim to offer any new information, or a new presentation of the subject' in his beautifnl book—the Masterpieces of Rajput Painting. He could have, however, easily avoided the numerous or rather common mistakes in spelling Indian words, e.g., *Duka* for *Shuka* (a parrot) plate 5; *Sata-Sāyia* for *Sat-Saiyā* (of Behāri) plate 6; *Motirām* for *Matirām*; *Bramhā* for *Bramhin*; *Jagat-Vinode* for *Jagat-Vinod*; *Shanaka* for *Sanaka*; *Vālya-tila* for *Bālya-lilā*; *Jummu* for *Jammu*. There are others of this kind which are to be found on almost every page of the scanty letter-press. There are some funny expressions such as 'shoves in the (unwilling) damsel' plate 26, and the translation of the word (*Mugda*) (sic) for (*Mugdhā*) as 'green girl', too much bashful (plate 22). More serious is however the oversight in studying the picture of Mahārājā Prātāpsinha reproduced in plate 12. This and other Jaipur pictures of Rāsamanḍala and the portrait of Sawai Jaisinha were first published and described in my book—*Studies in Indian Painting*. Mr. Gangoly was however more fortunate in getting a complete photograph, the value of which has not been fully exploited. The picture bears at the lower end the following inscription overlooked by Mr. Gangoly—*Sabī Sahibrām Chatere banāī*—सबी साहिबराम चतेरे बणाई संपत १८५१. When I wrote on this picture, I had not this information; but I ascribed it to the time of Mahārājā Pratāpsinha of Jaipur (1778–1803). The inscription quoted above supports this guess of mine and says that 'Sahibrām painter painted the portrait'—Samvat 1851 = 1794 A.D. Here we have the name of perhaps the most distinguished painter of the Jaipur school in the eighteenth century, for I suspect that it was the same artist who painted the great picture of Rāsamanḍala.[1] At the top of the picture is written सबी श्री महाराजाधिराज श्री सवाई प्रतापसिंहजी उमरि बरह दिस ३० संवत १८५१ का—portrait of Sawai Shri Mahārājādhirāj Pratāpsinhji

[1] See my *Studies in Indian Painting*.

aged 30 Samvat 1851. It may confidently be now asserted that the last revival of Hindu painting, chiefly at the courts of Rajput princes in Rajaputana, Central India, the Punjab, Kashmir and the hill-states reached its zenith towards the end of the eighteenth and the early years of the nineteenth century. The echoes of this pictorial movement were heard as far as Tanjore and Seringapatam near Mysore. Tippu decorated his garden-retreat at the latter place with wall pictures of contemporary history, some of which are not without merit and most of it are in an excellent state of preservation, thanks to the orders of Lord Dalhousie, if I remember right. Of the same period are the remnants at the palace at Tanjore, which too have not been critically noticed. A large number of paintings executed at the Court of Poona is said to have been preserved in the Parasnis Museum at Satara, which have not been studied at all. Of the same school but earlier in age are some excellent paintings in the British Museum illustrating the stanzas of the Hindi poet Keshodas on the subject of *Nāyak-Nāyikā-bheda*. The album Or. 56 (d) = 1475 contains in all eight pictures. The first is a portrait inscribed—Mahārāj Sambhāji Raje and is a fair likeness of the brave but dissolute son of Shivaji. The second is a beautiful study of a Deccani Brahmin with his typical headgear—probably one of the Peshwas. The colouring is especially good. The third is a superb picture of Krishna wearing the Vaishnavite *tilak* in red on the forehead with five *gopis*. The figure of Krishna is particularly good and the landscape-setting lovely. These three pictures are in the Deccani style with fair drawing, good colouring and an eye for appropriate setting of natural surroundings. Pictures four to eight are probably by the same artist, comparatively large in size, 18½″ × 12¼″ and may have been a part of an illustrated MS. of Keshodas' famous *Rasika Priyā* and *Kavi-Priyā*, the latter of which he wrote for and dedicated to his friend and disciple—the famous danseuse Pravīṇrai at the Court of Orchcha. They all bear inscriptions at the top from Keshodas, which describe the king of the Nayikā depicted in the picture. I should perhaps add here that the material in the British Museum which has not yet been even glanced at, is very considerable, and it will be a very good thing for students of Indian art if the authorities of the British Museum (and also of the India Office and the Bodleian Library at Oxford) were to have a list prepared of illustrated MSS. and loose paintings in their collection. At present

the pictures are scattered in different sections and it is very difficult to see the lot of them. Besides, most Indian pictures are classified as Persian drawings which makes greater confusion than ever.

It will come as a surprise to most students of Indian art to know that even the famous Dara Shukoh Album of the India Office Library has not been photographed, studied or catalogued in detail. A brief note by Sir T. Arnold appended to the album gives the following information. The portfolio of sixty-six paintings and five illuminated panels of calligraphy was presented to Nādira Begum—daughter of Sultan Parviz in 1051 Hijri=1641–2 A.D. when she had been married for seven years to Dara who was then 26 or 27 years old. The first folio bears the seal of Nawab Aliya's librarian Pariwash. Four pictures are dated, the earliest being of 1498–9 [folio 62(*b*)]. The rest are dated as follows: folio 25, 1609–10 A.D.; folio 27, 1609–10; folio 21 (*b*) signed Muhammad Khan and dated 1633–4. Most of the pictures have on the reverse brilliantly illuminated panels of writing, no less than thirty of which are signed. The folios are numbered up to 79, of which 18 are paintings of flowers, 7 of birds, 35 of portraits in the court style in vogue in the time of Jahangir and Shahjahan, five in Persian style and one a copy of a European painting. Regarding the quality of paintings it will be sufficient to say that the pictures belong to the days of Moghul power and glory at their zenith and as would therefore be expected, represent the highest standard of Moghul draughtsmanship and skill in the manipulation of colours especially as regards the studies of birds and flowers, a good few of which must be from the brush of Mansur Naqqāsh Nadir-ul-asar and his pupils. It is up to the India Office to publish this gorgeous relic of Moghul art in an adequate form as has been done in the case of the Moghul paintings in the Schönbrunn Palace at Vienna and the album in the Royal Prussian Library at Berlin.

The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai (1736-61)

III

(*With two appendices*)

BY

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M.A.

I. THE PRELIMINARY DEMONSTRATION BEFORE MADRAS

LA BOURDONNAIS, to test the situation at Madras, sent eight ships of war to make a demonstration before its Fort. The ships arrived in the Madras roads on August 29, and according to a letter written by the Pastor of the Church of St. Paul at Mylapore,[1] fired a broadside on a country sloop and an English ship lying in the roadstead. After two hours of firing,[2] the squadron moved off to Mylapore, then put to sea and disappeared. The English ships were damaged and about twenty-five of their crew killed in the action. On the whole the cruise was deemed unsuccessful; and according to a letter from Madras conveying the message of Madame Barneval, the third daughter of Madame Dupleix, all people talked disparagingly of the French, that hereafter

[1] This was interpreted to Dupleix—entry of the Diarist for September 1, 1746 (vol. ii, p. 260).

[2] Malleson states that the squadron captured the two ships in the roads (*History of the French in India*, p. 140). But the *Diary* of Ranga Pillai says that the squadron, on its return from Madras, captured an English ship and a sloop returning from Bencoolen (vol. ii, p. 264.)

La Bourdonnais' letter to the French Controller-General, dated September 2, 1746, also says that the squadron captured, only on its way back, a couple of small prizes, though the object was to capture the ships which were anchored at Madras. The capture of the prizes took place off Covelong, twenty miles south of Madras, and not in the Madras roads. (Appendix by J. F. Price, vol. ii, p. 408.) This is further supported by an extract from the Tellicherry Factory Diary (Malabar Records, No. 6) dated September 23, 1746, recording the information of a *Pattamar* (small vessel) that on August 19, there were eight French ships at Madras under the command of a cousin of La Bourdonnais, which after some fire, left the place and on their way took the two English ships coming from Bencoolen. The evidence is in other respects somewhat exaggerated (*Diary*, vol. ii, pp. 408-10)—See also Orme's *History*, vol. i, p. 66—where it is said the French squadron appeared and cannonaded the town, but without doing any damage and did not venture to attack the Engilsh ship with armed boats.

they could not even alarm the English and that, if they had continued in the Madras roads, their whole fleet would have been captured.[1]

Dupleix in the course of an intimate talk with the Diarist, albeit the latter suited his answers to the Governor's views, detailed the difficulties that he was experiencing from La Bourdonnais in attempting to make him act in concert with himself. He blamed the Ministers at Paris as being responsible for having made La Bourdonnais truculent, particularly the Controller-General, M. Orry, and M. de Fulvy to whose venality no doubt he owed both the condonement of his acts of injustice in Mascareigne and his appointment as Admiral. Further Dupleix urged the Diarist to disabuse the minds of the Muhammadan nobles outside Pondicherry of any impression that the delay in the expedition to Madras was due to himself. 'When La Bourdonnais was told that an order of the Council would be given to him, he pleaded illness and said he would set out on the expedition as soon as he felt better. I therefore suggested to him, that during his absence on account of ill-health, he might depute some other suitable officer for the command. His answer to this was that it was a business the execution of which rendered his presence indispensable. Nevertheless I have not abandoned the undertaking. I will—come what may—see to the capture of Madras.'[2]

[1]M. Barneval was a merchant under the English East India Company living in Fort St. George. Madame Barneval was ashamed that the French could not stand their ground and she wanted this poor impression of the French to be conveyed to Governor Dupleix immediately. (*Diary*, vol. ii, pp. 271–2). The letter added that after the appearance of the French fleet, some English merchants and ladies fled to Pulicat; but the Dutch would not allow them to remain there. There was much apprehension among the Indian population who ran away from the town in various directions. But all had a poor impression of the French; and their talk was unbearable to the priests of Mylapore who wanted the news to be conveyed in their name to Dupleix. The latter was greatly annoyed at this impression and exclaimed to the Diarist, 'Although Madras was at one time in such a great state of alarm, it was M. de La Bourdonnais who relieved it from this by sending his squadron to attack it.' His misunderstandings with La Bourdonnais were so intense that he even asked Ranga Pillai not to order manufacture of any goods indented for by him (entry for September 7, 1746).

The *Journal of John Hallyburton* (*vide infra*) says that the Dutch Chief, Wouten de Jongh, of Pulicat, refused protection to the English women and children who had consequently to return to Madras.

[2] Dupleix's reply to the Diarist on September 4 on the subject of the projected expedition—He was particularly anxious that the people should know how he was enthusiastic over the affair and how basely La Bourdonnais threw impediments in the way of his plans. The Diarist naively added in his entry, 'He (Dupleix) dwelt upon this subject for about four Indian hours. I all along

The Diarist further heard from some Muhammadans who had recently arrived from Madras that its Governor, Mr. Morse, had sent his wife with all his treasures to Pulicat, that the citizens were greatly paralyzed with fear and that, if at that juncture five hundred European soldiers had landed from the French ships, Fort St. George would have fallen easily; but the English had, since the retreat of the French ships, recovered their courage and grown wary and hence they could not now be easily dispossessed of the place.

The next day Dupleix received a letter from Nawab Anwar-ud-din that he had previously prohibited English operations against Pondicherry and he was surprised to learn of the French designs and attack on Madras [1] and they should abstain from further hostile measures. To this a reply was sent that no harm would be done to the people, but that the French war-ships would be guided solely by the instructions given to them by their King. The Nawab followed this up with another letter in which he threatened to advance against Pondicherry and accusing the French of transgressing all bounds. Dupleix's reply to this second letter was couched in the same terms as his first one and declared that the captains of the French ships would not listen to the orders of any but their own King. A curious explanation was made the following day to the Nawab, in the form of a copy of a letter which was addressed to Nizam-ul-Mulk which pretended to justify in detail the grounds [2] for the contemplated attack on Madras.

continued to express views in consonance with his inclinations praising him unreservedly wherever I could.'—This is an instance of the Diarist frankly confessing his practice of humouring the great.

[1] In this letter of the Nawab, the word used for Madras is Padshah-Bandar (i.e. The Emperor's Landing-Place). From the context there is no doubt that the name refers to Madras. The same name is applied to Madras in two other letters of the Nawab. 'How this name came to be applied to Madras has not been discovered'—foot-note on p. 284 of the *Diary*, vol. ii.

The next letter of the Nawab was received by Dupleix on September 8. It was very curt and declared that the Nawab would advance on Pondicherry in case of disobedience of his orders (*vide infra*). Orme observes wrongly that the Nawab took no action on Governor Morse's representation; because it was not accompanied by a present. This view is held by many writers. The Diarist corrects this view.

[2] This letter, in the words of the Diarist, said that the French King was angry with the English at Madras for having unjustly seized French ships and also another bound for Manilla, which bore the name and flag of the Emperor of Delhi. It was thus that the French King resolved to seize the city of Madras, to avenge the insult offered to his faithful friend, the Emperor of Delhi. The French

On the morning of September 11 La Bourdonnais embarked for the expedition against Madras ; and the Diarist was asked to send his younger brother Tiruvengadam Pillai as Dubash at Madras during the time that the operations should be in progress. The administrative arrangements contemplated were that, as soon as Madras should be captured, M. de Esprēmēnil was to assume the office of Governor, and M. Paradis that of Deputy-Governor and all the Europeans and the rest should be under their control.[1] The expedition actually began to sail in the night of September 12.[2] The Diarist advised his brother who set out by land to keep M. de Esprēmēnil and others informed of everything done by La Bourdonnais and to keep a concise diary of the occurrences of every day, besides reporting all things of importance that took place daily.

at Pondicherry were only carrying out their King's mandate and the Nizam was requested to help them in whatever way he could. Copies of this letter were sent to Imam Sahib and other Muhammadan nobles, including the Amaldars of Mylapore and Poonamalle who were likewise requested to help, being warned at the same time that they would be punished in case of failure to comply. These latter communications were handed over to M. de Esprēmēnil for delivery to the addressees in person.—(*Diary*, vol. ii. pp. 291–3 and Vinson's, *Les Frances dans L'Inde*, pp. 73–74.

[1] ' La Bourdonnais dit que, sur sa demande, Dupleix lui donna un second commissaire, qui ētait son gendre d'Ēsprēmēnil, ' pour veiller, conjointement avec le premier, avec intērēts de la Compagnie.' (Note on p. 75 of Vinson's *Les Frances dans L'Inde*, footnote).

[2] The Fort St. George Consultations break off after the middle of June 1746 ; and we have to rely on the Fort St. David Consultations and letters to England and the papers relating to an inquiry held by the Company into the conduct of their President and Council, for the English version of the operations ; there are also short reports from the other English settlements of Calcutta and Tellicherry—preserved in the *Coast and Bay Extracts*, vol. v, October 15, 1746 and *The Tellicherry Factory Diary*, vol. vi, September 28, 1746, respectively.

On the French side, besides the Pondicherry archives and the Diary of Ranga Pillai there is the *Memoir* of La Bourdonnais which is ' replete with details which are supported by copies of original documents '. Unofficial accounts are those of Orme which appears to be derived mainly from the *Journal of John Hallyburton*, now preserved among the Orme MSS. in the India Office. There is also the narrative of Humffries Cole, an eye-witness, which was published anonymously in the *London Magazine*, supplemented by two accounts of Thomas Salmon in his *Universal Traveller* (Love, *Vestiges*, vol. ii, p. 352).

Hallyburton was Secretary to Governor Morse, and was one of those who escaped to Fort St. David from Madras after its capture. He took part in its defence and in subsequent military operations. His *Journal of the Fleets and the taking of Madras from the 29th of April to the 9th of December, 1746*, has been made use of by Orme (vide *Catalogue of MSS. in the European Languages of the India Office*, vol. ii, part i ; *The Orme Collection* by S. C. Hill, 1916, p. 19).

II. La Bourdonnais' Attack

Dupleix's letter to the Amaldār of Mylapore delivered to him by M. de Esprēmēnil reiterated the assertion that the expedition had been undertaken because a ship bearing the flag of Muhammad Shah, the Emperor of Delhi, had been captured by the English and that the Muhammadans and the French were friends and that the latter proposed capturing Madras on the account of the former and would not molest their town.[1]

On September 18, news was received from Mylapore that La Bourdonnais who reached Madras [2] on the 5th and landed his men a short distance to the north of the present Ice House, had since moved to the suburb of Chintadripet, that the English Governor Morse had become insane and his place was taken up by Mr. Stratton, Chief of Vizagapatam (this was obviously incorrect), that the guns on the Fort had been spiked or cast away and the English had thrown open the gates of the city (i.e. Old Black Town). This was supplemented by the news that seven ships which left France, had touched at Mahe and were on their way to Pondicherry. This piece of news

[1] Both Dupleix and the Diarist commented on this that the Muhammadans were not conscious of their own might, that they managed to preserve their forts and territories because the whole of India was supposed to be under the sway of one sovereign and for no other reason. 'If as in Europe and other continents each province in India formed a distinct realm and had its own independent king, they could easily be conquered and would soon vanish.' Also, so poor was the strength of their fortresses and the nature of their defences and the courage of their soldiers that '1,000 (French) soldiers, two mortars and 100 bombs' or even less would be 'sufficient to reduce Arcot, Cuddapah, Sīrppai (Sīrappa) and all the other Muhammadan strongholds and countries on this side of the Krishna.'

[2] The French landed 600 men at Trivembore a few miles, south of San Thomē, on the morning of the 3rd (old style). They marched along the shore and the fleet kept pace with them. At noon the rest of the troops disembarked on the east side of the Triplicane Temple, opposite the Mile-End House, Chepauk, entrenched themselves for the protection of their ammunition and stores and threw up a battery for five mortars on the beach at the south-end of the Cooum river-bar. The English shots fell short of this camp. The French expeditionary force consisted of 1,100 Europeans, 400 *caffres* and 400 Indian troops—and there were besides 1,800 European mariners on board. Slightly smaller numbers are given by Col. Love. On the 5th the force moved to Chintadripetta; and on the 6th they occupied the Governor's garden-house, situated to the north-west of the Fort. The guns on the walls and bastions of Black Town which lay immediately to the north of the White Town (or the Fort) were spiked and the guards withdrawn by the English who thought their numbers too weak to attempt at anything more than the defence of the Fort. Only one officer, Lieut. P. Eckman, was against this measure.

greatly elated the Governor and raised in him hopes of prosecuting the expedition of the French very successfully.

On the night of September 18, a letter from La Bourdonnais was received at Pondicherry that his forces had occupied the Governor's garden-house[1] while the English could only answer them

[1] This was situated to the south-west of the Island Ground in the grounds of the present General Hospital (*vide* Talboys Wheeler's *Map of Madras* in 1733); and also the maps on p. 84 of *Vinson*, and on p. 356 of *Love*, vol. ii. (Plan de Madras et du Fort St. George *pris par les Francois le September 21, 1746*) where a battery of ten mortars was erected under cover of the building. This battery opened, on the next day (September 7, old style), shell-fire on the Fort. At dusk of the same day three French ships took their post opposite the Fort and cannonaded it from the sea. The firing continued the next day; and the French shells were dropped with precision on the citadel (Fort Square) within the Fort. And on the evening of this day a letter written by Madame Barneval on behalf of Governor Morse, asking for terms, was brought to the French camp. (See *Plan de Madras et du Fort St. George* in 1746, after Paradis, given in *Love*, vol. ii, and the narratives of Orme, vol. i, pp. 67–68; of Cole (quoted by Salmon in his *Universal Traveller*, vol. i) and of the Secretary of La Bourdonnais quoted also by Salmon (quoted in *Love*). La Bourdonnais insisted that his possession of the place must be the basis of negotiations; he feared that the English squadron under Peyton might at any time reappear and would not allow any delay in the negotiations. He had received information which turned out to be incorrect that some ships, probably English, were sighted off Pondicherry. In the afternoon of the 9th (old style) after bombardment was resumed, Francisco Pereira came with a further message from the Governor asking for a renewal of the armistice till the next morning. This request was declined; La Bourdonnais bombarded the Fort furiously in the night; and on the morning of the 10th conditions of the capitulation were drafted and signed by the Governor with the approval of his Council, in which a proviso was inserted for the English right to ransom the place (the terms being given by the Secretary to La Bourdonnais) that was further fortified on the 28th (old style, being October 9, new style) September, by an act authentically given by La Bourdonnais declaring that the Governor and Council should cease to be prisoners of war. Malleson says that La Bourdonnais had undoubtedly some discussion regarding a ransom, but the question was referred for further deliberation; and that it was a doubtful one is shown by the words employed in the 4th article (of the capitulation) in which it is stated that 'if the town is restored by ransom . . .' La Bourdonnais' own *Memoirs* should be taken with the greatest caution, as they were written with the view of exculpating himself from the specific charges, including the question of ransom, brought against him; and his official correspondence with Dupleix was a far surer guide. And the question as to whether any absolute engagement for the ransom was entered into at the time of the surrender, formed one of the specific charges against La Bourdonnais. In the letters that he wrote to Dupleix both on the night of the day of the surrender (i.e. the 21st) and two days later, he did not mention his promises to ransom the place and declared that the surrender was at his discretion (*vide* his *History of the French in India*, 1893, foot-note on pp. 149–150).

In his first letter, written soon after the surrender of the place, La Bourdonnais stated that he had just entered Madras. In his second letter written on the night of the same day, he wrote, 'I have them (the English) at my discretion and the

with ineffective shots from the Fort. At last news was received that the Fort surrendered on the 21st (Wednesday, 9th Purattāśi). As soon as the news was received, a public announcement was made of the victory and a thanksgiving service was held amidst great rejoicings (entry for September 22.)

III. The Sequel of the Capture

On the 24th Dupleix nominated M. Dulaurens to manage all matters pertaining to finance at Madras ; on the next day, the Governor heard from M. de Esprēmēnil that the Diarist's younger brother at Madras never communicated any intelligence to him, but was always intimate with La Bourdonnais and asked the Diarist to recall him. Subsequently the Governor gave instructions that the latter was to continue at Madras, but report all that took place between him and La Bourdonnais to M. de Esprēmēnil promptly. Other officials were of course sent to Madras to assist in its management.

A letter written by Maphuz Khan, the son of the Nawab, and addressed to La Bourdonnais at Madras was forwarded to Dupleix who received it on September 26. It enjoined on the French to evacuate Madras and depart in their ships under threat of an invasion. Dupleix's reply to it was so worded that it was to appear as though La Bourdonnais himself wrote it and took shelter under the usual plea that the French had first to obey the orders of their King.[1] Even as early as this Dupleix was feeling the possibility of the restoration of the exiled Chanda Sahib and instructed his *dubash*, the Diarist, to sound the agent of the widow in the matter of his recall which, when realised, was to work such a wonderful, though brief, change in French fortunes.

capitulation which they signed has been left with me without their having dreamt of demanding a duplicate.' In the report that he made on the 23rd, he said : 'The conditions on which it (Fort St. George) surrendered, place it, so to say, at my discretion. There is, nevertheless, a sort of capitulation signed by the Governor, of which I subjoin a copy ; but it does no more, as you will see, than authorise me to dispose of the place.' Malleson is fully convinced that the talk between La Bourdonnais and the English deputies regarding the ransom was inconclusive and that it was finally resolved by them to leave this question to future adjustment.

[1] The tone of the reply was rather defiant and it ended with the ambiguous words ; 'You have intimated to us that you will make a progress through the country. When you do so you will come to know us and our affairs better.' In the same spirit Dupleix received the widow of Dost Ali on her arrival at Pondicherry with inferior honours and remarked, 'Those times have gone.' (*Diary* vol. ii, pp. 334 and 339)

The Governor's differences with La Bourdonnais became marked with the passing of the days. According to a letter which reached him on September 29, the latter disregarded his orders and left his letters unanswered, browbeat D'Esprēmēnil and others, took away a quantity of merchandise, specie and ordnance on board his ships from both the Fort and the town, ransomed the Fort to the English for eleven lakhs of pagodas[1] and also resolved to sail for Mascareigne, while de Esprēmēnil and other Pondicherry officials, becoming greatly irritated with his conduct, had betaken themselves to Mylapore. La Bourdonnais' letter which arrived almost simultaneously with the previous one, explained how he had decided to seize all the English Company's goods, a portion of the ammunition and arms, leave the rest to them and restore the fort to them on their undertaking to pay eleven lakhs of pagodas in two years and engaging never more to fight against the French. The next morning after this letter was received, all the European residents of Pondicherry except the Governor met at the house of the Deputy-Governor, re-capitulated the services of Dupleix, how he retrieved the situation of the French,

[1] Above this stipulated amount, according to one version La Bourdonnais was promised by bond as a separate bribe, one lakh of pagodas. The Directors of the English Company of the time were convinced of the truth of this on the testimony of the members of the Madras Council. The same charge was brought against La Bourdonnais by two Frenchmen, de Esprēmēnil and Kerjean, nephew and son-in-law to Dupleix, respectively. La Bourdonnais repudiated these charges on several grounds. On his return to France La Bourdonnais was thrown into the Bastille on charge of collusion with the English, but was acquitted and set free after a protracted trial lasting for three years from 1748 to 1751. 'His acquittal by his own government which was inspired by the deepest resentment against him, is a strong fact in his favour . . . (he) acted with the gravest indiscretion and that sufficiently accounts for his strange and, in a political sense, sufficiently culpable conduct.' [*Vide* Birdwood *Report on the Old Records of the India Office* (2nd reprint) footnote on pp. 242-9]. The documents in Law Case, No. 31, dated March 3, 1752, preserved in the India Office, and relied on by Malleson in the first edition of his work, were examined by Birdwood in the above note which conclud-ed with the statement that all it could furnish was an extract implying that any money ever paid to La Bourdonnais was by way of *dusturi* or douceur. Malleson refutes this conclusion in very vigorous language and says, 'A high official, nego-tiating, against the orders of his superior, for the ransom of a town, to accept *dusturi*, that is percentage on the amount of ransom, for disobeying his own superior officer at Pondicherry . . . . is incredible,' p. 597. Malleson also quotes La Bourdonnais' own account in his *Memoirs* of the ransom engagement (p. 149). Actually the English Company accepted the evidence of Morse confirmed by other witnesses as proof of the actual payment by Mr. Morse of 88,000 pagodas of secret service money to La Bourdonnais, the funds being raised by bonds on the Company and before the treaty was signed. (*Love*, vol. ii, pp. 369-70.)

established French power at Karikal, and aided La Bourdonnais in many ways and how the latter was indifferent to the Madras expedition and how Dupleix undertook the whole responsibility for the expedition and how the victory was solely due to his foresight. Lastly the meeting questioned any right of La Bourdonnais to ransom Madras on his own authority and the propriety of his seizing English property and claiming the right to answer for his action directly to the French Company. On the lines suggested by the representation of this meeting[1] Dupleix wrote a letter to La Bourdonnais forbidding him to proceed further.

Thus the memorable month of September came to a close—La Bourdonnais writing to Dupleix on the 26th that he had almost agreed to a ransom and on the same day receiving a letter from the latter and the Pondicherry Council informing him of the constitution of a Council for Madras over which he was to preside. Already Dupleix had written on the 23rd that he had promised to deliver Madras to the Nawab immediately on its fall; and this probably made La Bourdonnais hurry on the conferences with Morse relating to the definitive treaty of ransom[2] which was drawn up on September 26, but was not signed till the 21st of the next month.

On October 2, the Council of Pondicherry sent an order[3] investing de Esprēmēnil with supreme power at Madras and directing the imprisonment of La Bourdonnais if he should refuse to obey the former. There was much ingenious speculation as to the possible attitude of La Bourdonnais on this step. According to the Diarist's information, La Bourdonnais defended himself on the ground that he had been authorised in writing by the Pondicherry Council to exercise his discretion, not only in the siege, but also in the further administration of the Fort and the town; and again because the capture of Madras had been planned and effected by them all without any authority from the French King to wage war on land; and finally he

[1] It said, 'Now we hear that M. de La Bourdonnais is treating with the English for the return of Fort St. George to them. If he has restored it, we dare not show our faces in this Mussalman Kingdom.' (*Diary*, vol. ii, p. 353.)

[2] *Vide* La Bourdonnais' letter to Dupleix quoted in his *Memoirs* and translated by Salmon. The treaty when first drawn up consisted of seventeen articles to which some articles were added later.

[3] The declarations sent by Dupleix announced that the simple act of ransoming by La Bourdonnais was null and void and was to be regarded as never having been executed, and created a Provincial Council to administer justice, beside appointing de Esprēmēnil the Commandant and Director of the Town.

had seized all the treasure he had found in the Fort and *had settled* with the English for the payment of eleven lakhs of pagodas as a condition of restoring the Fort to them. It was maintained on the other side that the Council of Pondicherry had cancelled the powers of La Bourdonnais and ordered him to take an oath of allegiance to M. de Esprēmēnil on pain of arrest. The letter containing all this information reached Pondicherry in the afternoon of October 4; the Council sat that evening as well as the next morning and the whole of the next day (6th). On the 7th news reached Pondicherry that La Bourdonnais had, on the 4th, under the pretence that the English fleet had been seen off Pulicat sent the troops of the Pondicherry contingent on board the vessels, and with the help of his trusted officers deprived de Esprēmēnil of his authority and placed Paradis and three deputies under arrest—threatening them that he would leave them prisoners to the English at Madras on October 15, the day on which he had covenanted to restore it. To this Dupleix could only reply by a letter that the Pondicherry contingent should not evacuate Madras and should not be compelled to embark on La Bourdonnais' ships (letter of Dupleix, dated October 6).[1] From his brother Thiruvengadam Pillai who had been sent as *dubash* to Madras along with the expedition, the Diarist heard that La Bourdonnais had proclaimed the rendition of the Fort to the English, telling the merchants that they were to obey the orders of the English Governor henceforth and was embarking merchandise with all possible speed on his own ships.[2] After this Dupleix could no longer indulge the hope of annulling the treaty of ransom; La Bourdonnais now rigorously kept out of Fort St. George all who were favourably disposed to the French Governor and garrisoned it with his own soldiers and *Caffres* who had followed him from Mascareigne and Mauritius and would not reply to the points of Dupleix's letters. The Diarist considered that he had taken steps to secure the spoils of

[1] Quoted by Malleson, footnote on p. 168. The Diarist says that Dupleix's grief was boundless and that his reputation had declined much in the estimate of the outside public (vol. ii, p. 367). He also writes that the proposed visit of Dupleix to Madras would serve no useful purpose and that he would not go.

[2] Gist of the letters of Thiruvengadam Pillai from October 4 to 8 and entered by the Diarist on the 9th.

Madras for himself and that 'we shall not be far wrong if we put the value (of the plunder obtained by him) at a crore of pagodas, for we must remember that Madras, as a town, has not its equal in all India; is called throughout the land the golden city and as such has been compared to the city of Kubera.' The Diarist was ignorant of the exact terms of the treaty of ransom; while he heard that M. de Esprēmēnil and others were returning to Pondicherry and La Bourdonnais was preparing to set sail, he also heard on October 12 that La Bourdonnais had come to know that the English had burried two lakhs of pagodas under the flag-staff and consequently he was angry with Morse, destroyed the agreement he had made in their favour and put Morse and his companions in confinement, had re-landed the troops from Pondicherry and re-occupied the Fort. He also wrote to Dupleix stating that as the English had deceived him, he had now destroyed the treaty and remanded them all to custody and asked that de Esprēmēnil and others who had departed might be sent back to resume possession of the Fort. In accordance with this the Pondicherry Council ordered that de Esprēmēnil should return to Madras, wherever on his way the order might reach him; and the Governor felt relieved and was happy.[1] A section of the party of de Esprēmēnil returned to Pondicherry, including Tiruvengadam Pillai, from whom Dupleix tried to know of the amount that La Bourdonnais should have made. The latter turned round on his first letter[2] and

[1] Entry for October 12.

[2] The vacillation of La Bourdonnais noted by the Diarist becomes clearer from a perusal of the progress of events from day to day. On October 2, as already stated a commission arrived from Pondicherry appointing de Esprēmēnil to supersede La Bourdonnais as Commandant at Madras. La Bourdonnais retorted that he recognized no authority as superior to his own. On the 4th he effected the embarkation of the Pondicherry troops on board ships, became the master of the situation and arrested the three Councillors. He then instructed Paradis, the captain of the Pondicherry contingent with him, to sound Dupleix as to whether he would agree to the treaty of ransom, provided the rendition of Madras was deferred from October to January or February. Dupleix wrote to La Bourdonnais on October 7, stating that he would entertain the project. On the 8th three ships of war from France with a number of soldiers on board arrived at the Pondicherry roadstead. They conveyed a message that the new French Minister M. Machault who had superseded M. Orry in December 1745 and had been even some months before this recognized as Minister-Designate had ordered that the Commander of the Squadron should carry out without opposition all orders of the Superior Council. Dupleix sent the same day a copy of these instructions to La Bourdonnais with an intimation that they had been approved of by the new Minister. (La Bourdonnais later questioned the validity of the letter which was

followed it up with another on the succeeding day in which he said that he had restored Madras to the English. The Pondicherry Council sent him a reprimand for this; but before that letter could reach him, he (La Bourdonnais) had forwarded another letter to the Governor which reached Pondicherry on October 13 and in which he said, 'I have neither restored Madras to the English, nor have I placed it under the control of the Council at Pondicherry. I do not know what I shall finally do. I am as yet undecided.' The Diarist was much perplexed at the conflicting news he heard of La Bourdonnais' change of views and remarks that his procedure was quite

dated October 1745 and declared that a letter sent by M. Orry to him about that date confirmed his exercise of independent authority.) On the 10th La Bourdonnais replied to Dupleix that he would obey the orders of the Minister after he himself should receive them. A few hours after this he received letters which probably contained the orders. From that moment his attitude to Dupleix changed. When he received the reply of Dupleix to the overtures he had made through Paradis, he wrote back the conditions on which he would make over Madras to the Pondicherry authorities and depart; viz., one of his own officers was to be appointed the governor of the place and it ought to be evacuated by January 1, 1747. (A precis of the five new articles is given in Love, Vestiges, vol. ii, p. 368, taken from Salmon). The Pondicherry Council replied to these letters on the 13th and 14th in which they insisted that de Esprēmēnil should be the Commandant of Madras assisted by a Council of four of whom two might be nominated by La Bourdonnais; and the place could not be evacuated by January 1, nor till a complete division of the prize property should have taken place. But before the Council's letter of October 14, reached La Bourdonnais, a violent storm burst on the Madras coast on the night of the 13th and made havoc among the French ships in the roadstead. It was only on the 16th that the weather moderated; and on the 17th, La Bourdonnais became fully acquainted with the whole extent of his losses—four ships being lost, four others blown out to sea and dismasted while the loss in men alone amounted to more than 1,200 men (three ships were lost according to the Tellicherry Factory). Even before he knew the full extent of his losses, La Bourdonnais resolved to give up Madras to the Pondicherry Council, leaving them a copy of the capitulation. On the 21st he wrote to them that he had signed the capitulation with the English, to which the Pondicherry Council had raised objections on the 13th and 14th and sent the same to Pondicherry with a letter declaring that he would hold the French Council responsible, individually and collectively, for all contraventions of its conditions. After partially refitting his shattered squadron, La Bourdonnais, on October 23, ordered a grand parade of the troops, made over the command to de Esprēmēnil and at once set out to open sea and left Madras in a gathering storm—the place to which he 'would have given an arm never to have set foot in it.' The addition of the five new articles was grudgingly assented to by the English whose Governor Morse and four Councillors signed the treaty on October 21. Mr. Morse cleared out of Madras the wares, of the merchants before La Bourdonnais' departure, as he was uncertain of the turn that affairs would take under Dupleix's direction (p. 28, vol. iii of the *Diary*).

inconsistent with what he had seen and heard up to now of Europeans in India who used always to act in union.[1] Meanwhile only vague rumours of the storm on the Madras coast reached the Diarist who however remarked that the tempest was brought about by God to humble La Bourdonnais' pride and that 'He has deliberately caused this disaster to his ships, in view to an accusation being brought against him both here, and in France, and thus effecting his ruin.'[2]

IV. La Bourdonnais withdraws from Madras

Another point of contention between La Bourdonnais and the Pondicherry Council was as to the authority whom the three ships from Europe which had arrived at Pondicherry on October 8 should obey. La Bourdonnais made an attempt to bring under his command the captains of these ships ordering them not to remain in the Pondicherry roadstead after October 25; but they only filed the letters of La Bourdonnais with the Pondicherry Government and signed an agreement that they would obey the orders of the Council of the place at which they were and that as they were now at Pondicherry they would act in accordance with the orders of the Council there. La Bourdonnais' climb-down was partially due to this circumstance.[3]

The Pondicherry Council decided that the ships then lying in the Pondicherry roads, including the three from France, should proceed to Achin (in Sumatra) and return towards the close of the year. La Bourdonnais at the same time wrote to the captains of the ships directing them to proceed along the coast to join him. While they were hesitating as to their course of action, they fell in with the squadron of La Bourdonnais who assumed the command of the whole fleet and anchored in the Pondicherry roadstead on October 27 with a view to take round the ships to the Malabar Coast and then have the damaged ships refitted at Goa. He then proposed to return with a force sufficient to counterbalance the English fleet and wanted to

[1] 'Knowing as we do, there is generally concord and good understanding amongst Europeans, and that they never disagree, we cannot see what he (La Bourdonnais) means by saying at one time that he has restored Madras, and at another that he has not, and thereby disgracing others. The ways of Europeans who used always to act in union, have apparently now become like those of natives and Muhammadans.' (Entry for October 16, p. 395 of vol. ii of the *Diary*).

[2] See also p. 39 of vol. iii in which he says, 'God caused a storm to arise, and through it, pronounced judgment on that evil man.'

[3] Malleson, *History of the French in India* (1893), p. 178, footnote.

borrow from Pondicherry all her available soldiers and heavy guns. Dupleix and the Council of Pondicherry definitely declined to adopt La Bourdonnais' plan, on the ground that Pondicherry might be attacked at any time by Peyton's squadron and the bulk of the fleet should proceed to Achin whence it might be recalled in any emergency. He refused to land at Pondicherry; and the Council refused to go on board his ship; and neither party would trust the other. La Bourdonnais then proposed to form two squadrons and not to interfere with the Council's command over the Company's ships. The uninjured ships soon reached Achin; and the Admiral, despairing of making for that place with his damaged vessels, bore up for Port Louis which he reached on December 10, after staying in the Pondicherry roads but for two days.

Of these events the Diarist records but little information. He heard on the 27th that the five ships which sailed from Pondicherry for Achin had joined La Bourdonnais on his return from Madras; and on the next day the Council deliberated on the action of the latter in ordering the ships to keep company with him. On the 28th he announced his arrival in the Pondicherry roads; on the following day the Superior Council considered the interference of La Bourdonnais in persuading the captains of these ships to obey his orders under the argument that his 'instructions from the King's Minister gave him the complete command of everything sailing under the Company's flag'. There is no other information from the Diarist forthcoming. La Bourdonnais' after-career was miserable. At Port Louis he was directed to return with his squadron to France; a storm shattered his ships off the Cape of Good Hope; he however reached Martinique; and impatient to reach France, he sailed in a Dutch ship which was captured by the English and was made a prisoner of war. Subsequently he was allowed to go on parole, was thrown into the Bastille and after three years of imprisonment, was declared innocent of the charges brought against him and released, only to die[1] (September 9, 1753).

[1] 'By means, nevertheless of handkerchiefs steeped in rice-water, of coffee dregs and of a pen made of a piece of copper money, he had succeeded in writing his biography—and this, published at a time when the fate of Dupleix was trembling in the balance, contributed not a little to turn the popular feeling against that statesman.' It was only the English East India Company and the member of the Madras Council; that could prove the charge of bribery' both preferred on every

V. Troubles with the Nawab

Even before La Bourdonnais' departure there arose troubles from the Nawab's side. Mahfuz Khan, the eldest son of Anwar-ud-din, sent a detachment of cavalry to occupy Mylapore and the surrounding country and to prevent all ingress into Madras, while permitting any egress from the town. Dupleix received news of this on October 26 and proposed that the Diarist should go to him on a mission of explanation. The latter argued that it would be best to appear indifferent towards Mahfuz Khan's blusterings and at present impolitic to treat with him.[1] Letters to this effect were written and despatched to the Nawab and to Mahfuz Khan; and copies of these were sent to Dewan Sampati Rao and to Hussain Sahib; and it was pointed out by Dupleix in the letter to the Nawab that the French King sent the warships on the latter's behalf against the English and both the Nawab and his son had urged the previous year a war against the English and the action of Mahfuz Khan was very surprising. It ended with a warning that the French would resist the Nawab's forces and 'bring to bear against him the courage which overthrew the English.'[2]

account to be silent'. (Malleson, p. 187.) According to Birdwood (*Report on the Old Records of the India Office*, 2nd reprint, p. 245 [note]) the Law Case, No. 31, of March 3, 1752 (already referred to) rose from the objection of the Court of Directors of the East India Company to meet the bonds on which the sum required for the ransom of Madras was raised, on the ground that, in part at least, the bonds had been given not to save the Company's property, but the private property of the Governor and his Council. Morse and others, including the bond-creditors, examined by the Court, were really on their own defence; and the exculpating opinion of Birdwood says that 'the only impartial evidence incriminating La Bourdonnais to the extent of his having received a complimentary gratification (*dusturi*) is that of Fowke.' Birdwood's opinion is that Morse and his Council agreed to make La Bourdonnais a private present for exempting Madras from pillage. They raised 88,000 pagodas for the purpose. 'This sum was mostly otherwise expended; and the difficulty having arisen with the Court of Directors about refunding this and other sums embraced in the ransom, it was plausibly pleaded that this particular sum was paid to La Bourdonnais to secure the execution of a treaty of ransom, which was never executed but disavowed by Dupleix.' We saw in Note (12) Malleson's opposite conclusion as to La Bourdonnais' guilt.

1 The Diarist said (p. 36 of vol. iii), 'If you (Dupleix) send representatives to treat with the Muhammadans, they will think that the slightest display of hostility on their part causes you alarm, and it will encourage them to bluster more and more, in the hope of extracting from you as much money as they can.'

2 It further said, 'If you, however, should act without due caution, we are determined to give you a proof of the power of our valour. We will then raze the fort and town of Madras to the ground, and will work out our own policy, as

Petty raiding parties were sent out by the Muhammadans on Madras and plundered stray persons, with the connivance of the Peddu Naick[1] who escaped the moment it was decided to seize and imprison him. But M. de Esprēmēnil strictly forbade all hostilities on the score that he had no orders from the Governor of Pondicherry permitting them, though several Frenchmen had been taken prisoners by the enemy. Rumours also reached the Diarist that the Muhammadans were bent on attacking even Pondicherry and were doing so only at the instigation of the English who were to be carefully watched and subjected to severe restraints.

Madame Dupleix suggested to her husband and got his consent that she should write to Mahfuz Khan asking him to change his mind; and on this—however much to be condoned by European judgment—the Diarist remarks: 'What shall I say as to the good sense of the husband who allowed his wife to write to Mahfuz Khan without a thought of the fact that the rules of Muhammadan etiquette regard with but scant favour a woman as a correspondent. . . .?' The Diarist even tried to persuade her to delay sending the letter till the effect of the Governor's despatch should be known, but without avail.

Dupleix appears to have assured Nawab Anwar-ud-din, in reply to the latter's curt letter of September 8, that Madras, when taken, should be delivered over to him. He certainly informed La Bourdonnais that he had given such an assurance, though the latter seems to have doubted its sincerity. Immediately after the fall of Madras Mahfuz Khan wrote to La Bourdonnais[2] demanding the fulfilment of the promise as well as the immediate cessation of hostilities. He began to carry out his threat as soon as La Bourdonnais left the coast;

circumstances may dictate. You will behold all these things with your own eyes.' And the Nawab soon realized that the threat was indeed a real one. Mahfuz Khan was told that he had started only to plunder a wrecked ship (Madras) and would find only shattered planks. The Amaldar of Mylapore was also warned not to annoy the French when passing in and out of Madras. (Entry for October 26.)

[1] The Peddu Naick of Madras was the hereditary police officer of the Black Town. He had to maintain a fixed number of peons to keep order in Black Town and in the adjoining *pettas*; he could arrest offenders and bring them before the Choultry Court; he held land in remuneration in the *petta* named after him. His duties were defined in successive *cowles* given him by Governors like Chambers, Langhorne and Thomas Pitt. He was also known as the *Paliagar* of Madras. The office was hereditary in the family of Kodungur Peddu Naick, for a long time.

[2] Forwarded to Dupleix on September 26, and mentioned above

his forces assembled at San Thomé and at the Mount; and on October 26, a reconnoitring party of horsemen arrived at the Bridge which connected the Island Ground with the high road that ran to San Thomé and which had been broken down by the English on La Bourdonnais' landing. Two men who were sent to remonstrate, Mm. Gosse and De Kerjean were seized; de Esprémenil went to Pondicherry by boat to consult Dupleix on the new situation; the walls of Black Town were rearmed, while the Nawab's troops occupied Triplicane and the Egmore Redoubt (near the present South Indian Railway Station) and erected a battery in the Company's garden as La Bourdonnais did; they then spread to the northward and completely encircled Black Town. A mixed force of Frenchmen, East Indian soldiers and Mahe sepoys, 500 in all, marched from Pondicherry for Madras on the last day of October and the Nawab's officers in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry made threatening demonstrations. Thus events were rapidly tending to the glorious victory of the French at the battle of the Adyar which broke up the delusion of Muhammadan strength.[1]

(*To be continued.*)

APPENDIX I

Note furnished by Mon. A. Singaravelu Pillai, Curator of the Historical Records of French India, regarding the history of the publication of the Diary.

ESTABLISSEMENTS FRANÇAIS
DANS L'INDE
CABINET
DES
ANCIENNES ARCHIVES
DE
L' INDE FRANÇAISE

Pondichéry, le 23-12-1927.
Conservateur des Anciennes
Archives
de l'Inde Française
a'
Monsieur C. S. Srinivasachariar
Madras.

DEAR SIR,

I am very glad to have received a reprint of your article 'The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai 1736–61; (I)'; and I thank you very much for the same.

I am very anxious to meet you in person and give you information on several useful points in connection with the Diary.

[1] Orme, vol. i, p. 76.

. . . In reply to your query made in foot-note (1) on p. 5 of your reprint I am writing the following :—

When in 1870 the statue of Dupleix was set up in Pondichēry, M. Laude, Advocate-General, brought out *Le Siēge de Pondichēryen 1748* consisting of extracts from the *Diary* of Ananda Ranga Pillai.

Next, M. J. Vinson, the noted Tamil Scholar and a son of Hyacin de Vinson, Judge at Pondichēry, and Curator of the Government Public Library, brought out (in 1894) the well-known *Les Français dans l' Inde.*

After him this important *Diary* was neglected by scholars; and the English have the credit of resuscitating interest in it.

Hearing that the original volumes of the *Diary* were in a disorganized and confused condition in the house of Ananda Ranga Pillai, I requested permission from M. Tiruvengada Pillai, the head of the family, to set about personally arranging and classifying, mainly chronologically, the *Diary* and a large number of historical documents lying in a big box in the house, on which insects were making great ravages. M. Tiruvengada Pillai had two sons, of whom the elder was an invalid without any interest in this matter. The younger was a clever and learned man, and evinced great interest in the documents and the *Diary*; and he was eager to have these not only edited in Tamil, but also translated. He proposed first to publish the verses sung by poets in Tamil describing the life and achievements of the Dubash and then to take up the matter of the publication of the *Diary*. Some pages of the *Life* were indeed printed ; but the work could not be continued owing to difficulties. Unfortunately both the sons of Tiruvengada Pillai died soon after this time.

It was in 1897 that I first inspected the *Diary* ; in 1900 I perused the volumes a second time, but found that many of the precious documents had disappeared, like others before them. In 1902 the Madras Government deputed Mr. K. Rangachariar to go to Pondicherry and compare the two volumes of proofs with him with the original volumes of the *Diary*. By the will of God, or by a piece of luck coming in my way, Mr. Rangachariar consulted me; and I went through some portions and found that the translation of the *Diary* from 1736 to 1746 was not made from the original volumes of the *Diary*, but from a copy of extracts. He was surprised and declared that the material with his Government was only this copy

from which Sir Frederick Price and himself had been translating. I assured him that I would secure for his use the original volumes of the *Diary* from which a complete transcription might be made afresh. He readily agreed to this plan and the Madras Government accorded their generous sanction to this arrangement. I went over to the house of M. Montbrun and handed over to Mr. Rangachariar two volumes of the manuscript original of the *Diary* which, even to-day, continue to be in the possession of the Madras Government. Mr. Rangachariar used to go over to Pondicherry, stay with me for three or four months at a stretch, examine the proofs of his translation along with me and clear all his difficulties. He did this on three or four occasions and corrected his translation in the matter of the correct spelling of the names of ships and men in particular, verifying them and other points from our archives and Government records. It was I that have been uniformly helping in these and other ways in the work of the English translation of the *Diary* from its beginning down to the present year, with the twelfth volume of the work in the press. The letters addressed to me on this subject are so numerous as to occupy two drawers fully. I have just written, clearing certain doubtful points raised in the course of their translation of the twelfth volume, by the Record Office, Madras ; and I am ready to help in a similar manner, in the answering of subsequent queries that may be made. The General Introduction given as a preface to the first volume of the Translation by Sir Frederick Price was prepared with the help of the French manuscript note supplied by me. Both Sir Frederick Price and Mr. Dodwell, his successor in the task, consulted me, as well by correspondence as by meeting me personally, in respect of their doubts and difficulties. Even now I am corresponding with Mr. Dodwell at London. When I asked him why my name and services were not noted in the General Introduction, he replied that it was a mistake of omission on the part of his predecessors and that the omission would be rectified soon. In the first page of the Introduction to the eighth volume (1922), he wrote as follows : 'The present instalment of the *Diary* covers the period from May 3, 1751 to December 8, 1753. As will be seen from the list of entries they are very irregular. No reason can be assigned for this, as it has not been possible to check the Madras transcript with the original *Diary* which was formerly preserved at Pondicherry or even with the transcript made by M. Gallois

Montbrun. Mr. Singaravelu Pillai to whom the discovery of the *Ms.* was originally due and to whose courteous and learned aid, I have often had recourse, informs me that the Gallois Montbrun papers were irreparably damaged in the cyclone which raged at Pondicherry in 1916 and that the original *Diary* for this period has long since disappeared. More than one passage in the Madras transcript is evidently corrupt; the most important cases of this are indicated in my foot-notes.'

The primary evidence as to my resuscitation of the original *Diary* from oblivion is to be found in the Journal *Bālabhārati*, first volume, pp. 169–173, published by Mr. V. V. Subrahmanya Iyer of Bharadwaj Ashram, Shermadevi. It thus says: '. . . . When the late Mr. K. Rangachariar came over to Pondicherry and sought for a competent hand to help him in arranging the matter of the *Diary*, it was my precious friend and Assistant Curator of the Government Record Office, M. Singaravelu Pillai, that came to his help and rendered assistance in all possible ways. Had it not been for his aid that translation would have remained valueless. The trouble that he took in searching out the volumes of the original *Diary* and its transcript lying in the houses of Ananda Ranga Pillai and Montbrun was great. The most important parts of the Montbrun transcript were destroyed in the storm that raged at Pondicherry eight years back. His (Singaravelu Pillai's) grief at this loss is greater than the grief of one who has lost an immense fortune. So great is his love of learning. Mr. Dodwell who is at present editing the English translation has also written warmly in praise of the help rendered by him.'

The portion of the original *Diary* extending from April 9, 1760 to January 12, 1761, was discovered by me in 1900 in the course of an examination of the papers and books in Ananda Ranga Pillai's house. There was no copy of this either with M. Montbrun or in the *Bibliotheque Nationalē* of Paris. I had two copies made of the *Ms.*, reserving one for my own use and sending the other through M. Julien Vinson to the *Bibliotheque Nationalē*. This copying was done in January 1901. The late Mr. Bharati took my copy for perusal and handed it after use to Mr. Srinivasachariar, son of Mandayam Krishnamachariar of Triplicane, . . . who wanted to publish it in his journals, *India Vidjaya*, in Tamil. But he could not get the necessary permission for such publication from the members of Ananda Ranga Pillai's family . . . .

Finally Mr. V. V. Subrahmanya Iyer published in his *Bālabhārati*, *in extenso* that portion of the volume discovered by me till April 22, 1760. . . . His untimely death and that of his son are well known to us. My copy of this portion of the *Diary* has disappeared along with his death, as my numerous queries relating to it addressed to his successors in work and his relatives have proved fruitless.

A copy of this portion, prepared by the late Mr. K. Rangachariar, is now in the Madras Record Office; its original also is now there. A translation of it is now in press. This is the last volume of the *Diary* of Ananda Ranga Pillai.

Mr. V. V. S. Iyer has further written in p. 170 of his *Bālabhārati* thus: 'The copy of this portion of the *Diary* was copied by M. Singaravelu Pillai and the then Curator of the Pondicherry Record Office. It was placed at my disposal by my friend Mr. Srinivasachariar. For this I am very grateful to my friend and M. Singaravelu Pillai.'

Another testimony to my discovery of this portion of the *Diary* is this: Both in M. Vinson's *Les Francais dans l'Inde* and in the collection of M. Montbrun there is no mention of this *Diary* portion. This has been omitted necessarily from the first English translation; but in the final translation of vol. i it is mentioned in the list of volumes, as drawn up by Mr. Rangachariar, in the General Introduction.

Yet a point to be noted as testimony is this. In 1902 when I made an investigation into the condition and number of the original *Diary* manuscripts in the possession of the descendants of Dubash Ananda Ranga Pillai, a letter[1] was written by Vijiayananda Tiruvengada Pillai (the then head of the family) giving a list of the manuscript volumes in his possession, the original of which I am enclosing herewith. From this list you will see that the first volume of the manuscript original extends from April 28, 1750 to October 29, 1750, which shows that the two previous volumes of manuscript were not in his possession. If he had them with him he would have included them in his list. This letter will be clear evidence that I discovered the first two volumes from the house of M. Montbrun and was instrumental in sending them on to the Madras Government through Mr. Rangachariar. . . . These will clearly prove that I discovered the original *Ms. Diary*, vols. i and ii.

[1] The translation of the original letter is given as Appendix II.

In 1910 when M. Charles Gallois Montbrun, Mayor of Pondicherry and brother of M. A. Gallois Montbrun, was the chief of our Library, an inventory was made of the important documents and books in the possession of his family ; and it was found that there were only ten volumes of Ananda Ranga Pillai's *Diary* (1736–60).

I remain,
Your true and affectionate friend,
A. SINGARAVELU PILLAI.

(*True translation from the Tamil made by C. S. Srinivasachari.*)

APPENDIX II

Letter of Vijaya Durai Ranga Pillai, dated Pondicherry, January 10, 1902, and addressed to M. Singaravelu Pillai.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I am in receipt of your letter. I was prevented from replying to it even the day before yesterday (as I intended) because some of the books required were then with my father. As a result of my examination to-day I find the following manuscript books of the *Diary* here.

April 28, 1750	...	October 29, 1750.
April 24, 1752	...	April 5, 1753.
September 4, 1754	...	March 29, 1755.
April 10, 1757	...	September 21, 1758.
April 12, 1759	...	April 8, 1760.
April 9, 1760	...	April 12, 1761.
May 26, 1766	...	April 30, 1767.
May 1, 1767	...	February 8, 1770.
April 10, 1795	...	January 15, 1796.

There is no other volume besides these. . . . One gentleman from Madras came to me yesterday and told me that he had copies of those volumes not here and that the originals are not here. Is this true ? Who has got the originals now ? . . . .

Yours faithfully,
VIJAYA DURAI RANGA PILLAI,
'ANANDA RANGA PILLAI'S
HOUSE'
Pondicherry.

(*Translated from the original in Tamil by C. S. Srinivasachari.*)

A New Partāp of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya of Vijayanagara

BY

THE REV. H. HERAS, S.J., M.A.

'Abdu-r Razzāk describes three different kinds of Vijayanagara gold coins:

Varaha, called by the Portuguese *pagoda*, its weight being 54 grains.

Partāb (Pratāy),—½ varaha. (*Half pagoda.*)

Fanam, one-tenth partāb.[1]

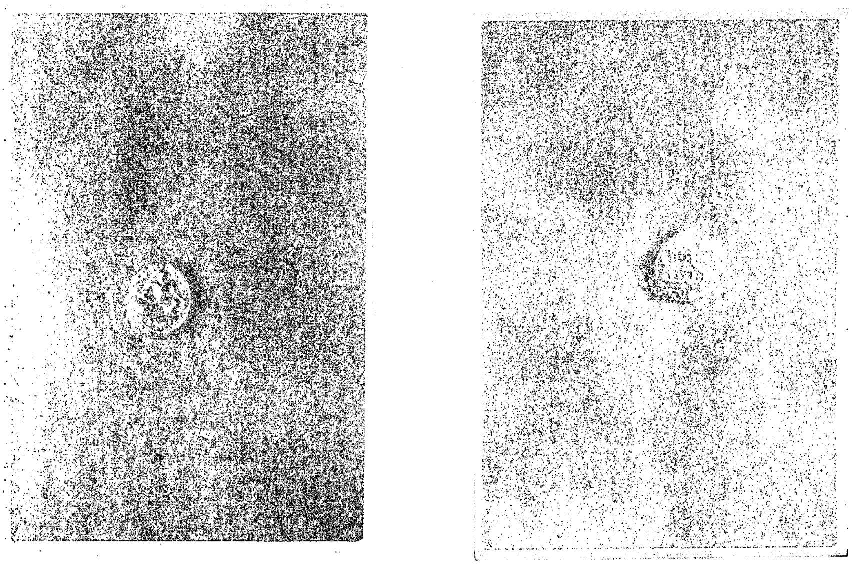
The coin I am going to describe in this note is one of the so-called *partābs*, this word being most likely the title Pratāpa that occurs in both coins and inscriptions before the name of the sovereigns of Vijayanagara.

This half pagoda was found in a lot of coins collected in Gersoppa and its surroundings (North Kanara), and presented to the Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, by Mr. K. E. Kotwall, Divisional Forest Officer, Godhra, Panch Mahals.

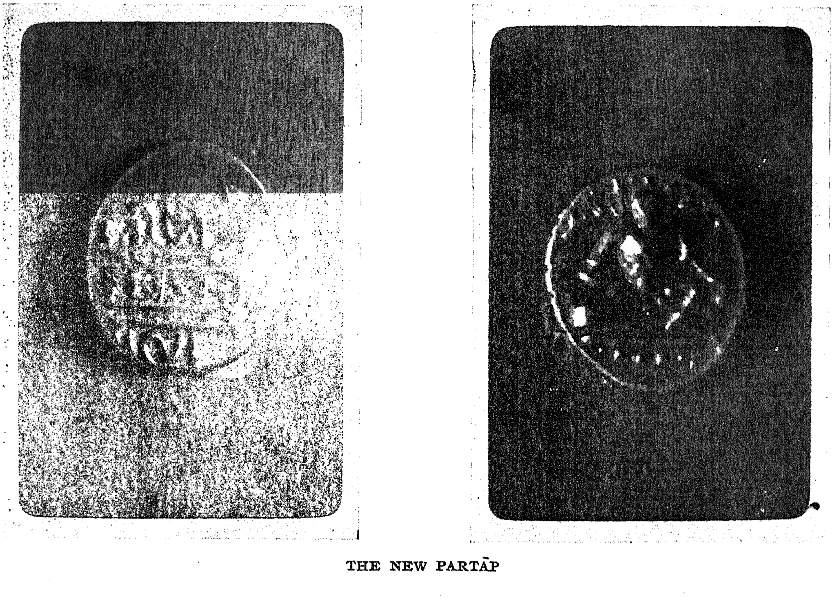
The coin is of the same size as the *pagodas* of Vijayanagara with a slight oblong curvature underneath the figure on the obverse; but the coin is much thinner than the *pagodas*, so much so that, having the same size, its weight is almost half the one of the pagoda. It weighs 26 grains.

The obverse presents a nude figure of a man squatting on the ground; He wears no head-dress. His face is absolutely worn out. He has one bangle round each arm, over the elbow. His right hand seems to be slightly raised up before his chest as if making a gesture, while the left arm rests upon the knee somewhat risen above the ground. Below the plank where this figure is squatting there is a line of drop-like ornamentation, suggesting the decoration of a throne. Something alike is to be seen on top behind the head of the figure. I could not make out the significance of these flourishes.

[1] Elliott, vol. iv, p. 109.



A FANAM



THE NEW PARTĀP

On the reverse of the coin there is the following inscription :—

श्रीप्र Srī-Pra

(ता)प कृष्ण (tā)pa-Kṛishṇa

राय Rāya

This coin is, to my knowledge, unpublished hitherto.

Now the figure of the obverse is very difficult to explain. Can it be a representation of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya himself? Paes describes him as follows: 'This king is of medium height, and of fair complexion and good figure, rather fat than thin; he has on his face signs of small-pox. He is the most feared and perfect king that could possibly be. . . . The king was clothed in certain white cloth embroidered with many roses in gold, and with a *pateca* (padakka or pendant) of diamonds on his neck of a very great value, and on his head he had a cap of brocade in fashion like a Galician helmet, covered with a piece of fine stuff all of fine silk, and he was barefooted.'[1] The statues of Kṛishṇa Rāya at Tirupati and at Chidambaram also show him with a high conic head-dress. Such description does not agree with the figure represented in the coin.

In fact the whole appearance of this squatting figure suggests an ascetic, a *sannyasi*. Now, at the court of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya there was a *sannyasi* Vyāsa Tirtha, the head of the Vyāsarāja Mutt, who was highly honoured by the King.[2] Mr. C. K. Rao, Bangalore, has, according to the *Vyāsavijaya* and the *Vyāsayogīśacharitam*, proved that Vyāsa was ordered by King Kṛishṇa Dēva to sit on his royal throne for a while.[3] It is not unlikely that in order to commemorate this ceremony, by which Vyāsa's virtues and scholarship received such a great honour, the king should cause coins to be struck with the image of the *sannyasi*, as some of the kings of ancient India struck coins to commemorate the *ashvamēda* sacrifice. A circumstance seems to confirm this supposition. The fact that this is the first and hitherto the only known coin of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya with this image appears inexplicable in this age of research in Vijayanagara history, without supposing that the coins struck with such a figure were very few, struck most likely on the occasion of the ceremony and for the purpose of having them distributed then and there.

[1] Sewell, *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 246–7 and 251-2.

[2] Cf. 74 of 1889 and 13 of 1905.

[3] Rao, *Śrīpādarāja and Vyāsarāja*, O. C., Madras, pp. 362-4.

An Introduction to the Rise of the Peshwas

I

MAHARASHTRA BEFORE 1707—A SURVEY OF THE SITUATION

BY

H. N. SINHA, M.A. (ALLD.)

Assistant Professor of History, Morris College, Nagpur; some time Research Scholar in the History Department of the University of Allahabad

I

A LITTLE more than a century intervenes between the battle of Talikota (more correctly Rākshasatangaḍi) and the death of Shivaji. It is a period of conflict in the annals of the Deccan—conflict among the local Sultanates, between the local Sultanates and the expanding Mughal Empire, between all these and the Marathas. Of the five Sultanates that arose out of the ruins of the Bahamani Empire, three were more powerful than the other two. The northernmost of these was crippled by Akbar at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and was annihilated hy Shahjahan in the second quarter of it (1636). When the Mughal menace reached its climax, the remaining Sultanates of Golconda and Bijapur were fast falling into decay, and the nascent state of Shivaji was rising to be a factor in Deccan politics. These years, between 1565 and 1680, therefore witnessed unforeseen changes in the Deccan—the decay of the old states, the advent of a new power, and the rise of a hitherto unknown people. The first was marked by court intrigues and partisan bloodshed, and consequently by corruption in the Government; the militant nature of the second filled the land with all the horrors of war—rapine and pillage, famine and pestilence; and the third was marked by that great outburst of the latent energy of the Marathas, which surprised the neighbouring powers. Such were the main features of the Deccan politics at the death of Shivaji.

But the death of Shivaji opened up fields for fiercer conflicts. In 1681 the flight of Prince Akbar to the Court of Shambhuji drew in the concentrated strength of the Mughal Empire upon the Deccan; and

Aurangzeb in grim determination set forth to destroy the last Shiah states, to reduce the Marathas, and to reclaim his rebellious son to allegiance. To this three-fold task he devoted the last and therefore the maturest period of his life. He deluged the country in blood; destroyed all the peaceful pursuits of life; drained Hindusthan of its men and money; and yet he failed miserably to achieve his purpose. More disastrous than his failure was the condition of the Deccan at his death. Already in the throes of an exterminating war for more than a century, it was subject to the most awful calamities for another quarter of a century. Vast armies in marches and counter-marches, foraging parties of Maratha horsemen, disbanded troops of Golconda and Bijapur, the huge imperial cortege, the moving colonies of Banjaras and the freelance Afghans, who always kept at the tail of the army or imperial cortege—all these preyed constantly on the land and left it desolate when they had moved away. They always left behind them 'fields. . . devoid of trees and bare of crops, their 'place being taken by the bones of men and beasts. Instead of 'verdure all is blank and barren. The country is so entirely desolated 'and depopulated that neither fire nor light could be found in the 'course of a three or four days' journey . . . . There have died 'in his (Aurangzeb's) armies over a hundred thousand souls yearly, 'and of animal, packoxen, camels, elephants, etc., over three hundred 'thousand. . . . In the Deccan provinces from 1702 to 1704 'plague prevailed. In these two years there expired over two millions 'of souls.' So did describe Manucci as an eye-witness, to the condition of the Deccan, during the disastrous warfare of Aurangzeb. Indeed the economic waste was beyond all comprehension.

Even more grievous was the political effect of these wars on the Deccan. Aurangzeb himself was apprehensive from the beginning lest his continued warfare should foster a spirit of lawlessness among his subjects, and rightly enough as Professor Sarkar remarks, 'a great anarchy began in the Empire of Delhi even before Aurangzeb had closed his eyes,' and in the Deccan 'the Mughal administration had really dissolved.' Aurangzeb's officers were unable to check the Maratha activities because they never got timely aid from their master. On the other hand they were chastised because they could not cope with the Marathas. Often they were required to make good the losses of the people, who had been looted by the Marathas. Indeed it was a difficult dilemma in which these unhappy Mughal

officers were placed. Hence they chose rather 'to bribe the Marathas than to fight them'. Thus they paid the chauth to the Marathas unknown to their master. They even made common cause with the Marathas and 'enriched themselves by robbing the emperor's own subjects. Such was the condition of the Mughal administration of the Deccan. It inspired not trust, but terror in the people.

The Maratha state suffered no less than the Mughal government. Invertebrate, and still in its infancy, it could not stand the shock of these wars. The first shock came when Shambhuji was exceuted in 1689. By that time Aurangzeb had destroyed the Deccan Sultanates, and the reduction of the Marathas, now that their king was dead, was he thought only a question of time. Never were human expectations more sadly disappointed. Shambhuji's execution was only a prologue to a long drama—a dark tragedy. It was not only a crime, but a blunder. Far from striking terror into the heart of the Marathas, or disarming them as he expected by the execeution of Shambhuji, he had stirred them to a sense of national crisis. Raja Ram was taken out of the prison, and amidst sullen resentment raised to the throne. In consultation with the *Ashṭapradhans* a policy of decentralization of authority was decided upon, and Raja Ram retired to Jinji leaving Mahārāṣṭra proper in charge of Ramachandra Bavdekar, *Hukumat-panah.* This shifted the centre of gravity from Maharāṣṭra into the Karnatic, and while it did not allow the Mughals to concentrate, it opened up golden opportunities for the predatory warfare of the Mahrathas, who were considerably relieved of the pressure of the Mughals. 'All the Mahratha sardars went to the king at Jinji, and he gave them titles, army commands, and grants for the different districts where they were to go, loot the country, and impose the Chauth. They were to go there, take shelter in the woods, and establish their rule like Poligars, avoiding battles . . . and employing the men of their contingents in work. . . . so that the kingdom would increase.' Thus Raja Ram allowed the nation to rise in arms for its own defence and it succeeded admirably. In each parganah arose a chieftain who mustered to his standard a number of men commensurate with his ability, and carried on a guerilla warfare on his own account.

Uncontrolled by a central authority, uninfluenced by any higher motive than that of avenging the death of their king, the individual

chieftains soon succumbed to cupidity, and the service of the national cause was soon forgotten amidst the seductions of rich spoils. The distribution of territories was often disregarded by them and encroachments frequently ended in bloodshed. Nor were personal jealousy and ill-will wanting among the commanders of armies and ministers of the state. Parshuram Trimbak and Ramachandra Bavdekar never liked each other; Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji Jadhav were ready to cut each other's throat. As Bhimsen observed in 1697: 'Among the Mahrathas not much union was seen. Every one called himself a Sardar and set out to raid and plunder [for himself].'

The result was that the whole land was sown, as it were, with the dragon's teeth, and wherever the unwiedly Mughal armies turned they were molested and massacred, or left to starve. In 1699 Aurangzeb realized the hopelessness of the task he had set himself to achieve. 'A nation was now up in arms . . . against the officers of the emperor and the cause of law and order in general.'[1] ' . . . . The Maratha state servants supported themselves by plundering on all sides, and paying a small part of their booty to the king.'[2] So arose the dangerous tradition of plundering to maintain the state. The legacy of Shivaji—an admirable framework of civil government, was irretrievably lost. The Marathas failed to realize the magnitude of this loss. Revelling in disorder they welcomed the situation, because it was a means for their safety. They imperceptibly lapsed into ungovernable habits. The iron discipline of Shivaji gave place to unbridled lawlessness; his salutary laws were flung to the winds; and only 'a pride in the conquest of Shivaji'[3] remained to inspire the people with a greed for plunder. Such aspirations, such activities long continued to colour the Maratha national polity. They had their inceptions during the reign of Raja Ram and yet he is not to blame. It was impossible to combat the situation in any other way. Perhaps the Fates conspired to draw Mahārāṣtra into the vortex of confusion.

In 1700 died Raja Ram, and there arose three parties advocating the succession of three candidates—Shivaji, the son of Tāra Bāi, Shambhuji, the son of Rajas Bai, both widows of Raja Ram; and Shahu, the son of Shambhuji, and a prisoner in the imperial camp. It was after a hard struggle that Tāra Bāi got the better of her

[1] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, vol. v, p. 11. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 238.
[3] Grant Duff, vol. i, p. 352.

adversaries, and established her son on the throne. Thus the rule of the tyrant Shambhuji, and of the weak and fugitive Raja Ram was succeeded by that of a minor under the regency of an ambitious woman. All the while civil government was a thing of the past. The Marathas were hard put to save their own skin; they had no time or inclination to look to law and order. The scum of the society and the floating wrecks of Bijapur and Golconda armies combined into a mass of chaotic elements, and swept over the land. The Maratha leaders turned their activities to advantage; and the destroyer of Golkonda and Bijapur, and the murderer of Shambhuji had to face at once the fury of the Marathas and the hatred of the Deccani Muhammadans. Aurangzeb's mistaken policy was bearing fruit.

The tide turned against Aurangzeb in 1703, and be it said to the credit of Tāra Bāi, she was the soul of all Maratha activities. The Marathas were now masters of the situation and the Mughals were thrown on the defensive. With this change of situation came a change of tactics. They were no more light bodies of men, moving at a lightning speed, avoiding pitched battles and disappearing at the approach of the enemy. They had grown bold and conscious of their strength. As Manucci noticed in 1704, 'These (Maratha) leaders and their troops move in these days with much confidence; because they have cowed the Mughal commanders and inspired them with fear. At the present time they possess artillery, musketry, bows and arrows, with elephants and camels for all their baggage and tents . . . they move like conquerors, showing no fear of any Mughal troops.'[1] Indeed with the consciousness of their strength their incursions had gradually assumed wider dimensions. As far back as 1690 they raided the Dhurmapore parganah of Malwa and inflicted a serious loss on the royal revenue. In 1694 they came again, and in 1698 Udaji Powar looted Mandabgarh.[2] In 1699 Krishnaji Sawant, a Maratha General at the head of 15,000 cavalry, crossed the Narmada and ravaged some places near Dhummani and returned. In 1703 they raided up to the environs of Ujjain and in October of the same year Nimaji Sindhia 'burst into Berar, defeated and captured Rustam Khan, the Deputy Governor of the province and then raiding

[1] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, vol. v, pp. 242–3. [2] Malcolm's *Central India*, pp. 60–61.

Hushangabad District and crossing the Narmada he advanced into Malwa at the invitation of Chhatrasal. After plundering many villages and towns, he laid siege to Sironj.'[1] In the West Gujerat had been subject to their raids from the time of Shivaji, and Surat had borne the brunt of his raids. Between November 1705 and July 1706 Dhanaji Jadhav surprised Ahmednagar, and inflicted a severe defeat on the Deputy Governor, taking him prisoner and levying Chauth on the surrounding country.[2] These bold inroads into the rich imperial subahs, and the repeated reverses suffered by the Mughals in Mahārāṣtra, seriously undermined the imperial prestige. Sick at heart Aurangzeb thought it expedient to bend before the storm. With the ostensible purpose of conciliating the Marathas, but really to create division amongst them, he now made a proposal for the release of Shahu. Twice did he open overtures, and twice did he fail to attract the sincerity and loyalty of the Marathas. A gloomy consciousness of a terrible failure stole upon his mind, and sorely disappointed, he withdrew to Devapur to breathe his last amid horrid scenes of wreckage and wastage. He had left behind a bleeding empire and hardly had he closed his eyes, when a war of succession broke out to deluge the country in fresh blood.

In Mahārāṣtra the confusion was unparalleled. Aurangzeb died on February 20, 1707; and as his sons withdrew, one to the south to take possession of his Subahs of Hyderabad and Bijapur, and the other to the north to contest for the throne, they denuded Mahārāṣtra of all their effectives. The Marathas who had been fighting against the Mughal Empire, suddenly found its spell vanished away. They had been long without a state to govern, a government to control their activities; now they found themselves even without an enemy to fight with. Their only rallying point, the only motive power of their patriotism, was gone. They had been long used to war and were experts in predatory warfare; but now there was no enemy against whom to direct their activities. Hence the floating mass of the lawless elements now off their anchor, drifted on to all sides without a point or purpose. Their chieftains constantly preyed upon the land and fought against one another. Tāra Bāi's government had neither power nor perseverance to convert them into peaceful citizens. And crowning these confusions broke out a civil war, as Shahu set foot

[1] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, vol. v, pp. 382–4.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 431–2.

in Mahārāṣtra by the middle of 1707. There arose two parties, one supporting the claim of Shahu, the other that of Tāra Bāi's son Shivaji. At last Shahu emerged victorious and ascended the throne at Satara in January 1708. Tāra Bāi withdrew to Kolhapur and made it her seat of government. Shahu had neither the ability nor the inclination to exterminate his rival; and hostilities continued intermittently between them till 1731. Long inured to lawless habits the Maratha chieftains made the best of this civil war; and during the complications arising out of these strifes, there came an astute diplomat, Nizam-ul-Mulk as the Viceroy of the Deccan. His one aim of life was to uproot the Marathas in the Deccan, and reign supreme over it. Indefatigable in his machinations, he drew around him all the disaffected, the self-seeking, and the ambitious of Mahārāṣtra. His activities made the confusion worse confounded. To the evils of a civil war were united the dreadful proceedings of a determined enemy. The Maratha chieftains like Chandrasen, Nimbalkar, Shripat Rao, Fateh Singh, Raghoji Bhonsle, and Dabhade, impelled by suicidal affections or aversions, actually undermined the prestige of the central authority. With untrammelled indifference each went his own way, and Shivaji's great ideal was forgotten. Indeed the political problems of Mahārāṣtra during this period—to establish a well regulated internal administration, to reclaim the people to civil life, to destroy the germs of the civil war, and in short, to lay the foundations of a stable state, were too baffling to be solved by a person like Shahu or Tāra Bāi. The one was an indolent, easy-going, peace-loving, and good natured gentleman; the other was a vindictive, self-seeking and short-sighted woman. Neither was the *Ashṭapradhan* council up to the task. Shivaji's institution of *Ashṭapradhan* was not a body of statesmen; it was a collection of mere executive heads. It could not initiate policies; and it was too young and unschooled when it was well-nigh destroyed by the deadly blows of Aurangzeb. Thus the incapacity of Shahu, the selfish ambition of the Maratha chieftains, and the tangled problems of the state called for some men of outstanding ability and these were supplied by the famous Chitpavan family of *Bhaṭṭs*. They rose equal to the occasion and extricated the state out of this great confusion. These were the Peshwas. Endowed with a penetrating mind and with great talents for organization, bright and fair in that rich beauty of Konkan, brave and eloquent, they proved by far the

ablest of all the officers of Shahu, and hence rose to hold the helm of the state. In that age of self-centred cupidity, they were the only people every fibre of whose being thrilled with an altruistic ambition of establishing a Hindu sovereignty—not a Brahman sovereignty as Rajwadè calls it [1]—and to this their ambition, they yoked unflinching fervour, tireless energy and a deep-rooted love of work. Indeed at a time when Mahārāṣṭra lay exhausted after the twenty-five years of warfare, when it was recking with partisan blood, torn within and tormented without, and when the cry of the *country* was great for its relief, and for peace and goodwill among the countrymen, those who could ensure these, naturally were destined to rule the country. Both the King and the *Ashṭapradhan* council failed to do it and hence the rise of the Peshwas was inevitable. From the diabolical indulgence in the civil war they turned the attention of their people to a land outside, rich and flourishing,—to conquer it and to establish their suzerainty over it. That is their great service to the state, to Mahārāṣṭra.

But even they could not root out the canker, that had entered the very bone of Mahārāṣṭra. The quarter of a century's war had done nothing if it had not breathed predatory propensities, contempt for all discipline and intolerance of control into the Mahrathas. In the enthusiasm of new hopes promised by the Peshwas, at the sight of golden vistas opening before them, they no doubt forgot their domestic quarrels, their old habits, but it was only a temporary lull. When the last vestiges of the Mughal Empire had crumbled to pieces, and the Marathas had stepped into the shoes of the Mughals, there ensued other scenes, the like of which have frequently occurred in Mediæval India. Once again the same lawless plunder, pitiless pursuit of war, and self-centred ambitions broke out in greater fury and in their wake prowled poverty and pestilence, disease and death. By such activities as these the Mahrathas endeavoured to perpetuate the Hindu *Pat Padshahi* or Hindu sovereignty !

It is an irony of fate that the Mahrathas did not, for once look back to the Great Shivaji for ideals, for inspiration. And at a time when they were learning to outlive their old predatory habits stepped in another nation, a more irresistible power than any that India had seen before. Such was the end of the Peshwas' great achievement,

[1] *Rajwade*, vol. i, Introduction, p. 39.

II

MAHARASTRA BETWEEN 1707–1710
DIFFICULTIES OF SHAHU

THE difficulties of Shahu and the great political unrest of Maharastra are the chief factors in the rise of the Peshwas. Their rise is neither phenomenal nor accidental. They gradually worked their way up from an ordinary position to the headship of the state and eventually to *de facto* sovereignty. Balaji Viswanath is the founder of the house of the Peshwas, who made the office hereditary in their family, paralysed the power of their colleagues and ultimately that of the king. To start with, they occupied a rank second to the *Pratinidhi's*. They had first to sweep him aside before they could make their position supreme in the state, and once supreme in the state the king automatically yielded place to them. And all these they achieved on account of their superior ability. Thus in the attainment of supremacy they had first to eclipse the *Pratinidhi*, and the rest of their colleagues, and then the king. These two phases should be clearly noticed as the reader proceeds with the narrative, for 'this transfer of authority from the master to the servant is so gradually, silently, carefully accomplished that the successive steps important as they were in relation to the whole move, escaped all contemporary notice.'[1]

The office of the Peshwa was first created by Shivaji, and its seventh occupant was Balaji Vishwanath. The first six were Shamraj Nilkanth Rozekar, Moro Trimbak Pingle, Nilkanth Moreshwar Pingle, Parshuram Trimbak Pratinidhi, Bahiro Moreshwar Pingle and Balakrishna Vasudev [2] In Shivaji's council of *ashtapradhans* the Peshwa was regarded as the first of the ministers and the head of the executive. Next in importance came the *Sēnāpati* or the commander-in-chief. The Pant Amātya had the charge of the revenue and account departments. The Pant Sachiv controlled all correspondence and the record department. The Dabir was in charge of the foreign affairs. The Mantri was more or less private secretary, and had the charge of the household. There were two other purely civil functionaries, the Nyayadhish and Pandit Rao in charge of the Judicial and Ecclesiastical departments respectively. These officers were never meant to be

[1] Sen's *Administrative System of the Marathas*, p. 198.
[2] Selections from the Satra Raja's and Peshwa's *Diaries*, vol. i, pp. 41 and 42.

hereditary by Shivaji and 'there were frequent transfers from one office to another. The Peshwa's office, for instance, had been held by four different families, before it became hereditary in Balaji Vishwanath's line after nearly a hundred years from its creation.' [1] This system worked admirably during the life-time of Shivaji. Even Shambhuji, though he did not care much for it, yet followed on the lines of his father. The Peshwa still had the precedence in the official order of the ministers though Kalusha had usurped all the power in the kingdom. But significant changes were introduced during the reign of Rajah Ram. The relentless war of Aurangzeb broke the back of the Mahratha state, and made the *Ashṭapradhan* council a defunct body. The Peshwa's duties that 'he should perform all the works of administration, should make expeditions with the army and wage war and make necessary arrangements for the preservation of the districts that may come into possession and act according to the orders of the king' [2] became obsolete. When Rajah Ram fled to Jinji leaving the north in charge of Ramachandra Bavdekar Hakumat-panah he was promptly besieged there by the Mughals. For eight years the siege continued with intermittent breaks. At Jinji the king had no kingdom to govern. He had only to defend a fortress, and therefore had not much work to entrust to his eight ministers. Nevertheless he respected the tradition and maintained the *Ashṭa-pradhan* council. He even went a step further. 'To provide posts for his most influential servants, the normal council of eight ministers was expanded by adding two more men—the *Hakumat Panah* and *Pratinidhi*.' [3] The former remained as has been said in charge of the affairs of the north while the latter created only at Jinji soon eclipsed the nominal prime minister, the Peshwa. Prahlad Niraji, the first *Pratinidhi*, was a favourite of Rajah Ram, and kept 'the young king constantly intoxicated by the habitual use of ganja and opium.' [4] Thus he siezed all the real power, and like the *Hakumat Panah* in the north he made himself supreme in the Maratha affairs of the south. This state of affairs points to the 'political impotence' of Rajah Ram, and forms only a prelude to what was to happen during the regime of the house of the Bhaṭṭs. The

[1] Introduction to the Satara Raja's and Peshwa's *Diaries* by Ranade, p. 3.
[2] Sen's *Administrative System of the Marathas*, p. 50.
[3] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, vol. v, p. 195. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

tradition of a deputy exercising all the authority of the king had taken root at this time, and became stronger as one weak king followed another. After the return of Rajah Ram to the north, the office of *Hukumat Panah* was abolished, but that of *Pratinidhi* was retained. He was considered superior to the Peshwa. 'The fixed salary of the *Pratinidhi* was 15,000 Hous, while for the Peshwa the salary was fixed at 13,000 Hous.' [1]

This state of affairs continued during the regency of Tāra Bāi and when Shahu emerged victorious in the struggle against her, he too retained the office in his council. He had nine instead of eight ministers. His *Pratinidhi* was Parshuram Pant, and after him his son Shripat Rao, a personal friend of no mean influence, and there was every likelihood of his usurping the power of the state. But soon after Shahu's accession to the throne arose complications which the *Pratinidhi* could not properly comprehend and control. Therefore the power slipped away from his hands, and passed into those of Balaj Vishwanath, who rose equal to the occasion and consequently to prominence. Now to get a clear idea about the circumstances that led to Balaji Vishwanath's rise the condition of Mahārāṣṭra and the difficulties of Shahu have to be briefly outlined.

At the time of Aurangzeb's death Mahārāṣṭra was in a disorderly condition. Tāra Bāi, the regent of her son Shivaji II, did not think it expedient to control the activities of her chieftains, whose one absorbing passion was to harass the Mughals on all sides. In this they had their own way and consulted their own interests, and Tāra Bāi following the example of her husband had assigned different parts of the Deccan to her commanders. Parsoji Bhonsle had East Berar as far as Nagpur ; Chimnaji Damodar, South Berar ; Kath Singh Kadam Rao, Khandesh ; Khanderao Dabhade, Gujrat ; Kanhoji Angre, Konkan ; Udaji Chouhan, Miraj ; Hindu Rao Ghorepade, Karnatak ; Damaji Thorat, Varshipangaon ; Dhanaji Jadhav, north Painghat ; and Haibat Rao Nimbalkar, South Painghat.[2] There was incessant struggle going on between these and the Mughal commanders, now reduced in strength because Azam had taken away with him the best part of the Mughal effectives. Of the imperial Subahs of the Deccan,

[1] Introduction to Satra Raja's and Peshwa's *Diaries* by Rande, p. 3.

[2] इतिहसांचो साधनें (*Itihasanche Sadhane*) by Rajwade, vol. ii, p. 5.

Aurangzeb had assigned by a will, Haidarabad or Golconda and Bijapur to Kambaksh, who was to rule like an independent prince. But he was too weak to stand the sweeping onslaught of the Marathas. Azam while withdrawing to the north knew full well that the Marathas would soon stamp out the Mughal sway from the Deccan in his absence. He felt concerned about it, but there was no help. He could not afford to let go the sovereignty of India for the sake of the precarious possession of the Deccan. As the imperial camp wended its way towards Hindusthan a significant plan was suggested to him, that was calculated to meet the Mughal situation in the Deccan. Zulfikar Khan, a man of vast experience and deep insight into the mentality of the Mahrathas suggested that the best way to keep the Marathas busy in their own domestic affairs, and thereby to divert their attention from harassing the Mughals was to release Shahu, who was a prisoner in the camp, and whose release had been twice considered by Aurangzeb in order to create division amongst the Marathas. The presence of Shahu in Mahārāṣṭra, suggested Zulfikar Khan, would drive Tāra Bāi into bitter opposition against him, and the parties would soon fall into a civil war. Thus Shahu released, he said, would be a more potent weapon against the Marathas than Shahu in captivity. This advice was approved by all, and Azam Shah released Shahu about the beginning of May 1707, at a village called Doraha near Nemawar to the north of the Narmada.[1]

Thus Shahu was set at liberty after a captivity of eighteen years. In November, 1689, he, along with his mother Yēśu Bāi and many of the Royal family, had been captured by Aurangzeb, when the capital of Mahārāṣṭra, Raygad, capitulated. Though a prisoner in the hands of the bitterest enemy of the Marathas and their king, yet Shahu was never ill-treated or subjected to any contumely. Far from it he was brought up like a prince with the warmest affection and tenderness. His religion and caste were never interfered with, even by that greatest of bigots, Aurangzeb. On the other hand, he always showed an unaffected love and tenderness towards him, and regarded him as his own grandson. That was due—this affectionate attitude was due 'perhaps to Zīnat-un-Nisa 'Aurangzeb's daughter, who took a fancy for the beautiful little prince, then only eight, and brought him up as her own son. A

[1] Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, p. 395, and Sardesai's *Marathi Riyasat*, vol. i, p. 2.

maid, throughout her life, she bestowed all her love and care on this boy, and was more than a mother to him. When Shahu came of age two beautiful brides were found out for him from the families of Sindhia and gadhar, and Aurangzeb got his marriage celebrated with the pomp and grandeur befitting his rank.[1] Later on, when he discovered the signs of failure in his Deccan campaign he thought of releasing Shahu, not to conciliate the Marathas, but to create division amongst them, and thus to weaken them. Twice did he plan it, and twice did it fail owing to his own suspicious nature, that frustrated so many of his undertakings, and ruined his empire.[2] At last however on his death Azam, acting on the advice of Zulfikar Khan, released Shahu, on the condition that he should rule as a feudatory to Azam Shah, and leave behind him his mother, wives and a half-brother in the imperial camp as hostages. In return Azam granted him the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi of the six Subahs of the Deccan, and the provinces of Gondwana, Gujrat and Tanjore in addition to his paternal kingdom, during his good behaviour.[3] With this imperial grant Shahu took leave of his family and escorted by a slender following made his way into Mahārāṣṭra.

The Royal party consisting of about fifty to sixty persons, troopers and servants all told made their journey westwards, and penetrating the Satpuras came into Khandesh *via* Bijagarh and Sultanpur. They thoroughly enjoyed the adventures on the way, and when they reached Bijagarh, the free booter Mohan Singh joined them and gave them substantial help in the shape of the sinews of war. Passing on to the Pargana of Sultanpur, now Taluqa Sahade, they came to Kokarmanda where Ambu Pande had built himself a fort and ravaged the country from Surat to Burhampur.[4] He was secured for the side of Shahu, and towards the end of May Shahu's father-in-law Rustam Rao Jadhav, brought a fresh army to his service and was created a *Haft Hazari*.[5] Early June found Shahu at Lambkani, south of the Tapti, and then he actually entered Mahārāṣṭra.

[1] थोरले शाहूमहाराज ह्यांचे चरित्र (*Life of Shahu Maharaj, the Elder*) by Chitnis, pp. 3-6.

[2] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, vol. v, pp., 205-7.

[3] *A History of the Maratha People*, by Kincaid and Parasnis, vol. ii, pp. 122-3.

[4] Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, p. 395.

[5] *Rajwade*, vol. xx, Doc. No. 60.

Lambkani forms a landmark in the history of Shahu ; for it is here that he made his presence felt by the people, and established his claim to the throne with the support of some of the most powerful Maratha chieftains. Besides the adherence of Sujan Singh, the chief of Lambkani, there came Parsoji Bhonsle and tendered his homage to him. Of all the Maratha chieftains, who stood by Shahu at the time of his need, Parsoji rendered the most signal services. Claiming the same descent with the illustrious Shivaji, he ate publicly of the same plate with Shahu, the genuineness of whose descent had been questioned by Tāra Bāi, and thus dispelled all popular doubts about his birth. It had been noised abroad, as Shahu came to Mahārāṣṭra, that he was an impostor and not the real son of Shambhuji. Now Parsoji's action proved to the people Shahu's legitimacy beyond a shadow of doubt and therefore his claim to the throne could not be questioned.[1] Its effect was soon felt in Mahārāṣṭra, and there flocked to the support of his cause persons of no less importance than Haibat Rao Nimbalkar, Nemaji Sindhia and Chimnaji Damodar. Encouraged by this favourable turn of circumstances, Shahu dispatched dozen of letters to various Sardars of Mahārāṣṭra to come and pay homage to him, for he was the rightful heir to the throne. A month of anxiety and activity was passed at Lambkani, and when Shahu set out in July he had sufficiently strengthened his position, and endeared his cause to the people.[2]

Shahu's progress through the country, his sympathetic attention to the grievances of the people, and his conciliatory attitude towards the Zamindars and Sardars won for him loyalty and affection on all sides.

The fact that the son of the martyred king of the Mahrathas, had come back alive to claim his father's throne evoked a great deal of enthusiasm, and no less tenderness amongst the people. As the rainy season drew to its close, Shahu pitched his camp near Ahmednagar. Here he spent the whole of October preparing for the coming struggle with Tāra Bāi, who was as violent in the use of her tongue, as she was vigorous in her preparation against him. Shahu wanted to use Ahmednagar both as the seat of his power and base of his operations. That would have enormously enhanced his prestige. He had come

[1] नागपुर कर भोंसल्यांचो बखर (*The Chronicle of the Bhonsles of Nagpur*), p. 20.

[2] *Marathi Riyasat* by Sardasai, vol. i, p. 3.

with the Imperial Farman, as the nominee of the Mughals, and that was also a factor in attracting the loyalty of the people. Now if Ahmednagar were his seat of power, as he wanted to make it,[1] it would have been a very great concession on the part of the Mughals, and a fitting recompense for the hardships that the Mahrathas had suffered at their hands. But the Mughals were loth to part with Ahmednagar, for it formed one of their strongest and most advanced outposts in the Deccan. And Shahu was not inclined to wrest it from them, however feebly guarded it might have been at this time. To occupy it by force would have offended the Mughals, and he would have lost their moral support and sympathy in his struggle with Tāra Bāi. On the other hand he showed an importunity to placate them, and therefore determined to pay a visit to the tomb of Aurangzeb at Khuldabad.[2] On his way there, he had to pass by a fortified village called Pārad, twenty-five miles to the north-west of Doulatabad, whose headman opened fire on Shahu's army. A skirmish took place, in which the headman was killed, and the fort was stormed. At the end of the affair the widow of the headman came with her son, and with many a word of regret sought the protection of the king. That was most graciously granted, and because this was Shahu's first victory in Mahārāṣtra, he commemorated the occasion by giving the name Fateh Singh to the boy and brought him up like a royal prince.[3] After his visit to Khuldabad he returned to Nagar, where he watched the course of affairs. By this time he felt conscious of his strength, and cautious as he was he did not like to throw away the advantages he had gained so far by anticipating Tāra Bāi and rashly attacking her. He determined not to cross the Bhima unless he was sure of his success in the contest.

Shahu's advent into Mahārāṣtra embittered the feelings of Tāra Bāi, and she determined to offer a stubborn resistance. Indeed she was bold in her assertion that Shahu could have no reasonable claim to the throne. Violent as she was of temper, she could not have been sparing in her denunciations against Shahu; but apart from that her convictions in the matter are clear from the following extract from a

[1] *Marathi Riyasat* by Sardasai, vol. i, p. 4.
[2] Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, p. 395.
[3] थोडले शाहु महाराज ह्यांचे चरित्र (*Life of Shahu the Elder*), pp. 15, 16.

letter that she wrote to Som Naik, Desai of Setwad, on September 17, 1707. 'The news has reached us that Rajashri Shahu Raja has been released by the Mughals. Let it be so. This kingdom had been won by the exertion of Shivaji the great, of sacred memory, but Rajashri Shambuji Raja lost it. Rajah Ram then ascended the throne, and he recovered the kingdom by his own prowess. He protected it and defeated the Mughals. The kingdom began to prosper. Secondly Shivaji the great of sacred memory wanted to leave this kingdom to Rajah Ram. That being so, he (Shahu) has no claim to it. Those who have joined him or want to join him, we have ordered Rajashri Jai Singh, Jadhav Rao Senapati (Commander-in-Chief), Hambir Rao Mohite, Sarlaskar, and others with an army to chastise. Rajashri Parshuram Pant Pratinidhi has also been sent.'[1] Thus Tāra Bāi unequivocally rejects the claim of Shahu to the throne on the ground firstly, that the kingdom of Shivaji had been lost by Sambhuji, and it was Rajah Ram who recovered it from the Mughals; secondly, that Shivaji on his death bed had nominated Rajah Ram and not Shambhuji to succeed him. Further, as is well known, the brutal conduct of Shambuji towards Rajah Ram's mother could neither be forgiven nor forgotten. Rightly therefore, Shivaji II, Rajah Ram's son, and not Shahu, Shambhuji's son, was the real heir to the throne.

Convincing as these arguments might appear Tāra Bāi did not rest content with correspondence alone. She meant to enforce on her people, what she wrote to them in letters. With this motive, she assembled all the highest officers of the state, viz., Parshuram Pant Pratinidhi, Ramchandra Pant Amatya, Sankaraji Sachiv, Nilkanth Morēshwar Pradhan, i.e. Peshwa, Dhanaji Jadhav Senapati, Khando Ballal Chitnis, and others, and urged them to take an oath on the boiled rice and milk to the effect that they must remain true to the cause of her son, and must combine to do away with Shahu.[2] The question whether Shahu was an impostor, or the true son of Shambhuji, does not arise at all. In any case she had told them, he had no right to the throne as against the son of Rajah Ram. The situation was indeed delicate for the Maratha nobles. Many took the oath, some wavered in indecision, and Dhanaji Jadhav and Khando Ballal protested strongly, that if Shahu were an impostor they would combine to do

[1] *Mahrathi Riyasat*, vol. i, pp. 5–6.

[2] थो: शा च:—*Life of Shahu the Elder*, pp. 13–14; *Marathi Riyasat*, vol. i, p.7.

away with him, but if he were the real son of Shambhuji, they would not. This disagreement proved ultimately advantageous to Shahu, for each party in its eagerness to ascertain the truth about Shahu sent a trustworthy person to Shahu's camp. Tāra Bāi deputed Bapuji Bhonsle, Parsoji Bhonsle's brother,[1] and Dhanaji Jadhav, his revenue secretary Balaji Vishwanath. The former did not return, but the latter did, quite convinced that Shahu was no impostor, and persuaded Dhanaji to espouse his cause. The result was evident in the battle of Khed, a little later.

Tāra Bāi's cause was further weakened on account of the mutual ill-will amongst her own nobles which she could neither comprehend nor control. She placed undue confidence in Parsuram Pant Pratinidhi, and this was resented by his personal enemy Ramachandra Pant Amatya. Parshuram Pant therefore always took care to frustrate the wise measures suggested by Ramchandra Pant, through his influence with Tāra Bāi. Tāra Bāi even took a strong prejudice against him. In sheer disgust therefore, Ramchandra Pant opened treasonable negotiation with Shahu, and Tāra Bāi apprised of this confined him in the fortress of Vasantagad. Extremely exasperated he vowed vengeance on Tāra Bai and actively conspired with Dhanaji and other leading chiefs and urged them to go over to Shahu.[2] All these intrigues bore bitter fruits for Tāra Bāi.

Thus she was undermining her strength by her own blind prejudices, at a time when great balance of mind, and a spirit of conciliation were the most pressing needs.

Shahu on the other hand showed great affection for the people and superior common sense and fortitude, in his dealings with all. As against these attractive qualities of Shahu, they could see nothing but the idiocy of Shivaji, and the vindictive and arrogant nature of his mother. Therefore the personality of Shahu was no less a decisive factor in his ultimate victory over Tāra Bāi, than the cumulative effect of the rest of the circumstances.

Shahu was not disposed to hasten matters. But Tāra Bāi who noticed that delay would injure her interests, determined to take the offensive and set her armies in motion after the Diwali festival.

[1] नागपूरकर भोसल्यांची बखर (*The Chronicle of the Bhonsles of Nagpur*), p. 20.

[2] *History of the Chiefs of Ichalkaranji* (Mahrathi), p. 22.

About November 15, 1707, her Senapati Dhanaji Jadhav associated with Parshuram Pant Pratinidhi, arrived near Chakan at the head of forty thousand troops.[1] A few marches forward the battle was joined with Shahu's forces at the village of Khed. The Senapati, acting according to a pre-arranged plan remained indifferent, and the Pratinidhi fighting single-handed was badly beaten, lost from four to five thousand men, and fled[2] away a fugitive to Chakan, and thence to Satara. Since no authentic account of the battle is available, it is very doubtful whether such a large number of men were actually killed. But if the number of casualties is doubtful, there is no doubt about the result of the battle.

It was an easy victory for Shahu, followed by Dhanaji's openly joining his standards after the flight of the Pratinidhi.

Khed shattered the hopes and undermined the position of Tāra Bāi. The rent that had been created in the ranks of her nobles could not be made up. Dhanaji's desertion served as a signal for that of many others. Chief among them were Kando Ballal Chitnis[3] and Bahiro Pant Pingle the brother of Nilkanth Moreshwar Pingle, Tāra Bāi's Peshwa.[4] Like his brother, Bahiro Pant was made the Peshwa by Shahu, and was thus amply rewarded for his desertion. Fortune seemed to smile on Shahu after the battle of Khed.

From Khed Shahu went to Jejuri where he worshipped the gods, fed the Brahmans and distributed gifts in commemoration of his victory.

Proceeding south-west he came to a halt at Shirwal, in whose neighbourhood stood the giant fortress of Rohida, then held by Shankaraji Narayan Sachiv. Shahu's further progress was arrested, until he took the fortress from the Sachiv. Shahu therefore commanded him to surrender, and to join his standard. The Sachiv however shut himself up in a bitterness of feeling, for he was constantly haunted by the gloomy thoughts that he had taken the side of Tāra Bāi and had proved a traitor to the rightful heir Shahu, and in this agitated state of mind he swallowed diamond dust and put an end to his

[1] थो: शा: च: *Life of Shahu the Elder*, p. 16. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 16 and 17.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 16. [4] *Marathi Riyasat*, vol. i, p. 11; Rajwade, vol. xv, Doc. 360.

life.[1] This incident, happening as it did, after Shahu's victory at Khed, gave a complete turn to the condition of his affairs.

Automatically all the fortresses under the Sachiv—Rajgad, Torna or Prachandagad, Rohida or Vichitragad, Purandhar and Sinhghad—surrendered to Shahu, and thus the whole country north of the Nira came under his possession. He was now the lord of Northern Mahārāṣṭra, and a finishing touch to these acquisitions was given when Chandan Wandan opened its gates to him. Secure in the north Shahu now left Shirwal determined to take Satara.

Satara was the seat of Tāra Bāi's government, and at the time when Shahu marched upon it Tāra Bāi had left it under Parshuram Pant and had gone to Panhala. Considering the strength of the fortress there was no likelihood of its easy conquest. Shahu was clever enough to find that out and before he tried force he tried diplomacy. He wrote to the Pratinidhi inducing him to surrender it without resistance, but since the latter would not yield he laid siege to it. Determined to take it in eight days Shahu threatened the commandant of the fort, Shaikh Mira, saying that he would blow off from the mouth of guns his wife and children, whom he had captured and brought from Wai in case he did not surrender the fortress. This struck terror into the heart of Shaikh Mira and he showed his readiness to do the bidding of Shahu. But since the Pratinidhi resisted the intrepid commandant threw him into prison and opened the gates to Shahu on Saturday 1, January 1708, exactly on the eighth day of Shahu's resolution. Along with the fortress was secured the person of the Pratinidhi, the right hand man of Tāra Bāi.

Thus at once Tāra Bāi lost her capital and her chief advisor in the struggle. The conquest of Satara forms another landmark in the history of Shahu. It bought to a happy close what had been begun at Lambkani and continued at Khed. But it meant more than this. It indicated the revival of the Maratha kingdom under the grandson of the great Shivaji. All had come off so far as desired by Shahu only his coronation remained to be celebrated.

Tāra Bāi retired beyond the Krishna leaving Shahu master of all the territory in the north. Shahu thought, her submission, now that

[1] Rajwade, vol. xv, Doc. 289, p. 299; पेशव्यांची बखर—*Chronicles of the Peshwas*, p. 3.

Satara had fallen, was only a question of time. And being a man of affectionate nature, he did not like to press his own aunt to extremity. He therefore let Tāra Bāi take her own time before she submitted, and he now made preparations for his coronation. January 12 was fixed by the royal astrologers as the auspicious day for the ceremony. It fell on Monday, the first day of the bright half of the sacred month of Magh, 'not' Shahu properly anointed took the 'ceremonious bath' in the holy waters, and at an appointed hour ascended the throne of his ancestors. Auspicious music, and the booming of the guns from the fort, proclaimed that Shahu had become the king of Mahārāṣṭra. The ceremony came to a close amidst a blaze of jewels and glitter of gold.

Next the king proceeded to make new appointments or confirmations to the various offices in a formal way. He appointed Bahiro Pant Pingle as his Peshwa, Dhanaji Jadhav as his Senapati, Naro Shanker as his Sachiv, Ramachandra Pant Pundey as his Mantri, Mahadaji Gadadhar as his Sumanta, Amburao Hammante as his Amatya, Honaji Anant as Nyayadhish, and Mudgal Bhaṭṭ as his Pandit Rao. Further Haibat Rao Nimbalkar was created Sarlashkar and Khando Ballal, Chitnis to the king. Parshuram Pant Pratinidhi being still in prison, Gadadhar Prahlad, the son of Prahlad Niraji, was appointed to his office. In the hour of his glory Shahu did not forget those to whom he owed his success. Parsoji Bhonsle than whom nobody had a greater claim on Shahu's gratitude, was given the title of Sena-Sahib-Subha and along with it a sumptuous jagir to maintain his rank. Apart from this reward, Shahu always cherished a fondness for him and his house.[1] There were made other minor appointments, which have no bearing upon our narrative. Thus was Shahu's reign inaugurated in Mahārāṣṭra.

Shahu ruled for about forty-one years from January 12, 1708 to December 15, 1749. It is a period of far-reaching changes in the history of India and of Mahārāṣṭra as well. History of India recorded the decline and fall of the Mughal Empire, the gradual rise of European nations, the invasions from beyond the passes, and the cumulative effect of all, the dissolution of the old order and rise of the new. In Mahārāṣṭra also similar scenes are presented to our eyes. The early years of Shahu's reign witnessed hopeless confusion in the *Svarājya*, out of which the Peshwas evolved order, and as the reign advanced

[1] *Marathi Riyasat*, vol. i, p. 13.

greater responsibilities were shelved on to their shoulders. Rising equal to the occasion they initiated new policies, and it is to their transcendental personal qualities that the Maratha Empire owed its inception. Great transformation was wrought in the Mahratha territories, and by the time of Shahu's death the path had been paved for one man's power. That power was that of the Peshwas. Thus Shahu's reign marks the twilight of confusion and construction, not only in Mahārāṣtra but in the whole of India, and from that point of view it is invested with exceeding interest for the student of history.

The most difficult problem that confronted Shahu after his coronation was how to deal with Tāra Bāi,—how to square his own interests with those of Tāra Bāi. She had been beaten in the contest, but not crushed. If Shahu had resumed the campaign with the same vigour as he had begun it, she would have been brought to her knees in no time.[1] But Shahu had neither the energy nor inclination for it. He was by temperament incapable of stern action or sustained exertion. He was further persuaded by interested persons like Khande Rao Dabhade to pursue a conciliatory policy towards his uncle's family. Accordingly Shahu seriously considered the question of ceding the whole country to the south the Waruna to Tāra Bai's son, and actually made overtures for a treaty with her to this effect on January 16, 1708.[2] If she had consented, the fatal civil war that convulsed Mahārāṣtra and gathered force as the years rolled by, would have ended here, instead of twenty-three years later in 1731. But that was not to be, and Tāra Bāi was implacable in her enmity against Shahu.

Undaunted by her recent discomfitures she formed new plans for a fresh contest. She released Ramchandra Pant, whom she had imprisoned in Vasantgad, and won him over again by an expression of deep regret for the past, and profession of friendship for the future.[3] She secured the Sawant of Wadi, [4] and Kanhoji Angrey on her side, besides the powerful Sardar Sidhoji Hindu Rao, Santaji Ghorepade's first nephew. Then she put Rangna in a perfect condition to stand a long siege, and remained awaiting the development of affairs on Shahu's side.

[1] *Marathi Riyasat*, vol. i, p. 14. [2] Rajwade, Doc. 282, pp. 410–11.
[3] *History of the Chiefs of Ichalkaranji* (Mahrathi), p. 22.
[4] Rajwade, vol. viii, Doc. 62, pp. 83 and 84.

These preparations of Tāra Bāi forced the hands of Shahu, and he embarked on a campaign against her in February 1708.[1] From Satara he marched by slow stages to Panhala, and thence to Panchganga.[2] On the way Basantgad and Pawangad fell into his hands, and having thus established his outposts round Kolhapur he passed on to Rangna. Vishalgad surrendered on the way, and when Shahu arrived near Rangna or Prasiddhagad, Tāra Bāi shut its gates, called the Sawant of Wadi and Kanhoji Angrey to her aid, and resolved to stand a long siege. Her plans were admirably laid. She would hold the fortress, while her allies, the Sawant and Angrey would harass the besiegers. But the latter did not turn up, and of them the Sawant actually joined Shahu against her.[3] Ramchandra Pant, whom she had made her chief advisor now, soon discovered signs of weakness in the defence, and therefore advised her to escape from the fort with her son. In the early stages of the siege he managed to send the mother and son out of the fort, and himself remained to hold out as long as possible. When the siege had lasted three months, and the fort came to the verge of surrender Ramchandra Pant secretly persuaded Dhanaji Jadhav to prevail upon Shahu to raise the siege.[4] Further he got Tāra Bāi to write to Dhanaji, Khando Ballal and even Parshuram Pant, inducing them to join her. In her letters dated May 23, 1708, she urges them 'not to harbour any slight or suspicion' against her, to desert Shahu and to take her side.[5] Their persuasion was not entirely lost upon Dhanaji and his colleagues. Indeed they were averse to the idea of entirely crushing Tāra Bāi, for in that case Shahu would be unduly powerful and they would not be able to serve their own interests at his cost. They could keep Shahu under their thumb so long as the civil war was going on. Hence Dhanaji pleaded strongly for raising the siege because the heavy monsoon rains had set in. The only dissentient voice was that of Parsoji Bhonsle. But Shahu yielded, and ordered the siege operations to be stopped. Placing Nilo Ballal, the brother of Khando Ballal Chitnis, in charge of the newly conquered territories he returned to Panhala by June 24, 1708.[6]

Thus ended the campaign of Rangna in partial success. It brought

[1] *Marathi Riyasat*, vol. i, p. 15.
[2] Rajwade, vol. iii, Doc. 64, p. 66.
[3] *Ibid.*, Doc. 67, p. 88.
[4] *Marathi Riyasat*, vol. i, p. 16.
[5] Rajwade, vol. viii, Docs. 64 to 66, pp. 86 and 87.
[6] *Marathi Riyasat*, p. 16.

fresh acquisitions, but Tāra Bāi was not crushed. That was due to the irresolution of Shahu. His leniency, that characterized all his dealings, readily responded to the pleadings of the interested chieftains. Dhanaji and others were more interested in increasing their jagirs than in fighting the battles of Shahu. During the Rangna campaign, Dhanaji was taking a malicious delight in fomenting the family disputes between the Jagdales and the Pisales. Hindu Rao Ghorpade, in pursuance of his family feuds, had taken side against Dhanaji. Balaji Viswanath, the mutaliq of the Amatya, Dattaji Sheodev, the mutaliq of the Sachiv and Naro Ram Shenvi were busy in bringing about a compromise between the disputants. Parsoji was anxious to get a jagir sanctioned for his protege Ramaji Narain Kolhatpar. Such was the condition of Shahu's Camp, when Tāra Bai made her escape from Rangna. Thus Shahu's own character and the indifference of his chieftains were responsible for the fact that only a partial success was obtained in the Rangna campaign.

When Shahu withdrew from Rangna he had thought of resuming the siege after the rains. But an after-thought led him to change his mind, and he showed great anxiety to occupy the Konkan and the Karnatic. While at Panhala he despatched dozen of letters to the Poligars of the Karnatic commanding them to recognize his authority. To reduce Tāra Bāi he applied to the Governor of Bombay, Sir Nicholas Waite, for a supply of ammunition, European soldiers and money, but the latter did not consent to it. [1] Further about the middle of the year 1708 died Dhanaji Jadhav and on November 4, that year his son Chandra Sen succeeded to the office. [2] Chandra Sen's conduct was not above suspicion, and his mind wavered between Shahu and Tāra Bāi. On account of these reasons Shahu thought it wise to leave Tāra Bāi in entire possession of the whole country to the south of the Waruna, and accordingly withdrew his troops from those parts by the end of the year 1708. [3]

Tāra Bāi was not slow to take advantage of this changed attitude of Shahu. When Shahu left Panhala and retired to Satara towards the end of 1708, she returned from Malwan and took possession of the fortress of Vishalgad. [4] Soon the country south of the Waruna passed into her hands, and following the advice of Ramchandra Pant

[1] Grant Duff, vol. i, p. 422. [2] *Marathi Riyasat*, vol. i, p. 20.
[3] *Ibid.* [4] *History of the Chiefs of Ichalkaranji* (Mahrathi), p. 23.

she desisted from transgressing the line of the Waruna and fixed her headquarters at Kolhapur. Next she turned to reckon with the Sawant of Wadi. He had betrayed her cause at a time when she was hard pressed by Shahu in the fortress of Rangna. Wadi is contiguous to Kolhapur, and she now deputed against him Ramchandra Pant, who operating in combination with the commandant of Vishalgad soon brought him to his knees, and extorted an agreeable treaty from him. Thus she established her power without injuring the interests of Shahu, who therefore did not like to molest her and let her have her own way. As a tangible proof of this intention, Shahu called back Parsoji Bhonsle, whom he had posted in the neighbourhood of Kolhapur to keep an eye on the movements of Tāra Bāi, about the beginning of 1709. It appeared as if amicable relations would now subsist between Shahu and Tāra Bāi.

The parties would have lived in peace had it not been for the arrival of Bahadur Shah in the Deccan towards the end of the year 1708. In the battle of Jajau, towards the end of June 1707, Azam Shah had been defeated and killed.[1] His elder brother Manzam, the victor at Jajau, had ascended the throne with the style of Bahadur Shah, early in july. Shahu had taken care to send his wakil or envoy, Raybhanji Bhonsle to the Court, and had paid his homage to the new Emperor. In return Bahdur Shah confirmed him in his position and elevated him to the Mansab of ten thousand.[2] Soon after his accession Bahdur Shah was called upon to conduct a campaign in Rajputana, and while still there, heard that Kambakhsh had assumed the signs of sovereignty.[3] In answer to a kind letter, by which Bahdur Shah relinquished the two Subas of Bijapur and Golkonda, and remitted the tribute to be paid to the imperial treasury, but commanded ' that the coins shall be struck and the Khutba read in our name '. Kambakhsh wrote a provoking reply.[4] Therefore Bahdur Shah closed his Rajputana campaign in haste and marched into the Deccan. On his way he summoned Shahu to his presence to render military service to him.[5] Shahu grateful for all the kind treatment that he had received in the imperial camp,

[1] *Later Mughals*, vol. i, pp. 22-32.

[2] Rajwade, vol. viii, Docv. s. 55 to 57: the date of these documents are wrong.

[3] *Later Mughals*, vol. i, pp. 45-48.

[4] Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, p. 406.

[5] Rajwade, vol. viii, Doc. 56, p. 78.

and eager to secure the favour of the new emperor, readily despatched an army under Nemaji Sindhia. Nemaji, writes Khafi Khan, was 'one of the most renowned of all the Na-Sardars (Maratha Sardars), 'and one of the greatest leaders of the accursed armies of the Dakhin. 'His plundering raids had extended as far as the province of Malwa.'[1] In spite of that, the accursed infidel rendered signal services to the Emperor in his contest against Kambakhsh. Kambakhsh with a mere wreck of an army met the imperialists, who had been reinforced by the Marathas, near Haiderabad, and was defeated and taken prisoner covered with wounds. This battle was fought on January 13, 1709, and Kambakhsh expired the next day.[2] Taking advantage of the emperor's victory in which the Marathas had acquitted themselves creditably Shahu sent his own wakil to the Emperor for the grant of 'the Sardeshmukhi and the Chauth of the six Subahs of the Dakhin on condition of restoring prosperity to the ruined land.'[3] The Emperor had no hesitation to grant his prayer, and indeed the Royal Framan had been written and was ready to be despatched when the arrival of Tāra Bāi's agent upset the whole plan of Shahu. Tāra Bāi through her agent disputed the right of Shahu to the Sardeshmukhi and Chauth of the Deccan, and pleaded for securing the Sardeshmukhi only for her son. Her pleadings would have fallen on deaf years, had it not been for the support of the Khan-i-Khanon, Minim Khan. Owing to a recent disagreement between Zulfika Khan and Munim Khan over the control of the civil and revenue affairs of the Deccan, and the constant jealousy for predominance in the court, they now took opposite sides,—Zulfikar Khan supporting the cause of Shahu, and Munim Khan that of Tāra Bāi, and 'a great contention arose upon the matter between the two ministers.'[4] Bahadur Shah could not decide either way. At last an interesting plan was put forward by Munim Khan. He suggested that Shahu and Tāra Bāi should fight out their cause, and whoever emerged successful should have the Sardeshmukhi rights.[5] The emperor accepted the plan, and returned the envoys to their principals. Thus 'the orders about the Sardeshmukhi remained inoperative,'[6] and the emperor left for the north crossing the Narmada on December 25, 1709.[7]

[1] Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, p. 408.
[2] *Later Mughals*, vol. i, p. 62.
[3] Khafi-Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, p. 408.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 409.
[5] *Marathi Riyasat*, vol. i, p. 24.
[6] Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, p. 409.
[7] *Later Mughals*, vol. i, p. 67.

This decision of the emperor again kindled the flames of the civil war between Shahu and Tāra Bāi. Bent upon establishing their claim, they now prepared to fight to a finish. The parties stooped to the meanest manœuvres to outwit each other. They tried to corrupt each other's officers, and to seize each other's forts and outposts. They eagerly courted the help of the avaricious chieftains, and made profuse promises for the grant of fresh lands and jagirs. Just as it emerged from the deadly effects of Aurangzeb's war, the country succumbed to these domestic troubles. The people still persisted in their lawless habits, and the partizans of Shahu and Tāra Bāi, conscious of their importance to their respective chiefs, found it most profitable to fish in troubled waters. Indeed the country was honeycombed with the unruly chieftains like Damaji Thorat, Krishna Rao Khataokar, Udaji Chouhan and others, who lived on organized plunder and spread terror through the land.[1] In such circumstances law and order can never thrive, and in such circumstances did Balaji Vishwanath find the country when he was selected by Shahu to help him out of the situation, and to save the country from anarchy. All the reliable and experienced men, who could do this, were dead by now. Dhanaji died in 1708, and Parsoji Bhonsle a year later. Therefore Shahu was forced to choose Balaji Vishwanath as his helper from amongst his other officers, and he more than amply justified the choice. Like all great men he made his mark in these times of difficulties, and rose to the most prominent position in the State. He restored order to Shahu's kingdom.

Amidst these troubles Shahu found some solace in marrying two more wives, Sakwar Bāi and Saguna Bāi. He must have been feeling dreadfully lonely, for he had left his family in the imperial court. It was again Balaji Vishwanath who, as shall be noticed later, restored his family to him. Therefore the first of the House of the Peshwas, was the first and best servant of the House of the Bhonsles.

[1] *Marathi Riyasat*, vol. i, p. 24 ; Rajwade, vol. iii, Doc. 343.

Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture

BY

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A little more than a year ago, on the invitation of the Syndicate of the Madras University I delivered the Sir S. Subrahmania Iyer lecture. I chose for the subject of that lecture the 'Stone Age in India' and gave an account of the life of the Indian people so far as it could be inferred from the relics of the Stone Age collected so far. Then I described that lecture as the first chapter of Indian History. My book on *Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras*, published more than fifteen years ago, is the third chapter of the History of India. The lectures I am going to deliver now,[1] will constitute the second chapter of this entrancing story of the continuous evolution of Indian life from its start when man first appeared on this globe. The proper history of India is not the story of the rise and fall of royal dynasties, nor that of frequent invasions and constant wars, but that of the steady growth of the people in social, moral, and religious ideals, and their ceaseless attempts to realize them in actual life. Hence the work of the historian of India, as I understand it, is chiefly concerned with the construction of pictures of how the people, age by age, ate and drank, how they dressed and decorated themselves, how they lived and loved, how they sang and danced, and how they worshipped their gods and solved the mysteries of human existence.

The Subject

To the good old Vedic word 'Ārya', European scholars have attached varying connotations. A hundred years ago comparative philology was in its childhood and anthropology in an embryonic condition, and German Sanskritists invaded the realms of anthropology and imposed on it the theory that a highly civilized Aryan race, evolved in the central Asian Highlands, flowed down in various streams to India, Persia, Armenia, and the different countries of Europe, fertilized those countries and sowed the seeds of civilization far and wide. Soon this theory was modified by transferring the original centre of the Aryan race to Europe. The patriotism of French and of German scholars impelled them to rival with each other and to conclude that the motherland of each of them alone could support the honour of being the first centre of Aryan culture. Others assigned this honour to Scandinavia, to Finland, to Russia. As seven cities claimed Homer dead, so several countries claimed to be the original land of the Āryans. Then the Italian Anthropologists came into the scene and proved that the Āryans who invaded Greece, Rome and other European countries were savages who remained in the Stone Age when their neighbours had reached the Bronze Age and that wherever they settled

[1] A course of lectures delivered at the University.

in old times they destroyed the pre-existing civilization, for instance, in Crete and Etruria. To-day anthropologists say that all the races of the world are more or less mixed and that there never was a distinctive, pure Āryan race. The benefit of the theory of a conquering, civilizing Aryan race is now reserved only for Ancient Indian History, text-books of which teach that the Vedic culture was developed outside India and was imported into that country, ready made, by conquering invaders. But a careful study of the Vedas, such as is found in my *Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras*, reveals the fact that Vedic culture is so redolent of the Indian soil and of the Indian atmosphere that the idea of the non-Indian origin of that culture is absurd. So we have got to restore, to the word 'Ārya', its original meaning found in the Vedas. The Rishis of the Vedas used the word 'Ārya' without any racial implications, but only in the sense of a people who followed the fire-cult as opposed to the fireless-cult. In the Vedic times two cults prevailed in India: (1) that followed by the Āryas to whom Sanskrit was the sacred tongue, the language of the Gods, who made offerings to the Gods through Agni, because they believed Agni to be the mouth of the Gods, and (2) that followed by the Dasyus whom the Āryas described as *anagni*, the fireless. Thus Ārya was always in India a cult name, the name of a method of worship, whose main characteristic was the lighting of the sacred fire. There were two forms of the Ārya fire cult—the *Grihya* and the *Śrauta*, the cult of one fire and the cult of three fires, the *Ekāgni* and *Tretāgni*, the simple domestic fire-rites still performed in the houses chiefly of the Brahmanas and the gorgeous sacrifices, chiefly conducted by *Rajas* in ancient India up to the age of the Armageddon on the plains of Kurukshetra, and now almost extinct. The Ārya rites, besides being characterized by the mediation of the Fire-God, also required the use of Sanskrit *mantras*, which were promulgated by the ancient seers called Rishis; the Dasyu rites had no use for fire or for Sanskrit *mantras* or for a privileged class of expert priests.

When did the Ārya rites rise? It is impossible to determine when the concept of fire as the mouth of the Gods was worked out or when the cult of one-fire began. But it is possible to find out when the three-fire cult commenced. The Vedas and the Purāṇas assert that Purūravas first lighted the triple fire in Pratishṭhāna (now Prayāga or Allahabad); and though many royal dynasties rose and fell during the Age of the Rishis, we learn from Pargiter's *Studies of the Traditional History of Ancient India* that more than a hundred kings of one dynasty in particular reigned from the time of Purūravas down to the middle of the first millennium before the Christian era. Disregarding the Paurāṇika claim of incredibily long reigns for some of the kings of this dynasty and allowing a modest average of twenty-five years to each of them, we reach the very probable conclusion that the three-fire cult and the promulgation by the Rishis of the associated Vedic *mantras* on a large scale began about 3000 B.C. Now from the Vedic *mantras* we learn that there was intimate commercial intercourse, though there were cult rivalries, between Southern and Northern India, from the beginning of the age of the Rishis. South Indian articles like pearl, mother of pearl, scented woods, elephants, gold, the pea-fowl, etc., were used in the land of the Āryas (Āryāvartta); a very careful study of these Vedic *mantras* also reveals that the languages of South and

North India began to influence each other, however faintly, from the beginning of the Vedic Age. An analysis of the information contained in these *mantras* also discovers the fact that the Āryas and the Dasyus, though violently opposed to each other in the cults they followed, had attained to absolutely the same level of general culture; except in the matter of religion and literature, they lived the same kind of life; they ate the same food, wore the same kind of clothes, had the same amusements, the same customs, manners, etc., and followed the same methods of making love and war.

Is there any way of constructing a picture of the life of any Indian people before the rise of the Ārya cult 5,000 years ago? The Tamils were the most highly cultured of the people of India before the age of the Rishis and it is proposed here to investigate the culture which the ancient Tamils attained to in South India, before the gorgeous three-fire Ārya rites spread, and the associated Vedic literature was promulgated, in the valleys of the Sindhu and the Gaṅgā.

Three Lines of Evidence

There are three lines of evidence which can be utilized for constructing a picture of the life of the ancient Tamils before the rise of the Ārya triple-fire cult in India, north of the Vindhyas. The first source of information regarding ancient South Indian life is the catalogue of prehistoric antiquities of South India, of artefacts, discovered by geologists and others, belonging to the Neolithic and early Iron Ages and deposited in the various museums of India. The study of these artefacts has to be supplemented by a careful examination of the sites whence these relics of ancient Indian man have been derived and which represent the settlements of Neolithic and early Iron Age men. Besides a careful study of ancient settlements the investigator ought also to observe the sites of ancient graveyards and conduct excavations of Neolithic and early Iron Age graves in the Tamil country before he can understand their implications with regard to the lives led by the ancient Tamils. The second line of evidence is furnished by a study of the words which the Tamil language possessed before it came in any kind of contact with Sanskrit, the sacred language of the Āryas. Nouns and verbs constitute the trunk of a language and the objects and actions which nouns and verbs refer to must have been possessed by or known to the speakers of a language before they could use those essential parts of speech in their talk. If we could make up a list of the nouns and verbs which, we are certain, belonged to the earliest stratum of the language of a people, we may infer from it what objects they handled or had observed, what actions they were able to perform, in other words, what was the nature of the life that they lived, what was the general culture they had attained to. This is the main object of this study. Our third line of evidence is the early literature of the Tamil people. The existing specimens of this literature no doubt belong to times later than what we are investigating. But we are certain that the even tenor of the life of the people in that ancient epoch was not disturbed by catastrophic changes; therefore, as the life of the people mirrored in the early literature, which we now possess is,

but an unbroken continuation of that of the earlier epoch, the evidence of that literature can be used to confirm the conclusions reached by the use of the other two lines of evidence. It is proposed in this study to construct a picture of the culture of Tamils five thousand years ago by utilizing these sources of information.

The Evening of the Lithic Epoch

An account of the life of the South Indians of very ancient times derived from a study of the artefacts of the stone ages has been given by me in my *Stone Age in India*. The life of the marauder, of the hunter and the worker in bamboo, of the cowherd and the shepherd, of the farmer and the weaver, and of the fisherman, the salt-scraper and the sailor, had all been evolved amongst them while yet in the New Stone Age, as is proved by the fact that they made polished stone tools necessary for the pursuits of the different means of livelihood associated with these forms of ancient culture. All these different pursuits existed at the same time, each in the region suited to it.

The life of the people at the end of the lithic times may yet be found in the interior of the Tamil land. There still exist in the heart of the Tamil country hamlets and villages where the ubiquitous Telugu Komaṭi is not found, where the ministrations of the all-pervasive Brāhmaṇa do not exist, and where even the *Kabandha* arm of British trade has not introduced kerosene oil and the safety match, called by the people *maṇṇeṇṇey*,[1] earth-oil and the fire-stick, *tīkkuchchi*,[2] where the whistle of the steam-engine and the toot of the motor horn has not yet been heard, and if you wipe off from the picture of the life of the people there the part played by iron tools, you can see with your eyes the slow placid life of the stone-age man exactly as it was in ten thousand B.C. Even in other parts of the country, which have participated in the elevation of culture due to the later discovery of iron, to the spread of the Ārya culture by the Brāhmaṇas, and to the development of internal trade during the long ages when there were numerous shufflings of dynasties of Indian Rajas and of foreign trade after European ships pierced the extensive sea-wall of Bhāratavarṣha, the greater part of the life of the people is but the life of the stone-age man, exactly as it was when Indian man was in the lithic epoch of culture.

The Dawn of the Iron Age

About seven thousand years ago, began the Iron Age in India. I assign a greater antiquity to the Iron Age in India than most scholars are inclined to admit, because the Vedic culture which began at least five thousand years ago was a culture of an advanced iron age. Prior to it flourished the cultures revealed by the excavations at Ādichchanallūr in the Tinnevelly District and Moheñjo Daro and Harappa in the Indus valley. Moreover I shall presently prove that the Iron Age began when Tamil had not come in any kind of contact with Sanskrit,

[1] மண்ணெண்ணெய். [2] தீக்குச்சி.

the linguistic vehicle of Vedic culture. Hence two thousand years before Pūrūravas lighted the triple-fire at Pratishṭhāna is not at all an exaggerated estimate of the length of the Pre-Vedic Iron Age in ancient India.

In India the Stone Age quietly passed into the Iron Age. In other parts of the world, the Stone Age was followed by the Copper Age, in which people made their tools (and ornaments) of copper and they discovered methods of hardening copper and made copper knives with edges as sharp as steel ones, an art which is now forgotten. The Copper Age was soon followed by the Bronze Age, in which they learnt to make an alloy of copper and tin, which was very much harder than copper. But in South India as in China, no brief Copper Age or long Bronze Age intervened between the Neolithic Age and that of Iron. 'Professor Growland, F.R.S., the great metallurgist and the successful explorer, archæologically, of the Japanese Islands, has expressed the idea that the smelting of iron may have been hit upon by accident while experiments were being made. This lucky accident may well have happened in India, where the iron industry is one of great antiquity (far greater indeed than in Europe, e.g., at Hallstat or Le Tené) and iron ores occur so largely.' [1] An examination of several Neolithic sites proves that the passage from the Lithic to the Iron Age was not catastrophic but that the two ages overlapped everywhere. Stone tools continued to be used long after Iron tools were made, more especially on ceremonial occasions, for the stone tool being the older one, was sacrosanct and alone possessed ceremonial purity, and hence stone tools occur along with iron ones in the graves of the early Iron Age.

Mr. Vincent A. Smith, the historian of India, an expert numismatist and not primarily an investigator of pre-historic antiquities and one totally ignorant of South Indian life or history and of early South Indian artefacts, assumes without a shadow of proof that iron was 'utilized in Northern India from at least 1000 B.C.', and that 'in Southern India the discovery or introduction of iron may have occurred much later and quite independently.'[2] Here are two gratuitous assumptions. The Vedic culture which was developed in India at least before 3000 B.C., was an Iron Age culture. The iron (*āyasī*) castles, mythological or actual, spoken of in the Vedic *mantras* and the distinct reference to *śyāmamayas*,[3] black metal, are enough to prove this. So far as South India is concerned, Foote, who has examined most South Indian pre-historic sites so far known, has concluded that the antiquity of the iron industry of India is far greater than in Europe; and every one who has opened graves of the later Stone Age and the earlier Iron Age and studied the pottery associated with stone and iron tools and has also carefully examined settlements of those ancient times can easily satisfy himself that iron was discovered and worked in South India many millenniums before the beginnings of the Christian era. Soon after iron was discovered, South Indians learned to isolate from their ores gold, silver and copper and make ornaments and utensils of these metals. They also arrived at the general idea of metal as a material for household utensils in addition to stone and

[1] Foote, *Prehistoric Antiquities*, p. 25. [2] *Oxford History of India*, p. 4.
[3] *Atharva Veda*, xi. 3, 7.

wood previously used. They gave to metal the name of *pon*,[1] the lustrous material, from *pol* [2] to shine. Gold was also called *pon*, the metal *par excellence*, as well as *taṅgam*,[3] the superior metal, *uyarnda pon*,[4] the superior (ever clean) metal. Iron was *irumbu*,[5] the dark metal, from *ir*,[6] dark (whence *iravu*,[7] *irā*,[8] night, *iruḷ*,[9] *iruṭṭu*,[10] *iruṭchi*,[11] darkness, *irundai*,[12] charcoal). Probably *irumu*[13] was the earlier form of Telugu *inumu*. Iron was also called *karumbon*,[14] meaning the black metal. Silver was *veḷḷi*,[15] the white metal, and copper *śembu*,[16] the red metal. That these four metals were alone known to ancient Tamil India and that tin, lead, and zinc were not known is proved by the fact that the Tamil names of these latter have been borrowed from Sanskrit. Thus tin is *tagaram*,[17] lead is *īyam*[18] (from Sanskrit *sīsam*, through Prakrit), and Zinc is *tuttam*[19] (whence the English word *tutty*, polishing powder) or *nāgam*.[20] Tin and lead are also respectively called *veḷḷīyam*,[21] and *kārīyam*,[22] white and black *īyam*,[23] under the mistaken idea that they were black and white varieties of the same metal. Brass, an alloy of copper and zinc, was also borrowed from Aryan India, its name *pittaḷai* [24] being borrowed from the Northern dialects. Bronze, an alloy of copper and tin, was not unknown in ancient Tamil India, for a few bronze implements and ornaments have been discovered in early Iron Age graves ; one such, a tiny *kūja* [25] (with its mouth so small that the little finger could not be squeezed into it). I recovered from an ancient grave, associated with a bill-hook, whose peculiar shape, similar to that of the weapon of the village gods, betokened its great age ; and this vessel was made of an alloy of copper and tin, which, on chemical analysis, was found to be remarkably free from impurities. The Bronze Age in Europe extended over long centuries ; but there was no necessity in South India for a Bronze Age, because the people had discovered iron before bronze and iron is a much better material for tools than bronze. The goldsmiths of India have used bronze only for polishing hammers and for stamps and dies, because these have to be made of a material both hard and incapable of being covered with rust, which would deteriorate the faces of polishing-hammers and destroy the delicate lines of the designs incorporated in stamps, dies, and moulds. Otherwise iron alone was the material used for tools in South India throughout the ages. Bronze was called in ancient Tamil *uṟai*,[26] but the fact that more bronze was imported from Northern India than was made in Southern India, is proved by the use of the words *kañjīyam*,[27] *kāñjiyam*,[28] from Sanskrit *kāmsyam*, and *tāram*,[29] from Sanskrit *tāra*, radiant, shining, as well as the artificial compound words *veṅgalam*,[30] the white vessel, Malayalam *veḷḷōḍu*,[31] the white shell. Bronze was worked to some extent in South India, but 'the numerous bronze objects, many of which are of great beauty from the cemeteries of the South, do not belong to an age characterized by the sole use of that alloy.'[32]

[1] பொன். [2] பொல். [3] தங்கம். [4] உயர்ந்தபொன். [5] இரும்பு. [6] இர். [7] இரவு. [8] இரா. [9] இருள். [10] இருட்டு. [11] இருட்சி. [12] இருந்தை. [13] இருமு [14] கரும்பொன். [15] வெள்ளி. [16] செம்பு. [17] தகரம். [18] ஈயம். [19] துத்தம். [20] நாகம். [21] வெள்ளீயம். [22] காரீயம். [23] ஈயம். [24] பித்தளை. [25] கூஜா. [26] உறை. [27] கஞ்சியம். [28] காஞ்சியம். [29] தாரம். [30] வெண்கலம். [31] வெள்ளோடு.

[32] J. Coggin Brown, *Cat. of Prehistoric Antiquities in the Indian Museum*, p. 8. As Foote, too, remarks, 'as it fell out, however, the discovery of the alloy [bronze] was not made in India till after the art of iron-smelting had been acquired and iron weapons and tools had come largely in use.' *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

THE COPPER AGE IN NORTH INDIA

There is some evidence that there was a copper age in some parts of Northern India, which preceded the iron age there. Implements composed of practically pure copper have been found at several sites in Northern India, chiefly in the Upper Ganges Valley. Besides, at Gungeriah in the Balaghat District of the Central Provinces has been found a hoard, which 'according to Sir John Evans . . . is the most important discovery of instruments of copper yet recorded in the old world. In 1870 no less than 424 hammered copper implements, made of practically pure metal, weighing collectively 829 pounds, and 102 thin silver plates were discovered there. The copper implements are extremely varied in form, principally consisting of flat celts of many different shapes. There are also many long crowbar-like instruments with an expanded lunette-shaped chisel edge at the lower end, which may be designated as 'bar-celts'. The silver objects are all laminæ about the thickness of ordinary paper, comprising two classes, viz., circular disks and 'bull's' heads. The Gungeria deposits although found south of the Narbada River, is clearly to be associated by reason of its contents with Northern India.'[1] The Upper Ganges Valley was the home of the Arya cult in ancient days. Hence copper became a holy metal in that cult; copper knives were used in some sacramental acts, e.g., marking cattle's ears,[2] hence copper vessels to Brahmanas even to-day possess ceremonial purity which bronze and iron vessels do not possess and are used for holding consecrated water during ceremonial worship. Not so outside the Arya cult, where copper is not considered holier than iron, for it was not discovered earlier than the black metal in South India.

IRON AGE ANTIQUITIES

Tools of various shapes have been recovered from the graves of this period. From one site on the Shevaroys in the Salem District Foote got 'a large axe, a very fine bill-hook of large size with its handle in one piece, a sharp sword and two javelin heads made with tangs instead of sockets.'[3] From another site were got 'axe-heads, spear heads and fragments of blades of large knives or small swords. The iron axe-heads had a broad butt unlike a very good one (found in another place, which had) a very taper butt end expanding into a rather leaf-shaped blade. The method of fastening the iron axe-heads to their helves would seem to have been that adopted nowadays or certainly not very long ago, namely, of inserting the butt-end of the axe-head into a cleft in a piece of hard wood with a couple of rings and a wedge to tighten the hold of the helve. The rings are placed on either side of the butt end, and the wedge is driven tightly through the ring spaces and prevents the axe-head from slipping; but the lower end also prevents the cleft in the helve from extending downwards.'[4] The shapes of the bill-hooks and some other tools of the

[1] J. Coggin Brown, *op. cit.* p. 10.
[2] *Lohita Svadhiti, Ath. Ved.*, vi. 141, 2.
[3] Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 62.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 63.. Cf. the way in which the blades of spades, *maṇveṭṭi*, are furnished with handles now.

early Iron Age were exactly like those of the implements now in the hands of the village gods, as I found from a specimen obtained from a grave in the Pudukotta territory. While the shapes of tools used for secular purposes have changed with time on account of changes of fashion or other causes, the gods have stuck to the oldest fashions of tools.

Pre-historical iron tools have not been found in sufficiently large numbers considering the wide spread of iron manufacture in ancient India; for iron objects of all kinds are with great ease 'utterly destroyed and lost by oxidation when exposed to damp, yet, from the very durable character of the pottery the iron age people produced and the vast quantity of it they left, it is evident that in a large number of cases they must have occupied the old neolithic settlements; and the celts and other stone implements are now mixed up with the highly polished and brightly coloured sherds of the later-aged earthernware. Except in a very few cases the dull-coloured and rough surfaced truly (or rather early) neolithic sherds occur but very sparingly'.[1] Indian iron age pottery was so good that Foote remarks that the people who could make such high class pottery . . . must have attained a considerable degree of civilization.[2] Foote discovered at Maski near Raichur, in the Hyderabad State, 'the right jamb of the door of a small hut-urn, the prototype of the hut urns now met with in various parts of the country, some of which show remarkable resemblance to the same objects of Western classical antiquity, such as were found under the volcanic tufa near the Alban Lakes to the South of Rome. They were in some cases filled with the ashes of the dead after cremation, which were introduced by a little front door. The door was secured in place by means of a rope passing through two rings at its sides and tied round it. The whole resembled in shape a cottage with vaulted roof'.[3] The little door of another little hut-urn found by Foote 'had no hinges but was kept closed by two rude bolts working through flattish rings, on either side of the door, into a wider ring in the centre of it. . . . One in the British Museum . . . is filled with the ashes of the dead, which were introduced by a little door. This door was secured by a cord passing through two rings at its sides and tied round the vase. The cover or roof is vaulted and apparently intended to represent the beams of a house or cottage. The exterior had been ornamented with a meander of white paint, traces of which remain. The ashes were placed inside a large, two-handled vase which protected them from the superincumbent mass. They have no glaze upon their surface but a polish produced by friction.'[4] But these hut-urns probably belonged to a late age, when on account of the influence of the fire-cult, cremation had been adopted in the place of the more ancient custom of burial.

[1] Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 24. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

'The true iron-age vessel (pottery) is distinguished by showing rich colours and highly polished surfaces with, in some cases, elaborate and artistic mouldings.' Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 25; but Indian artists even of the ancient days avoided painting human figures, such as were 'admirably done by the Greek vase painters'. (*Ibid.*, p. 34.) The early Indian had generally a prejudice against portrait-painting or reproducing the figures of kings on coins.

[3] Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 35. Not only urns but temples also were shaped like huts.

[4] Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

After describing the specimens of pottery found on the left bank of the Cauvery at the ferry at Lakshmanapuram, six or seven miles above the Narsipur Sangam (in Mysore), Foote remarks, 'the people that made the Lakshmanapuram settlement must have been very advanced to have used so varied a set of crockery.'[1] On the French Rocks, not far from Mysore City, Foote found a chatty with the *swastika* emblem. In another place he found 'a perforated disc made out of a piece of dark brown pottery which has been well ground round its periphery and has had a hole equally well-drilled through its centre.'[2] Apparently it was a spindle whorl. East of the big tank at Srinivasapur in the Kolar Taluk, 'several acres of ground are covered with much comminuted earthenware lying in a thin layer. The prevailing colour of the sherds is red but entirely black occurs also and some specimens are brown and grey, but very few of the latter are met with. The vessels were polished, or smooth, or rough, and a great number of them richly decorated with impressed patterns of pinnate or bipinnate fronds combined with linear bands, raised or sunk. Others have fillets of dots or pillets or trellis work painted on the sides. In hardly any case is a pattern produced in duplicate and there is also great variety in the shapes of the lips of the different vessels as well as in their sizes. The fragments are referable to a considerable number of distinct forms as *lotas*, vessels with spouts, vessels with three or four legs, *chattis*, melon-shaped bowls, wide-mouthed bowls, vases, necks and feet of vases, lids and stoppers various in shape, also pottery discs for playing games and perforated discs of uncertain purpose. Half a dozen pieces of broken bangles of chank shell occurred scattered about in the layer of potsherds.'[3]

Early Iron Age Graves

At Ādichchanallūr, two miles west of Srīvaikuṇṭam in the Tinnevelly District there is 'an inexhaustible field of archaeological research of the most valuable description'.[4] The burial site here extends over a hundred acres of land. It is a long piece of high ground on the south bank of the Tāmraparṇi. The site, like all sepulchral sites, is higher than the surrounding country and is rocky or waste land unsuited for cultivation. 'About the centre of the ground some three feet of surface soil is composed of gravel, with decomposed quartz rock below. The rock has been hollowed out for the urns, with a separate cavity for each of them. In this burial ground the objects were found both inside and outside large urns of a pyriform shape. The urns were at an average distance of about six feet apart and at from three to twelve feet or more below the surface. Some were found placed over other ones. An idea of the deposits which exist in the whole area may thus be obtained, as an acre probably holds over a thousand urns. This is the most extensive and important pre-historic burial place as

[1] Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 72. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 73. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 75.
[4] All the quotations in this paragraph are from Rea's *Catalogue of the Prehistoric Antiquities* of the place.

yet known in Southern India.' In the graves have been found articles of gold, bronze and iron and pottery. Among them were diadems of gold of various sizes and oval shape. 'Some have a strip extending beyond the two extremities with a small hole for a wire or string at each end. They are thin plates ornamented with triangular and linear dotted design. Of iron, many implements were found (Mr. Rea's list of them numbers 3,940), always placed point downwards, as if they had been thrust into the surrounding earth by the attendant mourners. There are no implements or weapons in bronze, all articles in this metal being vessels of varied shape, personal ornaments such as rings, bangles and bracelets, or ornaments which have been attached to the bases and lids of vases, such as buffaloes with wide curved horns. The domestic animals represented in bronze are the buffalo, goat or sheep and cock; and the wild animals are the tiger, antelope and elephant. There are also representations of flying birds. There are sieves in bronze in the form of perforated cups fitted into small basins, the metal of these cups being extremely thin, and the basins only a little thicker. The perforations in the cup are in the form of dots arranged in a variety of designs, chiefly concentric circles around the bottom, and concentric semi-circles sometimes interlying around the rim.' There is no evidence of cremation at the place; this assures the great antiquity of the remains, for the custom of burning corpses spread in Southern India along with the Aryan cult from North India.

In the Pudukottah territory I have found rows of early iron age graves several miles long. The one near the village of Annavāśal, ten miles from Pudukottah, is the most notable of these burial sites. The graves are of oblong shape, each oblong consisting of a double square, the side of the square being two cubits in length. It is lined throughout with well-polished stone slabs and the two compartments are separated by another similar slab forming a wall between the two. In one of the squares was probably buried in an urn a chieftain or other ancient nobleman and in the other his wife. There is a circular hole in the middle of the slab separating the compartments, probably to allow the ghosts of the buried persons to communicate with each other. In a niche in the recess in each compartment, a stone lamp was placed which was probably lighted when the person was let into the grave. Inside the urns, as in the graves of the previous age, were placed the ornaments and implements of the dead person, and a tray full of food-stuff. The tools found in these graves are both of stone and iron, proving that the older stone tools continued to be used, more especially, for religious purposes.

A new fashion of tombs called megalithic, because they were built of big blocks of stone, was introduced in the end of the neolithic or the beginning of the iron age. Modern anthropologists are of opinion that the fashion began in the Nile Valley and spread in the wake of an ancient Egyptian sun cult. This shows that there was much intercourse, cultural and commercial, between ancient India and Egypt.

Mr. Longhurst gives the following description of a megalithic tomb he found in Gajjalakonda, in Kurnul District. 'The tomb consists of a large rectangular chamber about 10 feet in length, 5½ feet in width and 7 feet in depth with a small entrance passage on the south side, 4½ feet in length, 1½ feet in width, and 3 feet high. The sides

and floor of the tomb and entrance passage are walled in and flagged with massive slabs of cut stone which are firmly imbedded in the ground in an upright position and help to carry the heavy slabs above forming the roof over the tomb.'[1]

The archæologists' spade has recently brought to light two early copper age settlements of the Sindhu Valley, of more than six thousand years ago,—those of Harappa and Moheñjo Daro. The chief difference between these and the South Indian iron age sites is that in these there are relics of houses built of brick. Brick was used in North India millenniums before it was used in South India, for here very hard wood fit for house-building was available in large quantities till about a thousand years ago. The existence of these two seats of high civilization in the valley of Sindhu disproves conclusively the dream of Sanskrit scholars that Aryan immigrants with their wives and children and with their Lares and Penates, and a ready made civilization, manufactured outside India, quietly occupied the Panjab about 3000 B.C. and, when these Aryan settlers appeared there, the original dwellers of the region vanished like the mist before the rising sun and let the foreign invaders people the Punjab with a pure Aryan race, possessing the Aryan nose and the Aryan cephalic index, as the current theory maintains. These finds also prove that, contrary to the opinion of Mr. J. Coggin Brown, in the neolithic as well as in the early metal age, there was a uniform degree of civilization attained throughout India. The advances to higher and higher civilization were as even as it was possible to be in a vast country like India.

Thus the evidence accumulated by the investigators of prehistoric antiquities of India proves that even before the spread of the Ārya fire-cuilt in Northern India, the people had reached a stage of culture indistinguishable from that which they occupy to-day except for the changes introduced by the cotton and metal manufatcures of Western Europe during the last hundred years. The rise of the Ārya fire-cult did not alter the stage of culture reached by the people, for we find from the study of the Vedic *mantras* that there was no 'difference of culture between the Ārya and the Dasyu; according to the Hymns composed for performing the Ārya rites, the Dasyus lived in 'cities [2] and under kings the names of many of whom are mentioned. They possessed 'accumulated wealth' [3] in the form of cows, horses and chariots[4] which though kept in 'hundred-gated' cities [5] Indra seized and gave away to his worshippers, the Āryas.[6] The Dasyus were wealthy [7] and owned property 'in the plains and on the hills.' [8] They were 'adorned with their array of gold and jewels.' [9] They owned many castles.[10] The Dasyu demons and the Ārya gods alike lived in gold, silver and iron castles.[11] Indra overthrew for his worshipper, Divodāsa, frequently mentioned in the hymns, a hundred stone castles[12] of the Dasyus. Agni worshipped by the Ārya, gleaming in

[1] *Annual Report of the Archæological Dept., Southern Circle, Madras, for 1914-15, p.* 40.

[2] R. V. i. 53. 8, i. 103. 3. [3] R. V. viii. 40. 6. [4] R. V. ii. 15. 4.
[5] R. V. x. 99. 3 [6] R. V. i. 176. 4. [7] R. V. i. 33. 4.
[8] R. V. x 69. 6. [9] R. V. i. 33. 8. [10] R. V. i. 33. 13, viii. 17. 14.
[11] S.Y.S. vi. 23, A. V. v. 28. 9. R. V. ii. 20. 8. [12] R. V. iv. 30. 20.

front of him, tore and burnt the cities of the fireless Dasyus. Bṛhaspati broke the stone prisons in which they kept the cattle raided from the Āryas.[2] The Dasyus owned chariots and used them in war like the Āryas [3] and had the same weapons as the Aryas. The distinction indicated by 'Ārya' and 'Dasyu' was purely a difference of cult and not of race or culture.[4]

Linguistic Evidence

We now come to another fruitful source of information, the chief means of the study of the subject, i.e., 'pure Tamil words', those belonging to the earliest stratum of the Tamil language, those that were used by the Tamil people before they came in any kind of contact with the users of Sanskrit or with the cult associated with that language. The nouns and verbs belonging to this ancient stratum of the Tamil language indicate objects and actions with which the Tamil people were familiar in that ancient epoch. These 'pure' Tamil words are called *tanittamiḻ moḻigaḷ*,[5] words untouched by foreign influence; they were used by the Tamils to serve the needs of the culture which they had evolved for themselves before they were influenced by any other people in the world. This method of inferring the culture of a people from a study of the words peculiar to them was worked by Schräder, a generation ago, in his *Pre-Historic Antiquities of the Aryan People*; but Schräder's work suffered from three disabilities: (1) The baseless dream of a homogeneous Aryan race radiating in all directions from a central focus and carrying the torch of civilization to the countries of Western Asia and Europe, has dissolved in the light of Anthropological knowledge. (2) The people that carried the Indo-European dialects and imposed them in those countries have been proved to be a mixture of several tribes; moreover these dialects in their wanderings picked up so many words from other dialects that the words common to all the Indo-European dialects are few. (3) Even these few have undergone many phonetic changes; the laws governing these changes are being worked out so very slowly that many equations of the early scholars, e.g., that of Greek *Ouranos* with Indian *Varuṇa*, have become discredited by later research. On account of these reasons several conclusions of Schräder have had to be given up by later scholars. But the method of investigation pursued by Schräder is sound and can very well be applied to Tamil. This language, as its speakers have always claimed to be, is indigenous to South India, and grew there undisturbed by foreign languages till it reached a high stage of literary development. The Tamil race has been a homogeneous one since the Stone Age. The first few foreign students of the Tamil language indulged in a wild speculation that the Tamil language and its ancient speakers entered India from Central Asia, simply because a few Brähui words were found to appear to be allied to Tamil. This is far too slender a basis for concluding that Tamil was originally a non-Indian language. Scholars of two generations ago were fond of wantonly dragging

[1] R. V. vii. 5.3. [2] R. V. iv. 28.5; x. 67.3. [3] R. V. viii. 24.27; iii. 30.5; ii. 15.4.

[4] P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Life in Ancient India in the age of the Mantras*, p.13.

[5] தனித்தமிழ்மொழிகள்.

imaginary ancient races on the map of the world, as easily as pawns are moved on a chess-board, without regard for physiographic difficulties.[1] Moreover, they were ignorant of the fact that the extensive and well-developed Stone Age culture of ancient South India, enshrined in the earliest stratum of Tamil, is ample proof that the Tamils inhabited South India from time immemorial.

METHOD OF INVESTIGATION

It is the case with Tamil, as with most other languages, that there are two stages in the formation of words, an unconscious and a conscious one. When the science of comparative philology was born, about a hundred years ago, it was imagined that at first men invented and spoke only roots and, later, some of the roots became worn out into prefixes and suffixes, prepositions and postpositions, and a German philologist had the hardihood to write Aesop's Fables in an imaginary Indo-Germanic root-language, a kind of ghostly *Ursprache*, which never existed. The science of linguistics has got over this crude supposition. All students of language now recognize that it is as absurd to think that primitive man met in a solemn dumb conclave and invented a series of roots, as it is to assume with Rousseau, that the savage started gregarious life with a 'social contract'. The process of language-formation and language-growth is mostly unconscious; and if a number of words of allied meaning are also etymologically allied, if primitive man used the same stem for expressing ideas which were fundamentally identical, the process was more or less unconscious. Thus in Tamil, *var* is the common element of a series of words: *varappu*[2] meaning limit, border, wall, dike or ridge round a ploughed field to retain water; *varambu*,[3] dam, way, limit, rule; *vari*,[4] line, row; *variśai*,[5] order, regularity, row; *varichchal*,[6] dart, surgeon's probe, *varivadiveḻuttu*,[7] written-letter, *eḻuttu*,[8] letter, the ultimate unit of language, being conceived as existing in two forms, the spoken form and the written form,[9] *varivari*[10] (*taṇṇīrviṭṭān*),[11] *Asparagus racemosus*, a linear-leaved shrub, *varuḍal*,[12] stroking, thrumming a stringed (musical) instrument, *varai*,[13] measure, limit, shore, ridge, hill, the straight bamboo, write, draw, *varaivu*,[14] measure, limit, bound, separation. The implication of these facts is not that the

[1]As Mr. G. Elliot Smith has remarked (*vide Nature* January 1, 1927, p. 21) 'in ethnology emotion still counts for more than reason. The dominating principle is still to force the evidence into conformity with certain catch-phrases from which a long line of philosophers have been striving to rescue the study of mankind and make a real science of it.'

[2]வரப்பு. [3]வரம்பு. [4]வரி. [5]வரிசை. [6]வரிச்சல். [7]வரிவடிவெழுத்து. [8]எழுத்து.

[9]In this connection may be remembered Pavanandi's definition:

மொழிமுதற் காரண மாமணுத் திரளொலி எழுத்து.

eḻuttu, the sound, formed by a group of atoms, which is the first cause of words. *Nannūl*, 58. Eḻuttu has two manifest forms, the spoken and the written.

[10]வரிவரி. [11]தண்ணீர்விட்டான். [12]வருடல்.

[13] The word *varai*, வரை. appears in Telugu as *vrāyi*, by a process of oscillation of accent from the first syllable to the second syllable, of the consequent degeneration of the vowel of the first syllable, and the return of the accent to the new first syllable. This oscillation explains the formation from Tamil *avan* of *vān*, *vāṇḍu*, *vāḍu*, from Tamil *maram* of *mrānu*, and hundreds of other similar formations.

[14]வரைவு.

South Indian man, when he was still dumb, arrived at the highly abstract concept of a limit marked by a straight line by a mysterious mental process unassisted by language, whereas modern man with his highly developed intelligence cannot engage himself in abstract thought without the help of words, that the primitive Tamil then invented the root *var* to express this concept, and later, formed the above words by ringing changes on the root. Language formation and linguistic growth and change are semiconscious or rather unconscious mental processes like the song of the lark or the gambol of the kid. It was when a people first came in intimate contact with a language other than their own and compared the two and noticed differences in the structure of words, of phrases and of sentences between the two languages, that they began to study their own language and the science of grammar was born. After such a contact with a foreign language, languages enter on a conscious stage of growth. Thus the words of a language belong to two stages of the growth of that language. (1) An early unconscious stage of word-invention, during the period when the language has not yet come into contact with a foreign language. Nouns belonging to this stage are called in Tamil grammar *iḍukuṟippeyar*,[1] symbol-names, names given to things as a mere mark, a symbol, for some reason not known. These words are the oldest words of any language. (2) A later conscious stage of word-making. Words belonging to this stage are compounds consciously invented by combining *iḍukuṟi* words of one's language into new combinations; thus, when the Tamils wanted a word for 'brick', which was used as a material for house-building only in a very late stage of South Indian history, that after contact with Sanskrit, they invented two compound words, (*a*) *śuḍumaṇ*,[2] burnt clay. (*b*) *śeṅgal*,[3] red stone. Of these, the first word did not appeal to the Tamil people and died an early death; the second has stuck on to the language. Similarly in our own days, we have invented compounds like *iruppuppādai*,[4] the railroad, *minsāram*,[5] electricity, etc. Such names are named by Tamil grammarians as *kāraṇappeyar*,[6] casual names, because the reason why the names were given to the objects is evident.[7] These two classes of names, *iḍukuṟippeyar* and *kāraṇappeyar* are called in Sanskrit *Rūḍhi* and *Yoga*, original and derived. Or the speakers of a language when they borrow a thing from a foreign people, may borrow also its foreign name and may partially or totally remould it in accordance with the phonetic framework of the mother-tongue. Thus the Tamils of an earlier epoch borrowed the Sanskrit word *iṣhṭikā*, brick, and turned into *iṣhṭigai*,[8] or *iṭṭigai*.[9] Often they absorbed the foreign word as it was, e.g., *āṇavamalam*,[10] *śaṣhṭi*,[11] etc. The former are called by Sanskritists, *tadbhava*, and the latter *tatsama*. We, too, nowadays, get both *tadbhava* and *tatsama* words from English. Thus we speak of *tē*[12] and also *tea*, of *maistri* and *master*, etc.

[1] இடுகுறிப்பெயர். [2] சுடுமண். [3] செங்கல். [4] இருப்புப்பாதை. [5] மின்சாரம். [6] காரணப்பெயர்.

[7] Some Tamil grammarians make a further distinction between *kāraṇappeyar* and *kāraṇa iḍukuṟippeyar*; but this distinction does not affect the argument developed here and so need not be noticed. Others would regard verbs turned into names as *kāraṇappeyar*, e.g. *kal*, stone, from verb *kal*, to dig, etc., but this refinement, too, will not affect our argument, for the root is an *iḍukuṟi*.

[8] இஷ்டிகை. [9] இட்டிகை. [10] ஆணவமலம். [11] சஷ்டி. [12] தே.

Of these two kinds of words, *iḍukuṟippeyar* and *kāraṇappeyar*, the first alone will serve the purpose of this enquiry. They alone come down from the far off ages when the Tamil language was born, when objects and actions were named unconsciously or semiconsciously.

Other words will not serve our purpose. Modern Tamil vocabulary includes words borrowed from English, French, Dutch, Portuguese, Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit and Prakrit. Of the loan-words from Sanskrit, some have been borrowed wantonly, i.e., when there are many Tamil words to express the ideas; this was partly due to Brāhmaṇas whose familiarity with Sanskrit made them import such words in their Tamil speech and writing. This extensive borrowing was also due to the necessities of rhyme and assonance, a great characteristic of Tamil poetry. Loan-words began to enter Tamil not before 1000 B.C. and cannot be of any use in investigating the life of the Tamils before they came into contact with other nationalities, except that words not wantonly borrowed may be used as negative evidence to show what the Tamils were not acquainted with before such borrowing. But the date of these borrowings cannot be fixed. So even this negative evidence is not of much use. Similarly what are called *kāraṇappeyar*, words deliberately invented to name things and express ideas for which there were no *iḍukuṟippeyar*, cannot also serve our purpose, for such casual names can be invented at any stage of a language and cannot be proved to have existed or to have not existed at any particular period of time.

Hence *iḍukuṟi* names alone will be used in this enquiry. Such words in Tamil are practically root-words, without the wrappings of prefixes, augments, suffixes, etc., which disguise the root in Sanskrit words and make Sanskrit etymology so difficult and in some cases unconvincing. As these *iḍukuṟi* words are naked root-words they belong to the earliest stage of Tamil, the stage when the language was unconsciously forged by the stone-age man. Examples of such words are *maṇ*,[1] *pul*,[2] *uṇ*,[3] *pō*,[4] *ī*,[5] *nīr*,[6] *mīn*,[7] *vāṉ*,[8] *ā*,[9] *kā*,[10] etc. The stage of the invention of such simple root-words cannot occur more than once in the history of a language. First because it is a stage of unconscious development of a language; secondly, if roots could be invented at any stage of a language, there would be no necessity for loan-words and consciously invented compounds at all. When men after progressing beyond the earliest stage of a language found or made new things which required names, the native power of inventing roots having become exhausted, they semi-consciously extended the meanings of old words by the processes of metaphor and metonomy. Examples of words which belong to this stage are, *maṟai*,[11] shield, from *maṟai*, to hide, *pon*,[12] metal from *pol*,[13] to shine, *śembu*,[14] a pot from *śembu*, copper, itself from *śe*,[15] red. This may be treated as a second semi-conscious stage of the development of a language. These words are practically *iḍukuṟi* words, and will be utilized in this enquiry. A language becomes fully conscious only when it comes in contact with foreign languages; then it finds its soul, as it were, and becomes conscious of its structure; then alone it forges compound

[1] மண். [2] புல். [3] உண். [4] போ. [5] ஈ. [6] நீர். [7] மீன். [8] வான். [9] ஆ. [10] கா.
[11] மறை. [12] பொன். [13] பொல். [14] செம்பு. [15] செ.

causal names like *parimā*,[1] horse, the fast-going animal, *vaigalvarumīn*,[2] the morning star, words which will not serve the purpose of this investigation.

One more preliminary question has to be dealt with. With regard to most words now belonging to Tamil, the separation of pure Tamil words from those borrowed from Sanskrit is very easy. But most Sanskrit scholars assume that every Tamil word which looks like a Sanskrit one must have been borrowed from Sanskrit by the Tamils. When the speakers of two different languages come in touch with each other, the probabilities are that each language will borrow words from the other. Thus the names of articles produced only in South India, such as pearls, pepper, cardamoms, must certainly have been borrowed by Sanskrit from Tamil. Hence Sanskrit *maricha*, *muktā*, *ela*, are derived from Tamil *miriyal*[3] or *miḷagu*,[4] *muttu*,[5] *ēlam*;[6] there are other Sanskrit words borrowed from Tamil wantonly which Sanskrit scholars wrongly claim to belong to Sanskrit, e.g., *nīram*, *mīnam*, evidently derived from Tamil *nīr*,[7] *mīn*,[8] for we cannot imagine that the Tamils were drinking water and eating fish for ages without names for these objects and deferred naming them till Sanskrit speakers presented them with names for them. Many such words can be rescued for Tamil from the hands of Sanskrit scholars, but in this enquiry for the purpose of disarming criticism, words which might be legitimately claimed to be Tamil, though they look like corresponding Sanskrit words, have not been much pressed into service.

Even after giving the benefit of the doubt to Sanskrit, it will be found that there is in Tamil a strikingly large variety of names for objects and actions. The wealth of synonyms for names of familiar objects will be found to be enormous as this investigation progresses. It looks as if when man began to invent words, he was in a state of childhood and as a child revels in the use of toys and is never tired of playing with them, primitive man used the power of inventing words as his great toy and invented a number of names for the same thing. Love of certain objects familiar to them may perhaps have been another motive for this multiplication of *iḍukuṛi* synonyms: but whatever it was, it is of use in this our enquiry into the conditions of life of the ancient Tamils.

Evidence of Literature

The third source of information for this study is early Tamil literature. The age to which this literature belongs has been the occasion for much dispute. The controversy has centred round a statement made at first by the commentator on *Iṛaiyanāragapporuḷ*[9] and repeated by later commentators. It is to the effect that there were three epochs of ancient Tamil Literature, each marked by the existence of a *Śaṅgam*,[10] academy of its own, presided over, each by the members of a particular dynasty of Pāṇḍya kings, whose capitals were respectively *Madurai*, swallowed long ago by the sea, *Kabāḍapuram*[11] and *North Madurai*, i.e., the present city of that name.

[1] பரிமா. [2] வைகல்வருமீன். [3] மிரியல். [4] மிளகு. [5] முத்து. [6] ஏலம். [7] நீர். [8] மீன்.
[9] இறையனாரகப்பொருள். [10] சங்கம். [11] கபாடபுரம்.

This tradition says that the first *Śaṅgam* lived for 4,440 years, the second, for 3,700 years, and the third for 1,850 years. Much importance cannot be assigned to these precise figures, because early South Indian history does not reveal the existence of any particular era for the calculation of the passage of time in years from the year one of that era. Even eras established outside the Tamil country, like the Śālivāhana era, were adopted in South India not more than six hundred years ago. Dated lists of early Tamil kings do not, and cannot, on account of the want of an era, exist. The kings of these three dynasties are said to have been respectively 89, 59 and 49 ; this would give these Pāṇḍyas lengths of reign which no student of history can accept. The average length of the reigns of kings of dynasties which have lasted long, can range between twenty and thirty, but cannot mount up to fifty or sixty. Hence the alleged durations of the Śaṅgams are impossibly long and are also incapable of being checked by means of other sources of information, and useless as evidence of age. Moreover the commentator on *Iṟaiyanāragapporuḷ* who is our first informant about the three Śaṅgams is said to be Nakkīrar.[1] But the commentaries themselves name a series of ten scholars, beginning from Nakkīrar, each the pupil of his predecessor. The last of them, Muśiṟiyāśiriyar Nīlagaṇḍanār,[2] must therefore be the author of the commentaries as we now have them, though they may be claimed to possess a few sentences coming down from Nakkīrar's time. Moreover these commentaries embody a poem of 329 stanzas, whose hero is a Pāṇḍya king, Parāṅguśan Śaḍayan Māṟan Arikēśari,[3] who flourished about A.D. 750. Thus the earliest record about the chronology of the Śaṅgams is found in a book composed in the latter half of the eighth century and cannot have much evidential value, specially as there was a total absence of contemporary chronological records before that age. Let us turn now to the internal evidence of early Tamil poems. One of these decidedly claims to belong to pre-Christian times. This is an ode of twenty-four irregular lines[4] sung by Murañjiyūr Muḍināgarāyar,[5] a poet of the first Śaṅgam of tradition, in honour of Śēramān Peruñjōṟṟu Udiyan Śēral Adan,[6] a Śēra king, and attributing to him the honour of feeding the armies of both sides in the Bhārata battle. Almost all modern enquirers agree that the middle of the first millennium B.C. was the epoch of the great war between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas. There is no reason, except prejudice, to discredit the chronological claim of this ode. Hence we may conclude that from the beginning of the second millennium B.C., if not earlier, the kings of the three early Tamil royal houses, the Śēra, the Śoḷa and the Pāṇḍya, as well as several petty chiefs of South India, patronized minstrels called Pāṇar,[7] who, with the Yāḻ[8] on their shoulders, wandered from court to court and sang beautiful odes on the adventures of kings and nobles in love and war, or, as they called it, on *Agam*[9] and *Puṟam*.[10] Many of these odes are now lost, because they were preserved only in the archives of human memory ; but a great

[1] நக்கீரர். [2] முசிறியாசிரியர் நீலகண்டனார். [3] பராங்குசன் சடையன் மாறன் அரிகேசரி.

[4] *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, 2.

[5] முரஞ்சியூர் முடிநாகராயர். [6] சேரமான் பெருஞ்சோற்று உதியன் சேரலாதன். [7] பாணர். [8] யாழ். [9] அகம். [10] புறம்.

number of them were collected in later times into anthologies called *Aganānūṛu*,[1] *Puṛanānūṛu*,[2] *Naṛṛinai*,[3] *Kuṛundogai*,[4] etc. These poems, though their vocabulary shows a very slight admixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit words, due to the intercourse of South India with North India ever since the beginning of the Vedic Age, notwithstanding the rivalries between the fire cult of the latter with the fireless cults of the former, are yet entirely free from the influence of Sanskrit literature in the subject matter of poetry and in literary form. These poems undoubtedly reflect the conditions of life peculiar to the ages when they were composed. Unlike the artificial epics of post-Christian Sanskrit literature, these early Tamil poems, which it is now usual to call *śaṅgachcheyyuḷ*[5] are a mirror of the ages when the poets lived. Catastrophic changes occur in the life of a nation only when there is a violent contact with foreign people of a different stage of culture. As no such event occurred in South India, it is certain that the life-conditions reflected in these old poems are at least partial echoes of those of the previous far off ages which we are now discussing. But at the same time it must be remembered that the evidence of this literature should be pressed into service very cautiously, when we are sure that the customs and manners referred to therein are not later developments but evidently come down from early times.

Besides these anthologies there exists the wonderful grammar called *Tolkāppiyam*,[6] one book of which, called *Poruḷadigāram*,[7] is the grammar of ancient Tamil poetry. This book belongs to the period when Ārya influence had fully penetrated South India; it was composed by *Tṛnadhūmāgni*, a Brāhmaṇa of the Kāppiya (Kāvya) clan, a branch of the Bhārgava Gotra, members of which began to migrate into South India under the leadership of Paraśurāma when he retired from North India after his quarrels with the sons of Arjuna Kārttavīrya (about 2500 B.C.). Tolkāppiyar studied pre-existing grammars written by several previous Tamil *Pulavar*[8] (scholars), and then composed the *Tolkāppiyam*. But wherever possible he tries to impose the Ārya canon law on the Tamils and to equate Tamil customs, social and literary, to Ārya ones; yet his attempts to mix up Arya and Tamil culture is not much of a success, for the two cultures, one based on the fire cult and the other on the fireless cult, one, the product of a religious aristocracy and the other, of a social democracy, could blend as little as oil and water.

Hence it is easy to separate the Tamil culture embodied in ancient Tamil poetry and in the *Poruḷadigāram* from the well-known Ārya culture of the Ārya law-books first imported into Tamil country by the early Brāhmaṇa settlers. From these several sources of information it is possible to construct a picture of the life which the Tamil people led from the later Stone Epoch onwards in the ages that may be called Pre-Aryan, of the life that they led and the culture they had evolved independently of any other people, till the large incursions of the Jainas, the Buddhas and the Brāhmaṇas in the first millennium before Christ caused the final blending of the Ārya culture and the

1 அகநானூறு. 2 புறநானூறு. 3 நற்றிணை. 4 குறுந்தொகை.
5 சங்கச்செய்யுள். 6 தொல்காப்பியம். 7 பொருளதிகாரம். 8 புலவர்.

Tamil culture and the present, mingled culture of South India started on its glorious evolution.

Combining these two sources of information, the pure Tamil *idukuṛi* words coming down from the early ages and the evidence of early Tamil literature, it is proposed to make further rents in the veil which time has woven round the life led by the Tamils five thousand years ago.

Social Organization

The ancient Tamil people noted that the surface of the habitable portions of the earth could be divided into five natural regions, which they called *Pālai*[1] or sandy desert land, *Kuṛiñji*,[2] mountainous country, *Mullai*,[3] forest tracts, *Marudam*,[4] the lower river valley, fit for agricultural operations, and *Neydal*,[5] the littoral region. They noticed that in each region was evolved a different kind of human culture. In *Pālai* grew the nomad stage, in *Kuṛiñji*, the hunter stage, in *Mullai* the pastoral stage, in *Marudam* the agricultural stage, and in *Neydal*, the fishing and sailing stage, of human development. Not only were these different stages of human culture evolved in these different regions, but each stage continued to exist in its own region, after other stages grew in theirs. The men of these regions were respectively called *Maṛavar*,[6] *Kuṛavar*,[7] *Āyar*,[8] *Uḻavar*,[9] and *Paradavar*.[10] The recognition of the different kinds of life led by these five different classes of men is a wonderful anticipation, made several millenniums ago, of the very modern science of Anthropogeography. This science is the rival of Ethnology. The latter claims to be able to divide men into races with varying permanant physical and mental characteristics, flowing from microscopical bodies called chromosomes which pass from parent to offspring. Notwithstanding heroic efforts for a hundred years to calculate the cephalic index and the co-efficient of racial likeness, ethnologists have not been able to hit on any characteristic, unchangeable mark of race. Anthropogeography, on the other hand, holds that what are called racial characteristics are the result of the action of the environment within which a people grow, which is called the area of characterization of a race. It is remarkable the Tamils reached this idea in remote ages and defined the five natural regions, and classified races as five, each of whom followed professions suited to the region inhabited by them. Besides this horizontal classification, there was a vertical classification of the people of any one region into *Mannar*,[11] kings, *Vaḷḷal*,[12] petty chiefs, noblemen, *Veḷḷāḷar*,[13] owners of fields, *Vaṇigar*,[14] merchants, all of whom were called *Uvarndōr* [15] or *Mēlōr*,[16] the higher classes, and *Vinaivalar*,[17] and *Adiyōr*,[18] the working classes and personal servants.[19] This second classification is solely based on the standing of people in society, and is one that has evolved everywhere in the world. On these two classifications, the Brāhmaṇas who carried the Arya cult into Southern India in the first millennium before the Christian era, imposed a third

[1] பாலை. [2] குறிஞ்சி. [3] முல்லை. [4] மருதம். [5] நெய்தல். [6] மறவர். [7] குறவர்.
[8] ஆயர். [9] உழவர். [10] பரதவர். [11] மன்னர். [12] வள்ளல். [13] வெள்ளாளர்.
[14] வணிகர். [15] உயர்ந்தோர். [16] மேலோர். [17] வினைவலர். [18] அடியோர்.
[19] Tolkāppiyam, *Poruḷadigāram*, i. 21-32.

one, the socio-religious division of the people into four Varṇas. This division arose on account of the necessities of the Vedic fire-cult. This cult evolved into a vast system of rites which were celebrated during long periods of time, the Sattra Yāgas occupying twelve to a hundred years, and required the growth of the Brāhmaṇa Varṇa, consisting of men who from childhood memorized the immense literature of the Vedas and subsidiary works, the Śruti and the Smṛti, and were trained in the correct performances of the complicated Arya rites and, being experts in the religio-magical ceremonies, acquired a high standing in society. Then there were the Kings of several grades, Chakravarttī, Mahārāja, Rājā, who with their blood-relatives formed the Kshattriya Varṇa, and whose function it was to protect the people and the fire-rite from being oppressed by enemies. For the special benefit of the Kshattriyas, the more gorgeous fire-rites, such as Rājasūya, Abiṣheka, Vājapeya, Aśvamedha, etc., were evolved. The bulk of the people were the Vaiśyas (from *viṣ*, people) devoted to the ordinary pursuits of man—agriculture, trade and the tending of cattle. The Vaiśyas had the privilege of paying for and deriving the benefits accruing from the minor yāgas which the Brāhmaṇas performed on their behalf. The last Varṇa included the serving classes, called Śūdras. This fourfold classification is neither regional nor racial, neither social nor professional but one correlated entirely to the fire-rite. When the Brāhmaṇas settled in Southern India and the ancient Tamil Rajas desiring to secure the benefit of the Yāgas, accorded to the fire-priests a supreme position in society, the Brāhmaṇas naturally tried to introduce their socio-religious organization into Tamil society. But a religious oligarchy and a social democracy could not very well mix with each other. Hence the Brāhmaṇas did not succeed in arranging the people of Southern India as members of the four varṇas as they did in North India. The Rajas who actually ruled in the provinces of peninsular India were given the privileges of Kshattriyas with regard to the fire-rites—that of paying for them and deriving the invisible (*adṛṣhṭa* or *apūrva*) effects of the Yajña and were even admitted to the Bhāradvāja Gotra; but the scheme of four varṇas necessary to a people, every detail of whose daily life, from urination to cremation, was influenced by the fire-rite, could not well spread among the Tamils, whose life for many millenniums previously was mainly secular and based on social democracy and among whom the Ārya fire-rite, as it had lost its vitality before the Brāhmaṇas migrated to Southern India, did not spread. It only led to the confusion of caste and the prevalence of social jealousies that have characterized the life of South India for a thousand five-hundred years; for, we learn from the *Tēvāram*,[1] of Tirunāvukkaraśu Nāyanār,[2] that there was in his day, as there is to-day, a consciousness of rivalry, if not jealousy, between the Brahmins and the non-Brahmins or, as they were then called, *Ariyan*,[3] and *Tamiḻan*.[4] The cause of this was

[1] தேவாரம். [2] திருநாவுக்கரசநாயனார். [3] ஆரியன்.

[4] தமிழன். ஆரியன் கண்டாய் தமிழன் கண்டாய்.
Tirumaṛaikkāḍu Tiruttāṇḍagam, 5.
செந்தமிழோடு ஆரியனைச் சீரியானை.
Tiruvāvaḍuduṛai Tiruttāṇḍagam, 10.
ஆரியந் தமிழோ டிசையானவன்.
Tirukkaḍambanduṛai Tirukkuṛundogai, 3.

as follows: The Brāhmaṇas obtained in India north of the Vindhyas, i.e., Āryāvartta, a premier position in society on account of their being the hereditary depository of secular and religious lore, and of being expert in priestly duties and in wielding the words of power (mantras) which almost coerced the gods to grant gifts to those who solicited them. But the Kshattryas who were quite as learned as the Brāhmaṇas and besides, had the prestige of the royal varṇa, and the Vaiśyas, who were rich burghers and wielded much political influence, acted as a check on the expansion of the privileges of the Brāhmaṇas. In South India, however, the Brāhmaṇas added to the intellectual qualifications they already possessed—scholarship in Tamil literature and ability to compose Tamil poetry.[1] Moreover, there was no true Kshttriya or Vaiśya Varṇa in South India. Though according to the *Bhagavad Gītā*[2] agticulture, tending cattle and commerce were the legitimate occupations of the Vaiśyas, the Brāhmanas did not extend the Vaiśya status to the Tamils that pursued these avocations in the *Mullai* and *Marudam* regions and did not admit them to the benefits of the fire-rite, even of the domestic variety, which was open to the three higher varṇas. On the contrary they invented for them pseudo-fire-rites, usually called Purāṇoktam ceremonies, as opposed to Vedōktam rites. An example of this is the addition of circum-ambulating the fire, *Tīvalañjeydal*,[3] to the ancient marriage ritual of the Tamils, to make it look like the genuine Arya wedding-rite. At the same time the worship of Śiva and Vishṇu in temples, which was evolved from pre-vedic forms of worship and is described in the Agamas, whose vital characteristic is Bhakti, and not Jñāna such as the Vedānta Sutras teach, spread in the Tamil land, because Bhakti which neglects the Varṇa classification appealed to the democratic instincts which got the upper hand after the decay of the fire-rite. Hence the Ārya classification of four varṇas never really spread in South India and Tolkāppiyar who laboured hard to equate the several classes of Tamil society to the varṇas of the Āryas carefully avoids the use of the word śūdra as referring to any section of the Tamils. This brief sketch of the history of Ārya ideals in South India explains to a large extent the prevalence of the conflict of caste in the present time.

The Five Classes: Their Modes of Life and Religious Practices

In my Stone Age in India has been given a very brief account of the life of the five classes of people in the five regions. A more extensive account will be given here. In the *Pālai* lived the *Kaḷḷar*[4] and the *Maṟavar*,[5] nomad tribes of adventurous warriors; as the soil of the region where they dwelt was infertile and totally unproductive, they lived by preying upon the wealth accumulated by the dwellers of other regions. They sacrificed animals and, at times, men too, to the dreaded local god or goddess; these deities have been, in comparatively recent times, idealized and turned into aspects or subordinates

[1] As illustrations Kapilar, Paraṇar, and the Saint-child Tirujñāna Sambanda Nāyanār may be mentioned.
[2] *Bhagavad Gītā*, Chapter xviii. 44. [3] தீவலஞ்செய்தல். [4] கள்ளர். [5] மறவர்.

of the world-mother, *Kāḷi*[1] or of her husband, *Śivan.*[2] Many of their sacrificial stones, called in early times *Kandaḻi*,[3] have become the objects of worship in shrines which have grown around them. They also planted stones in memory of the heroism of their dead heroes exhibited in wars or on other occai ons, and worshipped the stones.[4]

The clubs with which Stone Age men dealt death to their human and animal foes and the bill-hooks with which the later Iron Age men cut up those animals, as well as images of tools cut on stones are still in many shrines the only physical representatives of the gods they worshipped and can to-day be seen not only in *Pālai* land but also in all other parts of the country. In later days there were migrations of men and cults from region to region; the various tribes coalesced with each other by marriage and other causes; hence the practices of *Pālai* are now observable in the four other regions too.

Ancient worship was inseparably associated with ritual dance. The dance which constituted the worship of *Koṟṟavai*, the goddess of victory, is elaborately described in canto xii of *Śilappadigāram*, called *Vēṭṭuvavari.*[5] This description contains the later, much developed ritual, but from it one or two ancient factors of the ritual dance can be extracted: 'The priestess who uttered the oracles of *Koṟṟavai*,[6] called Sālini,[7] was born in the family of *Maṟavar*, who bear in their arms a bow. In the high street in the middle of the village which was surrounded by a hedge of thorns and where the hunters ate their food jointly, she danced, being possessed by the goddess, the hair of her body standing on end. She lifted up her arms, and her feet kept time so well that the men wondered at the sight'.[8] And she uttered

[1] காளி. [2] சிவன்.

[3] கந்தழி. This word literally means pillar, being a derivative of கந்து, post, and அழி, straw and therefore probably meant a pillar to which the sacrificial victim was bound with ropes of straw. In later times when nobler conceptions of the deity were reached கந்தழி was explained as the supreme substance, the Being above all elements of matter.

[4] They were called நடுகற்கடவுள். *Puṟam* 263 refers to the worship of the memorial stone of a man who stayed a hill-torrent like a dam. Numerous odes celebrate the memorial stones of warriors who died in battle. *Puṟam* 264 says that the stone was decorated with garlands of red flowers and peacock feathers and the hero's name was engraved thereon.

மரல்வகுந்து தொடுத்த செம்பூங் கண்ணியொ
டணிமயிற் பீலி சூட்டிப் பெயர் பொறித்
தினிநட் டனரே கல்லும்.

Agam 67 says that besides the above a board with a spear fixed on it was placed near and his other implements were also planted near the memorial.

நல்லமர்க் கடந்த நாணுடை மறவர்
பெயரும் பீடு மெழுதி யதர்தொறும்
பீலி சூட்டிய பிறங்குநிலை நடுகல்
வேலூன்று பலகை வேற்றுமுனை.

Excavations at Moheñjo Daro and Harappa reveal that writing was known in India five thousand years ago; hence it is not surprising to learn that the names and deeds of heroes were incised on stone in early days.

[5] வேட்டுவவரி. [6] கொற்றவை. [7] சாலினி.

[8] வழங்குவிற் றடக்கை மறக்குடித் தாயத்துப்
பழங்கட னுற்ற முழங்குவாய்ச் சாலினி
தெய்வ முற்று மெய்ம்மயிர் நிறுத்துக்
கையெடுத் தோச்சிக் கானவர் வியப்ப
விடுமுள் வேலி யெயினர்கூட் டுண்ணு
நடுவூர் மன்றத் தடிபெயர்த் தாடி.

Lines 6–11.

warnings about the disasters that would overtake the villages for not having paid their dues to the goddess. In the mountainous country, called *Kuriñji* lived the *Kuṛavar*, famous in later literature as the heroes of romantic love at first sight; they led the semi-nomad life of the hunter; they hunted with the bow and the arrow and fought wild animals with the *Vel.*[1] They cut up and skinned the animals they hunted and wore the untanned hide as their dress. They were also brave warriors.

Their women in the earliest days were clad in nothing but the atmosphere around or in hides or in *Maravuri*,[2] tree-flay, or in leaf-garments, called in Tamil, *taḻai-uḍai.*[3] Hence arose the custom of presenting a garment made of leaves and flowers to the bride as a symbol of marriage, as in Malabar to-day presenting a Muṇḍu,[4] short piece of cloth, to the bride is still the chief incident of the wedding-rite.[5]

These women wove baskets and made many other articles with the strips of the bamboo, occupations still followed by *Kuṛavar* throughout Southern India. Their favourite god was *Murugan*,[6] the God of the Hills, who has throughout the ages remained essentially a god enshrined on hill-tops, notwithstanding later affiliations with post-Vedic mythology. As Lord of the Hills, the abode of serpents, he reveals himself even to-day to his devotees in the form of a serpent. The hill country being at all times the home of romantic love at first sight, he was, and continues to be to-day, the boy-lover, the *Śēyōn*,[7]

[1] வேல். [2] மரவுரி. [3] தழையுடை. [4] முண்டு.

[5] The following are a few of the references to the practice of the presentation of a leaf-garment, *taḻai uḍai* in the early literature.

தீநீர்ப் பெருங்குண்டு சுனைப்பூத்த குவளைக்
கூம்பவிழ் முழுநெறி புரள்வரு மல்குல்.

Puṛam. 116.

The lap from which is dangling the leaf-garment made of the whole blossom of the water-lily which grows in deep springs of sweet water with its sepals open.

அளிய தாமே சிறுவெள் ளாம்ப
இளைய மாகத் தழையா யினவே
இனியே பெருவளக் கொழுநன் மாய்ந்தெனப் பொழுதுமறுத்
தின்று வைக லுண்ணு
மல்லிப் படூஉம் புல்லா யினவே.

Ib. 248.

May it be blessed! the little, white water-lily, when I was young, served for a leaf-garment; now, when my excellent husband is dead, the hour of meals is changed, it provides me with my food during the melancholy mornings.

குன்றநாட
னுடுக்குந் தழைதந் தனனே யவையா
முடுப்பின் யாயஞ் சுதுமே கொடுப்பிற்
கேளுடைக் கேடஞ் சுதுமே.

Naṛṛiṇai. 359.

The hill-chief gave me a leaf-garment; if I wear it, I am afraid I cannot satisfactorily answer the questions my mother will ask me about it; if I return it to him I am afraid it will cause him pain.

சாரற்
றழையணி மருங்குன் மகளிர். *Kuṛundogai.*

The hill-women who wear a leaf-garment at their waist.

The wearers of this garment can still be seen in the hill-regions.

[6] முருகன். [7] சேயோன்.

the ever-youthful. When in later ages asceticism came to be a much respected way of life, and ascetics resorted to hills for peaceful meditation, he also became the ascetic god. Coming down from ages when man had not yet invented clothes, he is in many of his manifestations a naked god. Worship of the gods was in ancient days inseparably associated with ritual dancing, as is still the case with primitive people all over the world; and the ancient worship of Murugan was the dance called *Veṛiyāḍal*[1] or *Vēlanāḍal*,[2] performed by his priest, who, like his god, was called, *Vēlan*,[3] for both of them carried the weapon of the hill region, the *Vēl*, a spear, which in the stone age had a stone spear head and, on the discovery of iron, had a head made of that metal.[4]

The worship of Murugan included the offering of cooked rice and meat for the removal of ills caused by that god. 'O!' old vēlan, intoxicated with the spirit of Murugan! control the anger and help us. I beg one favour of you. If you offer along with many-coloured boiled rice the meat of a red sheep specially killed for the purpose, after marking her forehead (with its blood), will the god of the hill high as the sky who wears a garland eat the *bali* (and be pleased)?

In later times when religion in India developed noble concepts, attained giddy heights of supreme devotion and breathed the soul-satisfying atmosphere of philosophical insight, highly advanced associations

[1] வெறியாடல்.

முருகயர்ந்து வந்த முதுவாய் வேலன்
சினவ லோம்புமதி வினவுத லுடையேன்
பல்வே றுருவிற் சில்லவிழ் மடையொடு
சிறுமறி கொன்றிவ ணறுநுத னீவி
வணங்கினை கொடுத்தி யாயி னணங்கிய
விண்டோய் மாமலைச் சிலம்ப
னொண்டா ரகலமு முண்ணுமோ பலியே.

Kuṛundogai 362.

[2] வேலனாடல். [3] வேலன்.

[4] This is a brief description of *Veṛiyāḍal* is from *Maduraikkāñji*. ll. 611–617.

அருங்கடி வேலன் முருகொடு வளைஇ
யரிக்கூ டின்னியங் கறங்கநேர் நிறுத்துக்
கார்மலர்க் குறிஞ்சி சூடிக் கடம்பின்
சீர்மிகு நெடுவேட் பேணித் தழூஉப்பிணையூஉ
மன்றுதொறு நின்ற குரவை சேரிதொறு
முரையும் பாட்டு மாட்டும் விரைஇ
வேறுவேறு கம்பலை வெறிகொள்பு மயங்கி.

The terrible *Vēlan* proclaimed the might of Murugan and danced around the people; the sweet-sounding musical instruments sounded in unison; they wore the *Kāñji* (காஞ்சி.) flower—*Lawsonia spinosa*—which blossoms in the rainy season, and fixing in their hearts the image of the *Vēḷ* (வேள்.) the lord, who shines with the beautiful *Kaḍambu* (கடம்பு.) flower—*Eugenia racemosa*—embraced one another and caught hold of one another's hands and danced the *Kuravai* (குரவை) dance on the open fields; all through the village they hymned his greatness, they sang songs in his honour, they danced many dances and the blending of these sounds caused confusion.

The Vēlan proclaiming the might of Murugan refers to an ancient ceremony. When a man is in distress he consults the priest of Murugan, who throws about the seeds of the *Kaḻaṅgu* (கழங்கு.) or *Kaḻarkoḍi* (கழற்கொடி.) *Guilandina bonduce*, and from the lay of the seeds on a plate reads the occult cause of the man's trouble and prescribes the worship of Murugan as a remedy. This ceremony is technically called *Kaḻaṅgu*.

were woven round this and other gods of very ancient times, but yet numerous relics of South Indian religious life of ten thousand years ago are inextricably bound up with the worship of these gods to-day and these indicate the simple, ancient concepts and beliefs and customs of the Tamils of those far off days.

In the wooded tracts called *Mullai*, lived the *Idaiyar*, the men of the middle region, that lies between the uplands and the plains below. They were also called *Ayar* and *Kōnār*,[1] literally cowboys. They led a merry pastoral life tending cattle and playing on the flute, *kuḻal*, made of the bamboo, or of the stem of the water-lily, or of the cassia fruit or of the creeper jasmine. Besides playing on the flute, they spent their ample leisure in love-making in the forests which afforded ample cover for their amatory proceedings. The god of the *mullai* region was *māyōn*,[2] the dark-hued wonder-working *kaṇṇan*.[3] Their old women sprinkled the paddy from a *nāḻi*,[4] tubular corn-measure, along with sweet-smelling *mullai* flowers so that the bees swarmed round and sounded like the *yāḻ* and then bowed to their god.[5] Accompanied by children and relatives the crows ate the white balls of cooked rice along with fried *karunai*,[6] tuber which has dark eyes offered to the God.[7]

The worship of *māyōn* was also associated with innumerable religious dances, which can be observed to-day in cowherd villages when the annual festival in honour of this deity is celebrated. These dances were called *kuḍam*[8] or *māyōnāḍal*.[9] In Vedic times, Kṛshṇa, the Sanskrit form of the name Kaṇṇan, was a god or as the Rig-veda called him a demon, opposed to Indra. In the Purāṇas, too, there are evidences of an ancient Kṛshṇa cult opposed to the Indra-cult of the early Rishis.[10] In still later times Kaṇṇan became Kṛshṇa Paramātma, the fullest human manifestation (*Avatāra*) of Īśvara to the Indian people and has everywhere extinguished the worship of Indra. The legends regarding the boyhood life of Kṛshṇa have certainly come down from the ancient pastoral stage of human evolution, though not then localized in the forest of Brindāvanam. The bulk of cowherds to-day act out many of these legends and keep up the ancient pastoral dances of Kṛshṇa worship, but are absolutely untouched by the grand philosophical ideas which have gathered round the personality of Kṛshṇa. I therefore hold that that the ancient god of the pastoral tribes evolved into Kṛshṇa and not that Kṛshṇa of the *Bhagavad Gita* deteriorated into a pastoral god in recent times.

The current theory about Kṛshṇa-worship is that the historical

[1] கோனர். [2] மாயோன். [3] கண்ணன். [4] நாழி.

[5] யாழிசை யினவண் டார்ப்ப நெல்லொடு
நாழி கொண்ட நறுவீ முல்லை
யரும்பவி ழலரி தூஉய்க் கைதொழுது
பெருமுது பெண்டிர். *Mullaippāṭṭu* 8-11.

[6] கருனை.

[7] பிள்ளை தழீஇக் கிளை பயிர்ந்து
கருங்கட் கருனைச் செந்நெல் வெண்சோறு
சூருடைப் பலி. *Naṟṟinai* 367.

[8] குடம். [9] மாயோனாடல்.

[10] This subject is fully discussed in my *Life in Ancient India*, pp. 131–2 and *Stone Age in India*, pp. 50–51.

person of that name, whose boyhood was spent in the pastoral country round Brindāvanam and who, later, as the king of Dvārakā, played a great part in the war of the Mahābhārata, was deified and after his death, the Krishṇa cult spread throughout India. In opposition to this theory I hold that the cult of Kṛshṇa, the boy-cowherd, comes down from the early pastoral stage of Indian life ; it is impossible to believe that the later worship of Krishṇa, associated with the study of his *Bhagavad-Gītā*, than which no grander philosophic work has been published to the world, spread to only one caste of South India—the cowherd caste—and became a cult of primitive ritual song and dance. It is much more reasonable to conclude that the primitive song and dance and merry-making which is the Kṛshṇa-worship of the cowherds is directly descended from the rites of very ancient pastoral times. The name *Kaṇṇan* is supposed to be derived from Prākrit *Kaṇha*, itself a degenerate form of Kṛshṇa. This kind of etymology is opposed to the fundamental principles of linguistic science, for it makes the absurd assumption that the literary dialect of a language precedes the common spoken dialect, whereas the spoken dialect must have existed for thousands of years before the literary dialect was developed.

To proceed from *Mullai* to *Marudam* ; in the lowermost reaches of the rivers lived the farmers, of whom there were two classes, (1) the *Veḷḷāḷar*,[1] the controllers of the flood, who irrigated their fields when the rivers were in flood, and raised the rice-crop on damp rice-fields with the extraordinary patience and industry which only the Indian peasant is capable of ; (2) the *Kārāḷar*,[2] controllers of the rain, who looked up to the sky for watering their fields, who stored the rain water in tanks and ponds and dug wells and lifted the water by means of water-lifts of different kinds, *ēṟṟam*,[3] *kabilai*,[4] *piḻā*,[5] *iḍā*,[6] and raised the millets, the pulses and other legumes, which along with the rice of the river valleys and the milk and the milk products (tyre and butter-milk and ghi, *tayir*,[7] *mōr*,[8] and *ney*[9]) of the *Mullai* region, form, even according to the latest scientific teaching, a perfect food for man containing the muscle-building, heat-generating, and vitamine requisites of a perfect dietary. The *Veḷḷāḷar* lived in the *Marudam* region, the river-valleys and just outside it lived the *Kārāḷar*. Beyond these regions where foodstuffs were raised, existed the black cotton-soil developed from the detritus of trap-rock charged with decaying vegetation, and fit for retaining moisture for a long time, and hence suited for the growth of cotton. Here cotton was raised and cotton cloth was woven ; Indian people of the Stone Age possessed an abundance of cotton cloth, as weaving implements of stone testify, when the rest of the world was either sparsely clad in hides, or woven linen or wool, or revelled in primitive nakedness. Hundreds of finds of Neolithic tools required for these industries of the lower river valleys testify to their great development in these regions. These industries of the plains required the subsidiary one of woodwork. The people lived in wood-built houses ; their granaries were made of wood ; they used wooden carts, not different in build from the creaking ones now used for transport and numerous household utensils made of wood like tubs, mortars, pestles, etc.; and all the tools now used by the

[1] வெள்ளாளர். [2] காராளர். [3] ஏற்றம். [4] கபிலை. [5] பிழா. [6] இடா. [7] தயிர். [8] மோர். [9] நெய்.

village carpenter, but made of stone, as well as tools for stone-work, have been picked up from neolithic settlements. The chief god of the low country was the cloud-compelling lord of the atmosphere, who, as Indra, became also the chief recipient of the offerings made in the Vedic fire-sacrifices throughout North India; but in South India Indiran was the god only of the ploughland. Besides he was worshipped by the people with the fireless rites detested by the Āryas. Here 'he was the God residing in the land where, with toddy and garlands as offerings, the straight-horned and hanging eared goat is led to him'.[1] In Aryan India Indra was but the most prominent of the many gods worshipped by Brāhmaṇa priests, for their own benefit and the benefit of others, by means of fire-rites in sacrificial halls specially built for the purpose, Rājas and Vaiśyas having but the privilege of paying for the rites without officiating at them; but in South India Indiran was the sole god of the *Marudam* region and his worship was conducted without fire-rites and in it participated men of all castes and occupations, even men of the lower classes who would not be admitted even for menial service in Yajñaśālās and women of all ranks. Indra worship in South India was accompanied by merry-making and love-making of all kinds. Moreover the festival of Indiran was specially associated with lovers' quarrels and reconciliations, *ūḍal*[2] and *kūḍal*[3] and with special varieties of dancing. The modern Pongal feast is a relic of the harvest-festival associated with Indiran, as the name *bōgi paṇḍigai*,[4] Indiran-feast shows,[5] bōgi being a name of Indiran.

So great is the prejudice in favour of the North Indian origin of everything connected with religion that to claim the Indiran of *Marudam* as a Tamil God independent of the Indra of the Āryas is sure to raise as violent a burst of opposition as Indra's own burst of the thunder-cloud. To support the claim here made I offer the following considerations: (1) The people of the *marudam* regions of South India must have had an atmospheric god from about the end of the old Stone Age when they learnt to till the ground and sow seeds for raising foodstuffs, for their existence depended on such a god manifesting himself in the hot weather and striking the clouds with his thunderbolt so as to pour the life-giving rain on their thirsty fields. (2) To deny them an Indiran of their own would be to say that they had from time inmemorial another god of the same functions till about 2,000 years ago, when they borrowed the name of the chief God of the Ārya fire-rite, and that, after that fire-rite had almost become extinguished in Āryāvartta and after Indra had been superseded in popular estimation by Siva, Vishṇu, and Ambā. One is tempted to vary the joke about the author of the *Iliad*, that it was not composed by Homer but by another poet of the same name, and say that

[1] கள்ளுங் கண்ணியுங் கையுறை யாக
நிலைக்கோட்டு வெள்ளை நாள்செவிக் கிடாஅய்
நிலைத்துறைக் கடவுள். *Agam*, 156.

[2] ஊடல். [3] கூடல். [4] போகிப்பண்டிகை.

[5] The utter difference between Indra-worship in North India and the இந்திர விழவு of South India can be realized by a study of canto v of *Śilappadigāram* இந்திர விழவூரெடுத்த காதை. which is too long to be quoted here.

the Stone Age Tamils did not worship Indiran but another God of the same name and the same functions. The theory becomes more absurd if, with European scholars, it is held that Indra the God *par excellence* of the monsoon area was at first the God of the non-monsoon tracts outside India, that he was then taken into Northern India by Aryan emigrants and lastly, after a few thousand years, stay there, he leisurely migrated to the *marudam* region of Tamil India, where he was being worshipped by the people for many thousand years, previously by some name unknown, which name was suddenly extirpated without a trace by the newly imported name. (3) The South Indian Indiran-cult was in every one of its details and practices utterly different from the Vedic Indra-cult as pointed out above. (4) If South India borrowed Indiran from the Āryas, there is no reason why he should have his jurisdiction suddenly contracted and why he should be confined to the *marudam* region and should not have extended to all regions as it did in India north of the Vindhyas. On the contrary when the Ārya concepts spread in South India along with the migration of Brāhmaṇas to the south of the Vindhyas, the functions of the Aryan Indra were added on to the Indiran of the Tamils, who was thenceafter called *Vēndan*,[1] King of the Gods. It is more reasonable to consider that the Indiran of the *marudam* became also the King of the Gods after the contact of the Tamils with the Āryas than that the extent of his empire was diminished by his invasion of South India. (5) If South India borrowed Indiran from North India, there is no conceivable reason why the ploughmen alone should borrow the God and not the people of other regions, such as *neydal* and *mullai*. (6) The South Indian worship of Indiran was not conducted by an expert caste as in North India. It is inconceivable that as soon as the Brāhmaṇas brought the Indra-cult to South India, they resigned their priestly functions with regard to this deity and his worship became a popular institution in which all castes and both sexes could take part. The Brāhmaṇa-rites and the old Tamil rites have not become mixed up though Brāhmaṇas have wielded supreme religious power in South India for 2,000 years, and though the two have co-existed for 2,000 years. Is it not then absurd to hold that at one moment in the past Indra-rites of north India became inextricably blended with Tamil rites. (7) The worship in each of the five regions consisted primarily in ritual dancing, peculiar to each region. This was accompanied by the singing of tunes, *paṇ*, special to each tract. There was also a special form of *yāḻ* for each natural region on which the tunes of that regions were played. In such worship all people, whatever their status, took part, whereas in northern India, even during the performance of royal *yajñas*, such as *Rājasūyam*, Kings could not enter the *yajña śālā* except on one solitary occasion when they were temporarily invested with the rank of a Brāhmaṇa and allowed to make one *āhuti*, offering, in the fire nearest to the gate of the sacrificial hall. How the worship in which the Brāhmaṇa oligarchy alone could officiate could suddenly become a democratic institution it is impossible to conceive. (8) Convincing etymologies of the names of the Gods Krishṇa, Indra, and Varuṇa

[1] வேந்தன்.

from Sanskrit roots have not been found by scholars notwithstanding three thousand years of unexampled ingenuity. Hence there is no linguistic reason to claim that these names originally belonged to the Sanskrit language. (9) The possibility of North India borrowing names of objects and even of Gods from South India has not been investigated at all. There was plenty of intercourse between the people North and South of the Vindhyas in the remote ages. Therefore there is nothing to disprove the notion that the same Gods were worshipped throughout India even before the fire-cult rose to great popularity five thousand years ago. Hence the most probable conclusion is that when the Rishis moulded the Vedic cult they utilized the pre-existing gods and adapted them to their philosophical concepts. Such is what has taken place all over the world in the evolution of religion. Moreover it is only in recent times that the idea rose that Sanskrit, being a perfect language, could not have borrowed names from any other language. The ancient thinkers had no such illusion. *Mīmāmsā sutras* I. iii. 9, says, *chodītam tu pratiyeta avirodhāt pramāṇena*. This implies that words borrowed from the *mlechchha* languages and used in the Veda ought to be understood in the sense they have in those *mlechchha* languages and not to be ascribed new meanings based on the *nirukta* or etymological speculations. Śabara gives as illustrations of such borrowing *tāmara*, lotus, *pika*, cuckoo, both Tamil words. I offer the suggestion that many more words were borrowed by Sanskrit from Tamil. Not as a proved conclusion, but merely to challenge enquiry I suggest that the word, so essential to later Sanskrit philosophy, *Māyā*, was coined from a Tamil root-word.

Māyā is a word which occurs in the Vedic *mantras*; there it does not possess the meaning of *Mūlaprakṛiti*, chaotic matter, that which is not *sat*, nor *asat*. In the *mantras* it merely means the wonder-working power exhibited by Indra and other gods. Gradually *Māyā* came to be specially associated with Vishṇu; in the *Bhagavad Gītā*, Kṛishṇa, the incarnate Vishṇu, speaks of *mama māyā duratyayā*, 'my Māyā difficult to transcend.' So Māyā came to mean the power, the magic might wielded by the Supreme Vishṇu in creating, and sustaining the universe and this is still the meaning of Māyā in Vaishṇava tradition. In the Śaiva schools Māyā became the wife of Śiva, the mighty mother of the universe, being Īśvara's power embodied in manifested matter. In the Advaita schools, she became identified with *Prakṛiti*, matter, which is a reality to embodied beings and vanishes without leaving a trace behind before the vision of him who has seen the light of Ātmā. Hence Advaitīs explain it by the jingle *yā mā sā māyā*, who is not, she is *māyā*; this ingenious and impossible derivation could have been invented only, after that incomparable philosopher, Śaṅkarāchārya, definitely and finally connected the word with that which exists as a phenomenon but does not exist as a noumenon. The older meaning of the word, from which this meaning has arisen, was wonder, astonishment, power of magic, cannot be derived from any Sanskrit root; but Tamil possesses a root that exactly suits the word and that is *māy*, [1] to be astonished, to vanish from sight. I am sure

[1] மாய்.

that on a careful study conducted according to the fundamental principles of modern etymological science, many Sanskrit words will be found to be borrowed from those of the languages which prevailed in India in the early Iron Age. At any rate the idea that the gods who were worshipped before the rise to popularity of the Ārya cult were borrowed and ennobled and idealized by the Rishis is not quite so absurd as people imagine.

Now Indra has become extinct in the *marudam* region. Ever since the worship of Siva and Vishṇu rose to mighty proportions from the sixth century A.D. onwards, under the inspiration of the singers of the Śaiva *Tevāram* and Vaishṇava *Pirabandam*, Indra disappeared. His place of popularity in the minds of the common people, especially of the river-valleys, has been usurped by a non-vedic God, who has no Tamil name but whose worship is most wide-spread in the Tamil country, viz., *Gaṇeśa* or *Vişhvaksēna*, the generalissimo and the remover of difficulties. How this came about I cannot at all explain. I can only note in passing that while Indra was a constant rider on elephants, Gaṇeṣa combines in his person human and elephantine features.

From *marudam* I shall now turn to *Neydal*, the littoral region. Here were evolved the occupations of fishing, salt-scraping, salt-manufacture, and the selling of salt, of fresh fish and salted fish ; they made canœs, dug-outs and wicker work boats ; the *Paradavar* men sailed on the sea, at first hugging the coast, and, later, boldly struck across the black sea, *Karuṅgaḍal*,[1] and reached far off countries where they exchanged the cotton cloth and timber of South India for scented gums, sugar and other products of foreign lands. Their God was Varuṇan, another deity also invoked in the Ārya rites ; but the worship of Varuṇan by the *Valaiñar*,[2] the men who plied the net, the lowest of the low, was of course very different from the fire-worship of the same deity. ' It is the new moon and the red-haired *Paradavar*[3] men have not gone along to fish in the broad, black, cold sea ; with their dark-skinned women clad in green-leaf garments, in the midst of their huts, which were built on the sea-beach whose sands smell of fish and which had low roofs on which were placed the long angling rods, on the sands of the front yard on which the nets were spread like a patch of darkness on a moon lit-floor, they planted the horn of the gravid sword-fish and invoked on it their God. They wore (round their neck) garlands made of the cool flowers of the white *Kūdāḷam*[4] (a kind of *Solanum*), which grows at the foot of the *Tāḻai*[5] (screw-pine), and (on their heads) the flowers of the *tāḻai*, which has long petals ; they drank the toddy from the palmyra which has a rough skin, and also the liquor brewed from rice, and danced. In the noisy part of *Pugār*,[6] where appearing like a red cloud on a black hill, and like a (red-haired) child at the mother's (black) breast, the Kāviri mixes with the clear and dark waters of the ocean-wave, they bathed to get rid of their sins, and, then, bathed in the river to get rid of the salt on their skins ; they hunted for crabs and played in the spreading waves ; they made

1 கருங்கடல். 2 வலைஞர். 3 பரதவர். 4 கூதாளம். 5 தாழை. 6 புகார்.

images; they were intoxicated with the pleasures enjoyed through many senses and played with undiminished joy throughout the day.[1]

After reading this description of Varuṇa-worship it would be foolhardy to derive it from the Vedic Yajña, in which Varuṇa, Indra and Mitra were invoked.

[1] நெடுந்தூண்டிலிற் காழ்சேர்த்திய
குறுங்கூரைக் குடிநாப்ப
ணிலவடைந்த விருள்போல
வலையுணங்கு மணன்முன்றில்
வீழ்த்தாழைத் தாட்டாழ்ந்த
வெண்கூ தாளத்துத் தண்பூங் கோதையர்
சினைச்சுறவின் கோடுநட்டு
மனைச்சேர்த்திய வல்லணங்கினான்
மடற்றாழை மலர்மலைந்தும்
பிணர்ப்பெண்ணைப் பிழிமாந்தியும்
புன்றலை யிரும்பரதவர்
பைந்தழைமா மகளிரொடு
பாயிரும் பனிக்கடல் வேட்டஞ் செல்லா
துவவுமடிந் துண்டாடியும்
புலவுமணற் பூங்கானன்
மாமலை யணைந்த கொண்மூப் போலவுந்
தாய்முலை தழுவிய குழவி போலவுந்
தேறுநீர்ப் புணரியோ டியாறுதலை மணக்கு
மலியோதத் தொலிகூடற்
றீதுநீங்கக் கடலாடியு
மாசுபோகப் புனல்படிந்து
மலவ னாட்டியு முரவுத்திரை யுழக்கியும்
பாவை சூழ்ந்தும் பல்பொறி மருண்டு
மகலாக் காதலொடு பகல்விளையாடி. *Paṭṭinappālai*, 80, 104.

(*To be continued.*)

Reviews

'THE THEORY OF GOVERNMENT IN ANCIENT INDIA'

BY

BENI PRASAD, M.A.

WITH A FOREWORD BY

A. B. KEITH, D.C.L.

[Published by the Indian Press, Allahabad. Price, Rs. 8-8-0]

IN very recent years, and especially the course of the last ten years, a number of young scholars have been interesting themselves in the field of Indian history and culture, and the results of their industry are being published from time to time in the shape of contributions to the periodicals and books. One such elaborate study is by Dr. Beni Prasad on the *Theory of Government in Ancient India.* Dr. Prasad needs no introduction to the scholarly world. His work on the *History of Jahāngir* is well known.

The book under review is a thesis approved for the degree of Ph. D. (Econ.) in the University of London (1926). It is an examination of the theory of Government which is post-vedic, though a chapter is given to vedic literature which is only introductory and based chiefly on secondary sources. The rest of the work is said to be based almost on original sources, though no original texts are quoted and discussed. Standard translations have been utilized for the purpose. We would have wished the learned author to go to the texts themselves and base his statements more on his own study of them.

In about eight chapters the author has given a brief survey of the political theories prevalent in ancient India, such as could be gathered from the available literary sources. A chapter of about fifty pages is devoted to an examination of the political theories collated from the epics, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana.* The place of honor is naturally given to the *Mahābhārata* wherein is really found a mine of valuable information for reconstructing the history of post-Vedic India. It would have been more useful if the author had devoted equal attention to the other equally important work, the *Rāmāyana.* We may regard this epic as much a text on the *Nītisāra* as any other.

More than the text, some commentaries on the work, especially that of Govindaraja, are valuable to a student of political institutions in Hindu India.

The next important chapter that claims our attention is that on Kauṭalya. We congratulate the author for using uniformly the term 'Kauṭalya', which is indeed a correct pronunciation of the name of the celebrated Indian statesman. We expected much from this chapter but were really disappointed. Dr. Prasad has had the advantage of previous publications on the subject though he seems hardly aware of their existence. He says that it is imposible to fix the date of the authorship of the *Kauṭalīya*. We thought it has been accepted throughout that it is the *bonafide* work of the minister of the Mauryan Emperer Chandragupta Maurya. This established fact is discarded for the author is explicit when he says in the preface ' the publication of some valuable articles and books on ancient Indian political life in the meanwhile does not, however, necessitate any modification of the views expressed here '. Professor Keith who has contributed a learned foreword to this work quotes Sir R. Bhandarkar to show that the *Kauṭalīya* could not be earlier than the first or second century A.D. Sir Bhandarkar had not the full advantage of recent researches on the subject. Had he lived to-day, it is not improbable that he would have revised his opinion. We have reasons to believe that his distinguished son, and equally eminent scholar Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar of the Calcutta University has accepted the established theory as to the date of Kauṭalya.

As the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭalya is the most important work in the political literature of India we shall refer to one or two more points drawn attention to by the author. Professor Prasad says, ' Kauṭalya has in mind not a huge empire like the Mauryan but a congeries of small states ' (p. 92). Again ' In one respect the *Arthaśāstra* theory represents a great advance on the Vedas. The priest has practically dropped out. The state has outgrown the theocratic elements and established itself more or less on secular ground (p 149). Both these statements have no legs to stand on. If Kauṭalya had lived between the first century and the fourth century A.D. and if he is in intimate touch with men and affairs, and if he draws largely on existing facts according to the author, then he must have known the existence ofa huge empire like that of the Mauryas, and even of the Guptas. If Kauṭalya

had drawn from the existing facts then his state must be an empire and not a congeries of small states. Again if he could be identified with the minister Chāṇakya, then again he must be familiar with the Mauryan empire. Thus apart from other evidence, internal and external, whatever may be the date of the Kauṭalya fourth century B.C. or A.D. the fact is that he spoke of a huge empire and not a small state. Geographically the author of the *Arthaśāstra* is well aware of all important places from the Himalayas down to the southern extremity of the country.

To turn to the other statement, namely the *Purohita* finds no political status in the Kauṭalyan polity, we have numerous texts to show how the *Purohita* plays a significant rôle in the *Arthaśāstra*. I have discussed this question elaborately in my contribution. ' Is *Arthaśāstra* secular ' ? published in the proceedings of the third Oriental Conference. Suffice it to say that even the eminent scholar Dr. Winternitz has acceded to this position and referred me to his learned work on the History of Indian Literature wherein he has made similar remarks. There is strong testimony to prove beyond doubt how the vedic tradition of the *Purohita* guiding the monarch in all affairs of the kingdom, spiritual and temporal, is faithfully transmitted in the *Kauṭalīya*.

There is another statement which is also untenable. Prof. Prasad says that Buddhism represents a revolt against Brahmanism. In this short review we cannot speak at length on this point. It is enough to say that Buddhism is neither from a religious point of view nor even from a social point of view a revolt against Brahmanism. Both in religion and caste Buddhism rather supported the Brahmanical tradition than set up a revolt against it. The fact was that the chief aim of the Buddhist movement was asceticism. According to the Vedic tradition it was only the Brahman who could take up the robes of a Sanyasin. But after the battle at Kurukshetra the Kshatriyas began slowly to enter into asceticism. This movement was given an impetus by the teachings of the Buddha which admitted the members of all castes, not excluding even the women, to the ranks of ascetics. The belief was that once a man became an ascetic, he could easily attain salvation (*mokṣa*). If the spirit of the movement could be realized in this respect, then we may draw the conclusion that Buddhism was in no way a revolt against the established religion of the land.

raised a standard of revolt against the existing religion or political constitution is to misread the history of ancient India.

The concluding pages of the work refer to the consideration of the economic basis of the state. The learned author tries to show in brief outline how it became recognized even in early times that a state could not subsist unless the material prospects of the people were well considered. Thus the work is full of interest and will profitably pay perusal.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

'CHRONOLOGY OF ANCIENT INDIA'

BY

SITA NATH PRADHAN, M.SC., Ph.D.

[Published by the University of Calcutta.]

THE historical chapters of the *Purāṇas* were during the nineteenth century regarded as the inventions of uncontrolled imagination, unworthy of the serious notice of historians who followed the modern critical method of historical studies. But in the beginning of the present century, Mr. Pargiter hit on the brilliant idea, that the names Visvāmitra and Vasiṣhṭha that figures in the Puranic tales were clan names and not personal names. Thence vanished the absurdity of the same man reappearing as the contemporary of kings of many generations and it was found that after all there was a method in Puranic madness. By a critical study of the various *Purāṇas* Pargiter found that numerous synchronisms could be detected in the tales and an investigation of these synchronisms enabled him to construct dynastic lists of the kingdoms which rose to power and declined in influence, some more than once in the age between the foundation of the Solar and the Lunar lines and the war of the *Mahābhārata* in which most of the ancient royal families were destroyed. But Mr. Pargiter was obsessed by a few fixed ideas. One was that the Kshattriyas and the Brāhmaṇas of old times belonged to two different races and were always struggling with each for the monopoly of power in the state. Th second was that the Kshattriyas were possessed of the historical

sense, which the Brāhmaṇas were utterly lacking in; hence the statements made in the *Purāṇas* about the successions of kings were all reliable and those made in the Vedic literature and in the *Itihāsas* were all unreliable. This obsession led Mr. Pargiter to various wrong conclusions, besides prejudicing the minds of scholars against his reconstruction of ancient history; for historical allusions in the Vedic literature are practically the testimony of contemporaries and it is absurd to regard them as of less evidential value than the statements in the *Purāṇas* which were of later dates than the events described. Mr. Pargiter explained his methods of investigation and the conclusions reached by him first in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1910 and gave an account of the final results of his studies in 1922 in his *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition.*

From the time Mr. Pargiter published the tentative results of his studies in 1910, Mr. Sita Nath Pradhan enthusiastically took up his method of investigation and pursued it but without Mr. Pargiter's prejudices. Very properly he took the *Vedas* (mantras and Brāhmaṇas), the *Itihāsas*, and *Purāṇas*, as all authoritative and tried to reconcile their differences. The result is this volume of the *Chronology of Ancient India*, which ought more properly be called the latter half of the *Chronology of Ancient India*, for the book deals only with the kings who ruled from the middle of the Vedic Age to the end of that age brought about by the Bhārata battle. The first subject of the book is the age of Daśaratha, father of Srī Rāmachandra, and of Divodāsa, mentioned frequently in the Vedic *mantras* as the destroyer of many Dasyu towns. Divodāsa's sister was Ahalyā, whose adultery was condoned because Srī Rāma accepted her hospitality. Divodāsa was the grandson of Mudgala, whose wife Indrasenā was the daughter of Naḷa and Damayantī, the story of whose love is so well remembered in India. Divodāsa's contemporaries, other than Daśaratha, were Satvant, the Yādava Rāja, twelfth in descent from whom was Śrī Krishna, Vītahavya, the Haihaya, in whose line was born the famous Kulapati Saunaka to whom in the Naimīṣha forest Sauti related the story of the *Mahābhārata*. Kṛita, another contemporary of Daśaratha, was grandfather of Bṛihadratha, founder of the well-known line of Magadha kings which flourished till the middle of the first millennium B.C. The succession lists of this line, and those of the Hastināpur line, and several other lines of kings, from the age of Śrī Rāma to the

age of Śrī Krishna—the later Vedic period—are the subject of investigation upto Chapter XIV of the book.

In Chapters XIV and XV the author deals with the historical position of various distinguished Rishis of this period: including Rishi Nārāyaṇa, the author of the famous *Purusha Sūktam*. In Chapter XVI he attempts to fix the chronology of the later Vedic period. This he does by determining the date of the Bhārata battle and working up to the earlier age by assigning the average length of twenty-eight years to each of the kings who reigned before that event. That battle he finds to have occurred about 1150 B.C. To help him to fix that date, he adds to the many attempts of scholars to determine the succession list of Magadhan kings from Bimbisāra to Chandragupta, one of his own; these attempts are based on the contradictory information contained in the Brāhmaṇa, Jaina and Bauddha chronicles; and whereas previous investigators have shown a special leaning to one of these three sources, Mr. Pradhan tries to consider the question without any prejudice. So, too, he considers the succession list of the Pradjota dynasty. After fixing these, he estimates the date of the *Mahābhārata* war by assigning an average of twenty-eight years to each of the kings who reigned before Chandragupta. He then attempts to obtain confirmation of his conclusion by taking into consideration astronomical data from the *Vedāṅga Jyotisha*.

Incidentally in the course of the discussion, he disproves the validity of the chronological systems of Tilak's *Orion* and Dr. Das's *Rig Vedic India*. Yet while we cannot but admire Mr. Pradhan's acuteness in proving the accuracy of his dynastic lists, it appears to us that he has post-dated the Great War of Ancient India by at least three centuries.

In the course of the book, the author informs us that he has investigated the succession lists of the kings of the earlier Vedic period, that from Purūravas and Ikshvāku to Mudgala and Raghu. That study is likely to prove even more interesting than that of this book and we wish that he will publish his book on the earlier period very soon. We also wish that the new book will be printed less shabbily than this one and will not be marred by the innumerable printer's errors which disfigure this.

P. T. S.

THE ARAVIDU DYNASTY OF VIJAYANAGAR'

BY

REV. H. HERAS, S.J., M.A.

[Vol. I. Messrs. B. G. Paul & Co., Madras.]

THIS is the first fruit of the recently started Research Institute in the St. Xavier's College, Bombay, by the talented and enthusiastic Professor of History, the Rev. H. Heras, S.J., M.A., etc. The work takes up the history of the empire of Vijayanagar in the latter part which is not covered by the late Mr. Robert Sewell's work. The material available for the history of Vijayanagar after the so-called battle of Talikota was hitherto regarded so little to repay the painful labour of a student of research that it was taken for granted that a consecutive history of the period was impossible. The possibility of historical material in sources not hitherto regarded as such was made known to the public by the first work of the Madras University Historical Series, Sources of Vijiyanagar History, chiefly literary. That work demonstrated for the first time that there is a considerable volume of material not hitherto drawn upon for this period as well as for the period preceding in the history of Vijayanagar. For the period that the author has taken up, he has had the good fortune to find a quantity of material in the Portuguese records hardly suspected so far. He has used this new find and has supplemented it by a very much more careful and thorough exploitation of the Jesuit sources of information not brought into requisition for the purpose to any considerable extent so far. The work before us therefore is a volume of very creditable research work and a far fuller account than we had a right to expect before this important discovery by the talented author.

The work under review is volume I of the whole work and covers the period from the beginning of the career of Ramarāya in the latter period of the reign of the emperor Achyuta and carries the story down to the death of Venkatapatiraya II in A.D. 1614. The author has made a thorough exploitation of all the sources of information so far accessible and has given us a history of a little over 550 pages dealing in great detail with some of the episodes on which more light was badly needed.

The author is thorough-going in his work, has neglected no source and has produced a work on the whole providing attractive reading. He takes up the career of Ramarāya and shows by dividing it into three stages how he advanced gradually from being the regent for Sadasiva to ultimate supersession of Sadasiva as a ruler. He then takes up in detail the history of the transactions that led to what used to be called the battle of Talikota hitherto, and what ought properly speaking to be called the battle of *Rākshasatangaḍi*, which Father Heras calls *Rākshasatagaḍi*, we do not quite see on what authority. The correction becomes necessary as Talikota is about twenty-five miles on the north bank of the Krishna, and, except for the fact that it was the headquarters of the Bijapur army before the battle itself, it is too far away from the scene of the battle to give the name to the battle itself, being more than forty miles from the scene of battle actually and perhaps what is worse with the big River Krishna, after crossing which it is that the enemies joined in battle, almost fully a march from the bank ; nor can it be said that this was not known as Duff in his History of the Mahrattas refers to the place on the authority of Mahratta Bakhairs in the somewhat corrupted form of *Rakshitagunḍi.* The battle and its results, the retirement of Tirumala from Vijayanagar, the question of the capital, whether it was Penugonda or Chandragiri, the circumstances under which Emperor Sadasiva was murdered the person actually responsible for the murder, the reign of Ranga I and the achievements of Venkata in the reign of his elder brother and his own, all these are treated with a fullness not possible hitherto, Naturally the war under Rama in the distant south, the doings of St. Francis the Xavier receive fuller treatment. So similarly the work of the Madura Mission and of Father Nobili. Of course, in this part of the subject, Father Heras has to utilize to the full the Jesuit sources only as being practically the only sources available to him and the account may appear to readers somewhat one-sided. That is perhaps inevitable having regard to the fact that there is not much other material to check this source by, at any rate material of value. On the whole, the work makes an important, nay, we may almost say, an invaluable addition to the historical literature of the period.

While we have nothing but commendation for the painstaking and earnest effort of the talented author, we must nevertheless draw attention to one or two dangers incidental to the work to which the

cautious author unfortunately succumbed. There is always a certain risk in adopting the *ipse dixits* of others who have worked on the subject before and in adopting them wholesale for drawing important conclusions ; it will always be safer to verify our authorities before using them. Father Heras has referred in more than one place to the Bēvinahalli plates as giving us a hitherto unnoticed authority for the name *Madras* to the capital of the southern Presidency almost a century before the date on which the name actually occurs in an authoritative document. He has made use of this identification as the basis for a certain number of remarks of his own in the course of the work of a more or less important historical character, so that the matter requires some attention. One of the recipients of the gifts conveyed by the Bēvinhalli grant happens to be a Basavappa, son of Mailāpūra Mādarasa of the Bhāraḍvāja Gotra and Yajus Śākha. (*Epi. Ind.*, vol. xiv, 215, No. 82 on table). The learned editors of the document Messrs. Venkateśvara and Viśvanatha, have the following remarks to make :—(on page 216 idem.)

'The names of the divisions are derived from Sanskrit or colloquial Kannada corruptions of Sanskrit. In a few cases only do they seem to be connected with territory. The most interesting of the latter is Mailāpūra Mādarasa, which seems to suggest the modern name Mylapore and Madras. The etymology of the word Madras is uncertain, and we may well suggest for Madrasapatnam of the old East India Company's records the origin from some Mādarasa in the sixteenth century or earlier. In any case, our inscription is nearly a century before the foundation of Fort St. George and is probably the oldest record suggestive of a derivation for the word *Madras*. That Mylapore is one of the earliest parts of Madras is clear from the Syrian Christian traditions regarding the visit of St. Thomas to that place. [We cannot also ignore the fact that Mailāpura is mentioned as a suburb of Bēvinahalli in line 278 f H.K.S.']。

It is on the basis of these remarks Father Heras has allowed himself to be drawn into the conclusion that Madras is probably a name derived from this Mādarasa on the ground that Mailāpūr and Mādarasa are brought into proximity. The context under reference on page 227 of the work refers to 'Bhāradvājānvayo Mailāpūra Mādarasa-atmaja'. Three lines above occurs the name of the town Muḷuvāgil in Muḷuvāgila Konēri. In either of these two cases, it is the

Kanarese form of the sixth case of the locality that is actually under reference. Therefore it means nothing more than Mādarasa of Mailāpūr and Konēri of Mulbagil, the other details not concerning us for the present. In describing the boundaries as usual in the vernacular of the village under gift Bēvinahalli, otherwise called Ramasamudram, Mailāpur occurs as forming the southern boundary, and that is what the editor, Mr. H. Krishna Sastriar, has referred to in the note that he has added. The document has reference to a date equivalent to A.D. 1551 and therefore almost a century before 1639, the date of gift of Madras, and 1645, the date of the charter which contains the name Madrasapatam as the earliest reference. This reference to Madras in the Bēvinahalli plates, if justifiable, would take us back a century almost for an authoritative statement of the name of the town. Unfortunately for us, it is far otherwise. Bēvinahalli to which the village of Mailāpura formed a part of the southern boundary is described as belonging to Kēḷavaḍi Nāḍu, included within the boundaries of Hastināvati, another name for Anēgondi or Vijayanagar. It is supposed to be included within the boundaries of Gauḍakundi *sīmā* and is given the other name Ramasamudram. This together with another village to which it was joined was gifted away by the grant, so that on the authority of the document quoted, Mailāpūr happens to be a village which was included in a division belonging to Ānegondi in the Bellary District and has nothing whatsoever to do with Mylapore, the southern suburb of Madras; the name Mādarasa while it is a common enough name among the Kanarese people, and even among the Telugus, and might well have been the cause of the name Madrasapatam under conceivable circumstances, has nothing to do whatever with the name Mailāpūra Mādarasa that occurs in the Bēvinahalli grant on the authority of the grant itself. Mādarasa is therefore nothing more than a personal name and the bearer of the name belonged to the village of Mailāpūr, in all probability the village of Mailāpūr in the immediate neighbourhood of Bēvinahalli, not Mylapore forming part of Madras.

Another point of importance to which we would fain draw the attention of the author is where, in describing Vaishnavism in Vijayanagar, he launches into something like a thesis on the history of Vaishnavism and comes, we should think very hastily, to the very important conclusion that Tirupati was orginally a Śiva temple and had

been converted into a Vaishnava shrine through the deceitful practices of Ramanuja. We are very far from blaming Father Heras for this position, because the storyis current among the Vaishnavas themselves. What we object to as unworthy of a serious student of history is that Father Heras should have taken it upon himself to settle that question off-hand on the mere basis of no historical material at his disposal than mere guess work probability. It is far too serious a matter for mere guess work and the light-heartedness with which the conclusion is offered is likely to detract seriously from the merits of an author who could take so much pains to collect evidence and consider them critically for historical purposes. That Tirupati was a shrine of Vishnu in the Harihara form is tradition for which there is authority of an irrefutable character long anterior to the days of Ramanuja and the investigation of the question would require an examination of the evidence which it may not be easy for the talented author to do. Nor can we say that the author was called upon to make any pronouncement on this particular question in the immediate context of his work.

We may congratulate the author on the successful completion of the first instalment of his great work for which he had exceptional facilities in the shape of material. The printing of the work has been done on the whole creditably by the publishers, Messrs. B. G. Paul & Co. of Madras. While we are in sympathy with the difficulties incidental to a first publication by a new firm, we regret that the printing leaves a great deal to be desired. Several printer's blemishes could easily have been avoided. There are some of them of a more serious character than the blemishes of the printer. As we mentioned already, the author seems to take the name of the famous battle as *Rākshasatagaḍi* without quoting authority. We have noticed it referred to as *Rākshasatangaḍi* in various of the native authorities. It would have been well if the author gave the authority for this name. In another place we noticed the name Chinnakesava where one would expect Channakesava. Father Heras refers to Achutayarayaabhudayam as a Tamil work. It is a Sanskrit *kāvya*. There are a number of errors like this throughout the work, a great majority of these, of course, of the printer, but some of them other than printer's errors. These might have been avoided. Notwithstanding these small blemishes, the work would prove a very important addition to the literature on the subject undoubtedly and ought to be in the hands of every serious student of the history of the period.

'JAMES BRYCE'

BY

H. A. L. Fisher

[Two vols. Messrs. Macmillan & Co.]

The life of James Bryce which extended over practically the whole of the Victorian Era and more than the first score of years of the new century must really be one of interest to all readers of that kind of literature in which biography stands out as one of the distinct classes. Though Bryce's was a life of strenuous activity, its course had an even tenor, which offered nothing particularly stirring to create situations of great interest and excitement. All the more interesting therefore is the life of the traveller, the professor and the man of letters, not to speak of the politician and the diplomatist that Byrce was. The life of eighty-two years of which more than fifty were spent in the active politics of the country would certainly require a larger span than the Rt. Hon'ble author allowed himself for this Biography. Mr. Fisher has saved space by cutting out of his work that part of Bryce's activities which might be taken to be well known to contemporaries as public activities as member of Parliament, Minister, etc. The biography covers only that part of the life of Bryce which may perhaps be described as private in a somewhat modified sense of the term.

The biography is written in the style of Morley's *Gladstone* and the subject of the biography is made to speak wherever possible in his own language and to give us a bit of himself, as it were, for us to form our ideas of the scholar and the gentleman. The two volumes before us present a very interesting and continuous life of Bryce and leave the impression at the end of it that he was one of those whose life was cast in the happy tenor of ' a life without suffering and death without pain ' sighed for in vain by Indian philosophers and men of erudition as the *summum bonum* of existence. Bryce's activities could be counted from 1860 onwards and the items of work he was engaged in and in which he left his own impress were many and varied. Education in all its branches seems to have been his pet affection and his work in that branch of human activity is remarkably varied and good. As professor or writer or investigator of problems connected with administration, he was equally at home and the biography gives us a correct impression of the man at his work.

Bryce travelled widely and was careful to give us his own impression of places that he visited and of all parts that he played wherever he went in the course of his travels. These give us a good idea of the man, although one might, from the biography, feel somewhat disappointed at the comparatively poor impression that he formed of India, being the result necessarily of the comparatively narrow sphere of his experience and of the limited sources of information that he had, notwithstanding the fact that he was an honest-minded man and tried to form correct impressions of things without any bias one way or the other previously conceived. On the whole the work is a very readable one and must be classed amongst recent biographies which are to adorn the shelves of readers with any pretentions to acquaintance with *Belles-lettres*.

Obituary

LATE RAO BAHADUR H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A.,

Epigraphist to the Government of India.

IT is with great regret that we have to record the death of Mr. Krishna Sastri, Epigraphist to the Government of India. Being born in Hoskoṭa in the Bangalore District, he received his education in Bangalore and graduated from the Central College in 1889 with Mathematics as his optional subject and Sanskrit as his second-language. Soon after getting his degree, he entered service as an Assistant in the office of the Epigraphist to the Government of Madras, which office was then held by the late Dr. Hultzsch, who had fixed his headquarters in Bangalore. Young Mr. Krishna Sastri soon picked up the work of the Department through the assistance of the late Dr. Hultzsch and the late Mr. Venkiah, and gradually moved up as the Department improved in strength till he became First Assistant when Dr. Hultzsch retired to take up the professorship of Sanskrit in the University of Halle and Venkiah succeeded him as Epigraphist to the Government of Madras. When this latter was promoted to the position of Epigraphist to the Government of India in succession to Professor Sten Konow, Mr. Krishna Sastri was advanced to the position of Assistant Superintendent of Archæology for Epigraphy in Madras. He continued to hold that place till the death of the late Mr. Venkiah, became Epigraphist to the Government of India in succession to the latter and held that office till two years ago when he retired from service. He went and settled down in Bangalore and had been among those who had been nominated a Fellow of the Mysore University. After a short illness he passed away in Bangalore at the comparatively early age of about fifty-seven.

He started with a good knowledge of Sanskrit and steadily worked up to establish his position as a competent Epigraphist. In his official capacity as Epigraphist and as the Editor of the *Epigraphia Indica*, he turned out a volume of work creditable to his industry. Though he could not perhaps be described as a brilliant epigraphist, he was quite a safe and steady workman and kept the work of the Department in a high state of efficiency. By his death the Department loses a steady and industrious officer and the world of historical research an industrious scholar and a painstaking worker in the field of epigraphy.

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Who was the Pāṇdya Contemporary of Chēṛamān Peṛumāḷ Nāyanāṛ?

BY

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The paucity of historical details available about the early Chēṛa kings necessitates the acceptance of Śēkkiḻāṛ's narrative of Chēṛamān Peṛumāḷ Nāyanāṛ's life in the *Peṛiya Puṛāṇam* as the main source of information on the subject. But unfortunately in that poem, truth is obscured by fiction and the historian has to sift out relevant details and verify them by means of the information furnished by inscriptions.

According to the *Peṛiya Puṛāṇam*, Prince Chēṛamān manifested even in his boyhood a distaste for the pleasures of the palace, and impelled by a higher yearning for spiritual life, left the capital, where his father ruled, to become an ardent Śiva devotee in Tiruvanjikkuḷam.[1]

[1] *Chēṛamān Peṛumā Puṛāṇam*— st. 7.

He took delight in picking flowers, cleaning temple premises and rendering innumerable other services to the God of his heart.[1] While he was thus engaged, his father, who was perhaps in no way inferior to him in *Bhakti*, abandoned the kingdom to become an ascetic.[2] The perplexed ministers finally sought out the prince, and requested him to take charge of the administration.[3] He thereupon consulted God Śiva, gained his consent, returned to the capital and mounted the throne.[4] Yet he could not forget that his main duty in life was to render service to God and all His true devotees.[5] One day, Pāṇa Pattiṛan, a musician, came from Madura with a note from God Somasundaṛa Himself.[6] Chēṛamān received him as an honoured guest and loaded him with presents.[7] Later on, he came to know of Sundaṛamūrti of Tiṛuvālūr.[8] When he went there, he was cordially received by the saint and by his wife Paṛavai Nāchiyār.[9] He took this occasion to go to the innumerable shrines in the Chōḷa country.[10] Afterwards both Sundaṛamūrthi and Chēṛamān went to Madura and were most cordially received by the Pāṇdyan monarch who assigned to them for their temporary stay a beautiful palace adorned with precious stones.[11] Enjoying this hospitality for some time, the saintly guests visited the shrines of the Pāṇdya Nāḍ, accompanied by the Pāṇdya king and his son-in-law, a Chōḷa monarch who was living with him.[12] After finishing this pilgrimage, Chēṛamān returned to Kēṛaḷa[13] with Sundaṛamūrti who stayed in Tiruvanjikkaḷam for some time and took that opportunity of visiting the Kēṛaḷa shrines. Later on, he went to Tiṛuvālūṛ[14] much against the will of Chēṛamān though he afterwards returned and stayed for a pretty long time in Tiruvanjikkaḷam.[15] It was there that Sundaṛamūrti appealed to God to free him from the bondage of earthly life.[16] God granted his request by sending him a white elephant which was to take him to Kailāsa.[17] Sundaṛamūrti mounted it and when he was proceeding to Kailāsa, he could

[1] *Chēṛamān Peṛumāḷ Puṛāṇam*— st. 8 and 9.
[2] *Ibid.*, st. 10.
[3] *Ibid.*, st. 11.
[4] *Ibid.*, st. 13.
[5] *Ibid.*, st. 25.
[6] *Ibid.*, st. 28.
[7] *Ibid.*, st. 32 to 36.
[8] *Ibid.*, st. 44.
[9] *Ibid.*, st. 64 and 70.
[10] *Ibid.*, st. 81.
[11] *Ibid.*, st. 91.
[12] *Ibid.*, st. 92 and 97 *et seq.*
[13] *Ibid.*, st. 144.
[14] *Ibid.*, st. 159 and 163.
[15] *Veḷḷānaich chaṛukkam,* st. 19 and 28.
[16] *Ibid.*, st. 29.
[17] *Ibid.*, st. 31.

not help thinking of Chēramān Perumāḷ.[1] Just at that time, the king was bathing. It then struck him that Sundaramūrti [2] was leaving him and so he hurriedly got upon a horse,[3] which happened to be close by and uttering the *Panchākshara mantra* in its ears, he also started. This was witnessed by his devoted warriors who slew themselves being unable to endure their beloved sovereign's departure. Thereby they too reached Kailāsa.[4]

The chief points in this account that can be utilized for historical investigation are the following :—

1. One Pāṇa Pattiran (Bāṇa Bhadra), a musician obtained presents from Chēramān Perumāḷ.

2. Chēramān visited a Pāṇdya king who had a Chōḷa [5] as his son-in-law.

3. Chēramān suddenly left his kingdom and hurriedly fled away from it.

4. His army soon afterwards perished.

Mr. Śrīnivāsa Piḷḷai of Tanjore has taken notice of the first two and attempted to fix the date of Chēramān Perumāl Nāyanār. He has reached the conclusion that he ought to have been the contemporary[6] of Varaguṇa Mahārājā, the grand-father of Varaguṇa Varman who is now known to have ascended the Pāṇḍya throne in 862 or 863. A.D. I am not able to see the force of his reasoning, and so I shall briefly examine his main arguments. They are as follow :—

1. Sundaramūrti has not mentioned the name of Varaguṇa in his *Tiruttoṇda Togai*, though Varaguṇa was a great Śaiva devotee about whom Māṇikkavāśagar, Paṭṭinattār and Nambi Āndār Nambi have all sung. Varaguṇa has the known date 862-3. A.D. Hence Sundarar lived before Varaguṇa II.

[1] *Veḷḷānaich charukkam*, st. 34.
[2] *Ibid.*, st. 35.
[3] *Ibid.*, st. 36.
[4] *Ibid.*, st. 38 and 39.
[5] The old Chōḷa dynasty came to an end in the sixth century A.D when Simhavishṇu brought the Chōḷa territories under his rule ; but phantom Rājas of the line must have existed during the age of Pallava sovereignty till Vijayālaya, their descendant, revived the Chōḷa rule Circa 850. A.D. A parallel is found in Chāḷukya history where the names of kings, who intervened between the dynasty of Bādāmi and that of Kalyāṇi, are found in the genealogical lists.
[6] Srīṇivāsa Pillai : *Tamiḻ Varalāru* : vol. ii., p. 64.

2. When Sundarar came to the Paṇḍya country, there was a weak Chōḷa king who had married the Pāṇḍya king's daughter and was living in the court of that monarch. This could have been only before the rise of the powerful Chōḷa Vijayālaya who came to the throne about 849. A. D.

3. According to the *Tiruvilayādal Purāṇam* of Paranjōti, it was during the time of one Varaguṇa that the musician Pāṇa Pattiran went from Madura to the Chēramān and received much wealth.

There is nothing to say against his argument No. 2. But the first and the third are open to objection. Mr. Srīnivāsa Piḷḷai has no warrant to assume that the Varaguṇa alluded to by Māṇikkavāśagar and others was Varaguṇa II and not Varaguṇa I. Even allowing for the sake of argument that Sundaramūrti was a contemporary of Varaguṇa I, it does not follow that Varaguṇa became a saintly person during the life-time of Sundaramūrti. It might be that he died before he could recognize the saintliness of Varaguṇa. All that can be reasonably inferred is that Sundaramūrti did not know of any Varaguṇa who was a saint. It is sure therefore that with the exception of Ninra Sīr Neḍumāran, the patron of Sambandar, there was no Pāṇḍyan king who was a saint before Sundaramūrti's time. As for the third argument, that at the time Pāṇa Pattiran went to Kēraḷa the ruling Pāṇḍya monarch was Varaguṇa, it must be remembered that much value cannot be attached to the names of the Pāṇḍya monarchs found in the *Tiruviḷayāḍal Purāṇam*; for, its account of the achievements of the king is so exaggerated and mythological that, at present, it is impossible to discover which are to be accepted as true historical facts and which are to be rejected as legends. Varaguṇa, occurring in the *Purāṇam* can only be taken to mean a Pāṇḍya king who was very pious. The name Varaguṇa was pitched upon, because it was the name of a great devotee king whose praises have been sung by Māṇikkavāśagar and others. The only point, therefore, that can be accepted in Mr. Srīnivāsa Piḷḷai's arguments is that Chēramān Perumāl ought to have lived before 849 A.D..

To discover the Pāṇḍya contemporary of the Chēramān, we must examine the genealogical list drawn up by the late Mr. Venkayya in the Epigrapical Report of 1908,[1] which is given on the next page.

[1] *Epigraphical Report*, 1908, p. 66.

Pāṇḍyādhirāja Paramēśvara Palyāgaśālai—Mudukuḍumi— Peṛuvaḻudi

|

Kaḷabhra Interregnum

|

1. Kaḍuṅgōṉ Pāṇḍyādhirāja

|

2. Adhirāja Māravarman Avaniśūḷāmaṇi

|

3. Śeḻiyaṉ Śēndaṉ

|

4. Māṛavarman Aṛikēsari Asamasamaṉ, defeated the army of Vilvēli at Nelvēli.

|

5. Kōchchaḍayaṉ Raṇadhīra ; fought the battle of Marudūr ; defeated the Mahāratha in the city of Mangalapuram.

|

6. Arikēsari Parānkuśa Māravarman Tērmāran ; defeated the Pallava at Kuḷambur ; conquered the Pallavas at Śankara mangai ; Rājasimha I ; defeated Pallavamalla ; renewed the walls of Kūdal, Vanji and Kōḻi.

|

7. Jatila Neḍunjaḍayaṉ Paṛāntaka ; defeated the Kāḍava at Peṇṇāgadam ; (donor of the Vēḷvikuḍi grant), 769-70 A. D.

|

8. Rājasimha II.

|

9. Vaṛaguṇa Mahārāja ; Jayantavarman (?)

|

10. Śrī Māra Śrīvallabha Ēkavīra Parachakra Kōlāhala ; conquered Māyāpāṇḍya, Kēṛaḷa, Simhala, Pallava and Vallabha ; Pallavabhanjana.

|

11. Vaṛaguṇa Varman ; ascended the throne in 862-63. A.D.

12. Parāntaka Vīra Nārayaṇa Saḍaiyan ; fought at Kharagiri and destroyed Peṇṇagadam ; married Vāṇavaṉ Mahādevi ; Jatila Neḍunjaḍayan (donor of the Madras Museum and smaller Śinnamannūr plates ?).

13. Rājasimha (III). Mandaragaurava Abhimāna mēru.

Of these, No. 4 has been now generally accepted as Ninra Sīr Neḍumāran, one of the sixty-three Śaiva saints included in Sundaramūrti's *Tiuttoṇḍa Togai.* He was the contemporary of Sambandar and so lived much earlier than Sundarar. So he could not have been the monarch visited by Chēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār. Nor could the Chēramān have been later than Vijayālaya Chōḷa of Circa 849 A.D. Hence his contemporary Pāṇḍyan monarch ought to have been some one among kings Nos. 5 to 10. Of these, Māran Ari Kēsarin (king No. 6) is recognized as the hero whose glories have been sung in the *kōvai* of Irayaṇār Ahapporuḷ. Those verses furnish ample evidence of his victories of his Chēra contemporary at Viḷiñam, Kōṭṭāru, Chēvur, Cape Comorin, and other places. The hostile relations between these two monarchs clearly prove that the then Chēra king was not Chēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār. Coming down to his successor Māranjaḍayan of 769 A.D., the first test to be applied ought to be whether his religious propensities were such as to admit of the possibility of his welcoming the Śaiva Saints Sundaramūrti and Chēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār. I am persuaded that he was a Śaiva, though his Śaivism was not of the bigoted type which could not tolerate Vaishṇava worship among his officers or ministers. But in finding out his religious views as well as other details about him, much difficulty has been caused by the wrong identification of the Mārans and Śaḍayans starting from Māranjaḍayan of 769 A.D. onwards. For instance, Mr. Gopinatha Rao thinks that only one and the same individual is referred to in the Madras Museum plates, the Ānamalai Record, and the Trevandrum Museum stone inscription.[1] Mr. Venkayya has a different view. To arrive at the truth of the matter, so that the events belonging to one Śadayan may not, by mistake, be attributed to another, an infallible test must be applied. I believe that there is such a test.

Examining the fashion of dating adopted by the Śaḍayans and and Mārans, a difference can be noticed between one monarch and another. Some Śaḍayans merely mention 'in the seventeenth year' or 'in twenty-seventh year,' etc. In other words, they mention only one year to indicate the date. Some others employ the 'double-date' method (as it may be designated) e.g. thus:—'in the twelfth year opposite to the fourth year'. The Śadayan who employs the

[1] *Travancore Archæological Series*, vol. i, p. 156.

single-date method cannot be the Śadayan who employs the double-date-method. Again, the Śadayan who gives the date 'the . . . . th year opposite to the *fourth* year' cannot be the one who gives the date 'the . . . . th year opposite to the *second* year'; for, one Śadayan consistently gives the *fourth year* as the second figure in the date, while the other is equally consistent in giving the *second year* as the second figure in the date. Dr. Hultzch probably arrived at the correct explanation of the double-date system. His interpretation is that one of these figures refers to the *Yauvarājya* of the king, and the other to the actual reigning year after he mounted the throne. Accepting this interpretation, only one of the dates can vary, because the period of *Yauvarājya* indicated in the date will always be constant. So, when two different figures are given to indicate the *Yauvarājya*, the legitimate inference is that these apply to two different monarchs.

Picking out all the relevant Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions, and analysing them, the following results are obtained:—

1. Some Śaḍayans adopt the single-date system.
2. One Śaḍayan has a *Yauvarājya* period of four years.
3. One Śaḍayan has a *Yauvarājya* period of two years.
4. One Māran has a *Yauvarājya* period of two years.

In the Ambāsamudram inscription[1] from which the date of Varaguṇa II has been obtained, it is found that the king dates the document 'in the twelfth year *opposite to the fourth year*'. It is clear that all the inscriptions dated in 'the . . . . th year opposite to the fourth year' belong to him. From the inscriptions it is possible to infer that he had Śaiva leanings. But that detail is now unimportant since he was not the Pāṇḍya contemporary of Chēṛamān Peṛumāḷ Nāyanāṛ.

The larger Śinnamannūṛ plates are found to be given by Rājasimha III, in the fourteenth year *opposite to the second year* of the reign.[2] Rājasimha was a Māran and so he was the Māran whose *Yauvarājya* period was two years. As for the double-date-Śadayan whose Yauvarājya period was two years, my view is that he must have been some successor of Rājasimha III, about whom no information is available. I come to this conclusion because he could not have been either Māranjaḍayan of 769 A.D. or Varaguṇa I, neither of whom had a *Yauvarājya* period as I shall presently show. It could not be

[1] *Ep. Ind.* vol. ix. pp. 89–91. [2] *Epigraphical Report*, 1907, p. 67.

Vaṛaguṇa Varman's successor Vīra Nārāyaṇa Neḍunjaḍayan, the Vaishṇava donor of the Madras Museum plates, who also adopted the single-date-system. Since these happen to be later monarchs, it is certain that the double-date-system was of later origin. The later Pāṇḍyas (Jaṭila Sundara Pāṇḍya and others) resorted to this practice. If so, it may be asked, why the donor of the Madras Museum plates did not have a double date ? The answer is quite simple. He was only the younger brother of Vaṛaguṇa III. Vaṛaguṇa did not leave a son behind him and the younger brother came to the throne without having any *Yauvarājya* period. So he could not give two dates in his grant—the Madras Museum plates. But being a Māran's son he assumed the name of Neḍunjaḍayan.

Now that it has been demonstrated that the double-date-Śaḍayans were later monarchs, only one of the single-date-kings could have been the contemporary of Chēramāṉ Peṛumāḷ Nāyaṉār. The Mārans Rājasimha III and Śri Māra Kōlāhala have to be given up ; for about the former we have no materials to build any theories upon, and as for the latter, he was, generally speaking, a fighter who would take more delight in conquering the Chēṛa monarch than in accompanying him to holy places. Further, he must have had Vijayālaya as his contemporary in the Chōḷa kingdom. Thus there are left only Māranjaḍayan of 769 A.D. and Vaṛaguṇa I. Mr. Srīnivāsa Piḷḷai decided in favour of Vaṛaguṇa, but I think that there is more reason to believe that the contemporary was Māranjaḍayan.

In support of my hypothesis, I shall take up for investigation an inscription which relates to Māranjaḍayan. The document can be properly understood only if it is read in the light of the Purāṇic details (Nos. 3 and 4) mentioned above, about the sudden flight of Chēramān Peṛumāḷ and the perishing of the army.

THE TREVANDRUM MUSEUM STONE INSCRIPTION

Text

Śrī Kō-Māranjaḍayarku irupatteḷāmāṇḍu . . . Chēṛamāṉāṛ paḍa Viḻiñattup purattu viṭṭuḷakkak kaṛaikkōṭṭai aḷippāṉvaṛa perumāṉaḍigaḷu aṉbu mikkuḷa iraṉakīrtiyum Amarkkaḷiyum uḷvīṭṭiṉ oṛṛaich chēvaka kōṭṭai aḷiyāmai kāttu erindu palaṛum paṭṭa iḍattu iraṉakīrti uḷvīṭṭ oṛṛaichchēvagaṉ koḷūvūr kūṛṛattup peṛumūr Tādan peṛundiṉai attiṛattā ṉalarōdum kuttip paṭṭān. . . .

Translation : [1]

The twenty-seventh year of the reign of Śrī kō-Māranjaḍayan . . . when the army of the Chēṛamāṉāṛ, which was left in confusion outside Viḻiñam, advanced to destroy the fort of Kaṛaikkōṭṭai, Raṇakīrti, and Amarkkaḷi, the loving subjects of the Perumān (Pāṇḍya monarch), fought and saved the fort of the Oṛṛaichchēvagar of Uḷvīḍu from destruction ; (but) in the place where many lost their lives, Raṇakīrti fell slain by an arrow from the Uḷvīṭṭuchchēvagan Tādan Peṛundiṇai of Peṛumūr in the Koḷuvūr kūṛṛam.

This inscription was intended to commemorate the valiant defence of an outpost (probably in front of Kaṛaikkōṭṭai), by one Raṇakīrti when it was besieged by the Chēṛa army. Unfortunately the hero was shot dead in the field by a stray arrow from Tādan, one of his own party. Coming to know of this untoward event, the king put up the inscription taking particular care to mention how the valiant warrior met his death.

But it is enough to notice that the fight was between a Chēṛa army and a Pāṇḍya army and that the kings were not in the neighbourhood of the battle-field. The Pāṇḍya was far away, possibly in his own capital. The Uḷvīṭṭu Oṛṛaich Chēvagaṛ Kōṭṭai might have been one of the outposts of Kaṛaikōṭṭai, and Raṇakīrti and Amarkkaḷi were probably the men left in charge of the outpost. But where was the Chēṛa monarch then ? Did the army advance according to his orders or was it an act done on its own initiative ? An answer is possible to these questions if the meaning of the two words *viṭṭu* and *uḷakka* in the inscription is understood. They indicate that the army was left in confusion (as Mr. Gopinātha Rao also has taken it to mean), and if the Chēṛa monarch had been present during the fight or if he had sent the army for the purpose of taking the fort of Kaṛaikōṭṭai, there should have been no confusion at all. Again, the word *viṭṭu* comes after the phrase ‘ *Viḻiñattuppurattu* ’ (which means, ‘ outside *Viḻiñam* ’). It is clear then that the army was outside Viḻiñam when this confusion was noticeable in it. If it was in a state of confusion and disorder, how could such an army proceed to destroy one of the strong forts of the Pāṇḍya ? It appears then that the inscription is not as intelligible

[1] Mr. Gopinātha Rao's translation is hardly accurate. Hence I have translated it myself.

in the present day as it ought to have been when it was set up. It becomes therefore necessary to reconstruct the history of the period, as far as it is possible to do so, in order to make some sense of the inscription. That can be done by a comparison of the incidents related in the *Periya Purāṇam* about Chēramān with those alluded to in the inscription. I take it that the army which advanced upon Karaikkōṭṭai was the army of the Chēramān Perumāḷ. The confusion caused in it was due to the sudden disappearance of the king from Viḷiñam. It is the destruction of the Chēra army in the vicinity of Karaikkōṭṭai that is faintly echoed in the *Periya Purāṇam* as the self-slaughter of all the valiant warriors of the Chēramān Perumāl Nāyanār. These points of agreement between the *Purāṇam* and the inscription need a little elaboration since they throw light on the rationale of the action of the army immediately after the departure of the monarch. The king suddenly took to flight, in a manner absolutely inexplicable. The army could not understand that he had a spiritual call and that he was hurrying away to overtake Sundaramūrti, who had already proceeded to Kailāsa. All that it could see was the terrific speed at which he was fleeing away from Viḷiñam, and in its attempt to find a solution for the riddle it imagined all sorts of possible and impossible things. The first thing that suggested itself was danger. Naturally the army believed that the king might have got scent of an invasion from the only possible enemy, the neighbouring Pāṇḍya monarch. If that were so, it was imperative that no time should be lost in averting the danger. To add to the difficulty there was no heir to the throne, and the officers had to take the matter entirely in their own hands. They felt that since the safety of the kingdom was at stake, they must make a desperate attempt to guard it at its most vulnerable side, however hopeless a task it might be. The Chēra kingdom was quite secure on the eastern side being protected by the Western Ghats, but just in the south-eastern corner there was a pass, the Aruvāyvaḷi pass, where the Pāṇḍya armies could cause trouble. So on its own initiative, the Chēra army might have decided to forestal a Pāṇḍyan attack by destroying the Pāṇḍyan's fort of Karaikkōṭṭai. It was a risky undertaking which could be justified only by the exigencies of the moment. A leaderless army, in a state of confusion, or perhaps even panic, could not be expected to have its wits under its control, and that was the reason why it did such a rash thing. But after all, was it such a rash thing? If

the topography of the places mentioned in the inscription is examined it will be found that the venture undertaken by the army was not extraordinarily dangerous.

Viḻiñam was a strong Chera fortress about eight or ten miles to the south of modern Trevandrum. Kaṛaikkoṭṭai could not have been Kāṛikōd now in ruins at the foot of the hills between the rivers Toḍupuḷa and Vaḍakkār, in the Mīnachal Taluk; (this was clearly Chēṛa territory, and a Chēṛa army could not be expected to go there to fight a Pāṇḍyan army). Kaṛaikkoṭṭai must be searched for on the route which branches off in the north-easterly direction from Nāgerkōil. It ought to have been very near the Aruvāyvaḷi pass (Āramboḷi) which is even now the gateway opening into Tinnevelly from the Travancore side. The stone inscription was found in Āramboḷi, very probably in exactly the very same place where the battle was fought. Kaṛaikkōṭṭai must therefore have been about thiry to thirty-five miles from Viḻiñam. Thus the army which advanced with the intention of destroying Kaṛaikkōṭṭai had ample opportunity of retracing its steps and falling back upon Nāgerkōil, a distance of about six to eight miles, if it did not succeed in the attempt. In any case a counter-attack upon Viḻiñam was impossible. But the gallant defence of the fort by Raṇakīrti ended in the final annihilation of the Chēṛa army. It is this that is reflected in the *Peṛiya Puṛāṇam*.

If the above explanation is acceptable, the theory of the contemporaneity of Chēṛamān Peṛumāḷ and Māranjaḍāyan of 769 A.D. becomes acceptable also. By itself the Trevandrum Museum stone inscription cannot be taken to be conclusive evidence. But luckily, there is an inscription relating to Vaṛaguṇa I which gives some relevant particulars. It is dated in the twenty-third year of his reign. It has been published by Mr. Gōpinātha Rao in the *Travancore Archæological Series.*[1] The translation runs as follows:—

'The twenty-third year of the prosperous king Māranjaḍayan . . . That year when the army marched against Śaḍayan-Kaṛu-Nandan of the Malai Nāḍu and destroyed the fort of Aṛiviyūṛkkōṭṭai, two servants of Eṭṭimaṇṇaṇ alias Maṇgaḷa Ēnādi . . . . fell.'

Mr. Gōpinātha Rao comments upon it and rightly establishes the fact that Śaḍayan-Kaṛu-Nandan was only Kaṛu-Nandan son of Śaḍayan.

[1] Vol. i, pp. 3-4.

There was fighting between a Māranjaḍayan (Pāṇḍya) and a Malai Nāḍ chieftain Kaṛunandan. Aṛiviyūrkōṭṭoi of the inscription has been identified by Mr. T. Rāghaviah with Aṛiyūr which is about eighteen miles north-west of Kaḷugumalai in the Tinnevelly District.[1] The identification must be accepted, because the inscription has been obtained at Kaḷugumalai in whose proximity the fight must have taken place.

To discover which Māranjaḍayan is referred to in the inscription it is necessary to utilize the material available in another inscription known as the Huzūr office plates published by Mr. Gopinātha Rao in pages 5 to 14 of the same volume. The first of these gives definite information about the accession of one Aḍakkaṉ to the throne of Malaināḍ, who could have been no other than Kaṛunandan's son. The date in the inscription is 'the fourteen hundred thousand forty-nine thousand and eighty-seventh day after the beginning of the Kaliyuga . . . . . the fifteenth day of the ninth year of the reign of the king Karunandan Aḍakkaṉ being current . . . . .' The Kali day given in the inscription has been utilized to arrive at the year of Aḍakkaṉ's accession which has thus been found to be 855--856 A.D.[2] Aḍakkaṉ ought to have ascended the throne seven years before Vaṛaguṇa II became the king of Pāṇḍya. Aḍakkaṉ must also have been the contemporary of Śrī Māran Kōlāhala, who must be dated 832--862 A.D. Śaḍayan Kaṛunandan, the father of Aḍakkan, ought similarly to have been the contemporary of Śrī Māran and also of Vaṛaguṇa I. Hence it is clear that the fight at Aṛiyūr should have been between Vaṛaguṇa I and Kaṛunandan. That is the Māranjaḍayan of the inscription. Now that the kings have been fixed, the subject matter of the inscriptions may be scrutinized.

Aṛiviyūṛkkoṭṭai was the mountain stronghold of Kaṛunandan, which was destroyed by Varaguṇa I, and that is in the neighbourhood of Kaḷugumalai in the Śankaṛanaināṛ koil taluk, Tinnevelly district. Some more particulars are obtained from the inscription relating to Aḍakkaṉ. 'On this day, having gradually acquired from the *sabha* of Mīnchirai, by granting other lands in exchange for the plot of land known as Uḷakkuḍiviḷai which belonged to them . . . . . raising on it a beautiful temple ; setting in the temple (the image of) Vishṇu Bhaṭṭāraka and calling (the village) Pārthiva Śēkhaṛam, king

[1] *Tr. Ar. Ser.* vol. i, p. 3, n. [2] *Tr. Ar. Ser.* vol. i, p. 3.

Karunanda Aḍakkaṇ established . . . . Śālai . . . . ' Then the inscription goes on to mention the boundaries, many of which happen to be at present villages in the close proximity of the present village of Parthivēśvarapuram about twenty-five miles (judging from the map) to the south-east of Trevandrum, near the coast.

Some points now call for explanation. During the time of Aḍakkaṇ's father (about thirty years before the building of Pārthiva Śēkhara temple) the Malai Nāḍ chieftain or king lost his fort of Ariyūr at the foot of Kaḷugumalai. Evidently his head-quarters must have been some place near Kaḷugumalai. But his son is found well established in Kēraḷa. How was it that the Malai Nāḍ kings gained power in South Kēraḷa within such a short space of time? If it is assumed that they shifted their sphere of operations from the neighbourhood of Kaḷugumalai to South Kēraḷa, when did they migrate to or conquer the land lying to the west of the Western Ghats? It stands to reason that such a thing would have been possible only when Kēraḷa was in a condition of disorder. After Chēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār died, since he left no son behind him (he did not even marry) the country became exposed to invasions by border chieftains and even perhaps by ambitious spirits within the country itself, and that ought to have been the time when these Malai Nāḍ chieftains encroached upon the Chēra's dominions. This reading of the situation will become clear if we enquire into the question 'which might have been their original habitation and what possibilities had they for expansion to the west of the Western Ghats?'

A mere glance at the map of the Tinnevelly district will give an idea as to the original habitat of these mountain chieftains. They ought to have occupied the region now occupied by the zemindars of Śivagiri, Chokkampaṭṭi, Ūttumalai and Kaḷugumalai. Of these, Chokkampaṭṭi and Ūttumalai are very close to the Tenkasi taluq and since they must have formed part of the kingdom of the Malai Nāḍ kings who were the contemporaries of the Mārans and Śaḍayans, there can be no doubt of the fact that they had ample opportunities of entering into the land of the Chēras whenever a suitable opportunity presented itself. They could very easily have taken the Śenkōṭṭa route in the close proximity of which the railway now runs to Trevandrum, but instead of taking the roundabout route via Quilon now traversed by the railway they branched off straight southwards from

Tenmalai and reached Trevandrum *via* Neḍumāngāḍ. Being rulers of the mountain-country, it was quite easy for them to win victories over the more peaceful plain-dwellers below. They would not have troubled the Pāṇḍyan kings very much because they were all very powerful. But they ought to have descended into the Kēraḷa country several times and profited by the confusion which prevailed in that land after the departure of Chēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār. Evidently it was this success which they readily gained in Kēraḷa that made them try their luck in the Pāṇḍya's dominions also. But since that venture proved ruinous, and since they had no longer any chance of advancing in the east, they decided after the reign of Karunandan, to concentrate their attention upon the improvement of their position in the neighbourhood of Trevandrum. That they succeeded in this endeavour is amply evidenced by the fact that Aḍakkaṉ, the son of Karunandan, ruled safely in the newly-formed western kingdom. His position was so great that one of his officers Murugaṉ Śēndi, who was apparently entrusted with the business of governing Teṅganāḍ (near Trevandrum) occupied the high social status needed to give his daughter in marriage to a king who called himself Vikramāditya Varaguṇa.[1] In truth, this Vikramāditya Varaguṇa was also one of the mountain chieftains who carved out a kingdom for himself at the expense of the Chēras. Thus it is clearly seen that the Chēra dominions became the field of conquest by a number of border chieftains and all these could have happened only if sufficient time were allowed for the decline of the Chēra country. If Chēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār is taken to be the contemporary of Varaguṇa I, it will be difficult to explain all these happenings. The interval would then be too short. On the other hand, if Chēramān Perumāḷ is understood to have died in the reign of Māranjaḍayan, the grandfather of Varaguṇa I, these things become explicable.

Thus I believe that my theory that Māranjaḍayan of 769-770 A.D. was the contemporary of Chēramān Perumāḷ gains additional strength from the Huzūr Office copper plates.

As against this view one objection is likely to be raised. Mr. M. Rāghava Aiyangār believes that Māranjaḍayan was a Vaishṇava.[2] But that is because he has wrongly identified the Māranjaḍayan of

[1] *Tr. Ar. Ser.* vol. i, p. 17.

[2] *Journal of Oriental Research*, vo . i, p. iv, pp. 158-66.

769 A.D. with the Śaḍayan of the Madras Museum plates. I have shown above that these two were different. But Mr. Rāghava Aiyangār has advanced astronomical arguments to prove that Āṇḍāḷ lived in the eighth century A.D. His theory is that Māranjaḍayan was influenced in favour of Vaishṇavism by Periyāḷvār and Āṇḍāḷ. He quotes a stanza of Āṇḍāḷ from her *Tiṛuppāvai* and interprets one line in it to support his theory. The line is *veḷḷi eḻundu viyāḻam urangiṟṟu*. This means 'Venus has arisen and Jupiter has gone to sleep'. He assumes that the rising of Venus and the setting of Jupiter ought to have happened simultaneously, for according to him the intelligent Āṇḍāḷ would not have otherwise taken the trouble of recording it; and since such a phenomenon could occur only very rarely, he holds that it should be taken to be a correct indication of the date of Āṇḍāl. The interpretation is open to question, for there is no indication in the stanza of the simultaneity of the two occurrences; yet, even allowing that, it can be noticed that there are four dates given by him on which the phenomenon could have occurred, viz., 600 A.D., 731 A.D., 855 A.D. and 886 A.D. He chose 731 A.D. but the year 885 or 886 is equally suitable, for the Vaishṇava Pāṇḍya king alluded to could have been in that case Vīṛa Nāṛāyaṇa Neḍunjaḍayan, the donor of the Madras Museum plates.

From the above discussion it will be evident that Māranjaḍayan was not one who declared himself to be a Vaishṇava, but it may be argued that he might have had Vaishṇava leanings. If so, he could not have been the contemporary of Chēṛamān Peṛumāḷ Nāyanār. Some support may be obtained for this view from the Ānamalai inscriptions and the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant, both of which relate to him. I shall first take up the arguments which may be employed to prove that he was a Vaishṇava. It is known that the king's minister one Māran Kāṛi constructed in 770 A.D. a temple to Lord Naṛasiṁha in the Ānamalai cave.[1] Again, 'four of the concluding verses of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant are stated to be from the *Vaishṇava Dharma*.'[2] The Ājñāpāti of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant was the same Māran Kāri who constructed the Narasiṁha temple.

It will be seen from the above-mentioned facts that the minister of he king was a staunch Vaishṇava. To me it does not appear that

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. viii, p. 320. [2] *Epigraphical Reports*, 1908, p. 63,

the monarch should have been a Vaishṇava as well. It is impossible from the facts noticed above to discover whether the king was a Vaishṇava or a Śaiva. One thing is certain. He was not a bigot. He did not have any objection to his minister stating in the grant that four of the verses written there were from the *Vaishṇava Dharma*. It is clear that he kept an open mind. Even in the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant itself, there is evidence of his open-mindedness. It is stated there that the musician who used to sing in the palace got angry one day; when the king sent for him and asked him what his grievance was, the musician replied that the village of Vēḷvikkuḍi had been in the olden days made the subject of a grant by the ancient Pāṇḍya monarch, Palyāga Śālai Mudukuḍumi. The king was disposed to laugh at this, for he did not believe that the account was true; but later on, when he discovered that it was true, he ordered that the village might be granted exactly as it had been given by his ancestor. This account about Māranjaḍayan is proof of the fact that the king was open to conviction. Such a person could not have been a bigot. There is therefore nothing to prevent him from welcoming Saints Sundaṛamūrti and Chēramān Peṛumāḷ Nāyanāṛ into his kingdom and even accompanying them when they went to visit the Śaiva shrines of the Pāṇḍya Nāḍ.

Thus the hypothesis that Māranjaḍayan of 769 or 770 A.D. was the contemporary of Chēṛamān Peṛumāḷ Nāyanāṛ does not appear to be unacceptable.

A History of the Reign of Shāh Jahān

(Based on Original Persian Sources)

BY

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ADDITIONAL[1] ABBREVIATIONS

Abdul Latif, *Agra.*—Syad Muḥammad Latif, *Agra : Historical and Descriptive, with an Account of Akbar and his Court and of the Modern City of Agra.* Calcutta, 1896.

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CHAPTER II

The City of Agra at the beginning of Shāh Jahān's Reign

While Shāh Jahān is waiting for his enthronement we may utilize the opportunity by looking round to form an idea of what Agra looked like at this period. The reader will agree that a bird's-eye view of the place and some mention of its size and resources will enable us to

visualize the spin and bustle and the mad gaieties of the days before and after coronation.

In the spacious times of Mughal greatness and glory Agra was a wonder of the age—as much a centre of the arteries of trade both by land and water as a meeting-place of saints, sages and scholars from all Muslim Asia. For we know that the Mughal emperors were Maecenases one and all, infinitely greater that the proverbial Maecenas himself ; and the beneficent influence of imperial patronage was felt in far-off Turkey and part of Europe : so that the Mughal metropolis was a veritable lodestar for artistic workmanship, literary talent and spiritual worth.

Before, however, we take a view of Shāh Jahān's Agra it will conduce to continuity and clearness if we make a rapid survey of its historical antecedents For the past always makes the present what it is, and every historic city is a palimpsest, where traces of past greatness lie scattered, half embedded, often encrusted, in picturesque profusion. No city, however great, is to our eyes respectable unless it has a history, and the Agra of Shāh Jahān's times is eminently respectable in this sense.

The early history of the Agra of the Hindu period is nothing but legend or conjecture. Nor are there many data from which we could determine the exact locality of Hindu Agra, though Carleylle[1] imagines that the site of it was some ten miles to the south of the present city, on the bank of the ancient bed of the Jumna, near the village Kolara (Kaulāra Kalān, to south-east of Agra city, on the Survey of India large-scale map) on the old left bank of this ancient river-bed. The earlier authorities, however, are in conflict on the point : ' Abdullāh Khān (*Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī.* P.U.L. MS., ff. 41B–42A) says, ' according to . . . [name of authority omitted in the MS.] the city of Agra came into existence in his [Sikandar Lodī's] time. Before Sulṭān Sikandar Agra was an ancient village ; and some Indians are of opinion that Agra had a fort in the time of Rāja Kishan,[2] who ruled at Mathra, and that whoever incurred the Rāja's

[1] *A.S.I.R.* vol. iv (1871–72), 97–98. Carleylle's observations are seldom reliable and his conjectures often wide. He does not come up to the high standard of accuracy and research which we have learnt to associate with the reports and monographs issued by the Government of India Archæological Survey.

[2] Abdul Latif (*Agra*, 2) reads it Rāja Kans.

displeasure was imprisoned there. For a long time it continued thus. In the year when the army of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznavī invaded India, Agra was so ruined that it was reduced to an insignificant village. Again from the time of Sulṭān Sikandar Agra regained its prosperity.'

The author, instead of indicating the spot where Hindu Agra stood, implies that the old Agra village was situated on or very near the site of the city built later by Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, or else he is confusing the two. But this is at variance with the account of the founding of Agra by Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī in Ni'matullāh, *Makhzan-i-Afghānī* (f. 116A–116B).[1] For according to Ni'matullāh, who knows nothing of Hindu Agra, Sikandar Lodī's Agra had no antecedents. It is difficult to give a final decision between these authors.

'Abdullāh Khān's statement about Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn invading Agra, however, is open to doubt, since this event is not noticed by any known historian of Maḥmūd, contemporary or other. It is possible that the author is confusing Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn with his great-grandson, also called Maḥmūd[2] (appointed Viceroy of India, 469 A.H.=1076-77 A.C.), who, as we know from a *qaṣīda* or eulogy written in praise of the latter by Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān,[3] besieged and captured Agra fort after a sanguinary fight. This necessarily discounts in some measure 'Abdullāh Khān's judgment as historian.

While we are on the subject, it will repay us to study Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān's *qaṣīda* with care. The poet came with Maḥmūd and actually took part in the fight; so that his evidence is that of an eye-witness. We give below a summary of the relevant passages:

Saif ud-Daula Maḥmūd, after a dreary journey of hundreds of miles through difficult mountains and arid deserts, came down upon the virgin fortress of Agra—which tickled his ambition and pride precisely

[1] Quoted below, p. 133.

[2] A mistake occasioned or helped by the fact that this Maḥmūd had the surname *Saif ud-Daula*, by which his great-grandfather was also known as prince; the title having been bestowed on him by the Samanid king of Bukhārā about A.H. 384 ('Utbī, *Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī*, pp. 81–82). Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, apparently, gave his grandfather's name and earlier title to his son. Abdul Latif (*Agra*, 2–3) and even historians of position like Vincent A. Smith (*Oxford History of India*, 254) have uncritically accepted this careless statement in *Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī*.

[3] '*Qaṣīda* in praise of Saif ud-Daula and congratulating him on the victory of Agra' (*Dīwān-i-Amīr Mas'ūd bin Sa'd-i-Salmān*, pp. 88–90).

the mention of a 'great earthquake' there by historians,[1] which is said to have occured in A.H. 911 (= A.C. 1505). And Jahāṅgīr leaves hardly a doubt on the point when he says, 'Before the rule of the Lodī Afghans, Agra was a great and populous place, and had a castle described by Mas'ūd b. Sa'd b. Salmān in the ode (*qaṣīda*). . .'[2]; where, although he is speaking on the authority of the *qaṣīda*, he is probably referring to the remains of Hindu Agra, which were in the course of being assimilated by Akbar's city before his eyes.

Sikandar Lodī (A.C. 1489–1517) was, however, the first monarch to make Agra his residence. The founding of Sikandar Lodī's Agra is thus described by Ni'matullāh in the *Makhzan-i-Afghānī* (f. 116A–116B) (my own translation):

'At this time it occurred to the Sulṭān [Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī] that he should found a city on the banks of the river [Jumna] which would serve for a capital and a military station, that the unruly chiefs of the neighbourhood might not rise in revolt. Accordingly a few wise and discreet persons were commissioned to take a boat and survey both banks of the river from Chandwār to Dehlī, and report about the place which they considered fit for founding a city and a fort in. In compliance with the orders, the party went on surveying both banks of the river till they came to the site of modern Agra. The report was submitted [in favour of this spot]. The Sulṭān visited it. Seeing the spot he approved of the plan of building a city and a strong fort here. In the year [A. H.] 911 the capital of Agra (may it be protected from all misfortunes and afflictions!) was founded.'

The spot thus chosen was on the left or east bank of the river over against modern Agra. This was the royal residence of the Lodīs occupied by Bābur after the victory of Panipat (1526).

Sikandar Lodī also founded Sikandra, which is called after him, and built there a fine redstone *bāradarī* or summer-house, afterwards converted into the tomb of Maryam-zamānī, Jahāṅgīr's mother. Sikandar died at Agra (Sunday, December 14, 1517).

Bābur, the founder of the Mughal dynasty, defeated Ibrāhīm Lodī,

[1] *Ā'īn*, ii, 151 (*Ā'īn* (B. & J.), ii, 309); Muḥammad Qāsim, *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, 183.

[2] *Tūzuk*, 2 (*Tūzuk*, (R. & B.) i, 4).

the son and successor of Sikandar Lodī, on the historic plain of Panipat, and occupied, as we have said, his palace at Agra (Thursday, *Rajab* 28, A.H. 932 = May 10, A.C. 1526).

We have more details about Bābur's Agra: It stood on the east or left bank of the river and occupied the whole tract included within the river's bend up to the village of Nunihai.[1] Here we have still remains of the following gardens or garden-residences built or begun in the reign of Bābur: (1) The *Gul-afs͟hān* garden built by Bābur himself for his residence. A small building of red sandstone and a mosque on one side of the garden existed here in Jahāṅgīr's time and probably later.[2] Sīlc͟hand (*Tafrīḥ ul-'Imārāt*) and Jahāṅgīr[2] agree that Bābur intended to build a fine palace here; according to the former, however, even Humāyūṅ could not complete the plan. (2) The garden-palace of *Nūr-afs͟hān* or *Rām Bāg͟h*. (3 and 4). The *Bāg͟h-i-Zahrā* and the *Ac͟hānak Bāg͟h* (both remarkably extensive) named respectively after two of the princesses of Bābur's time.[3]

The Humāyūṅ Masjid was built by Humāyūṅ in 937 A. H. (= 1530–31 A. C.) immediately after his father's death.[4]

During the reign of Akbar[5] Agra grew in size, wealth and power, with dramatic swiftness; so that when Abū'l-Faẓl was writing *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* the Jumna ran for five *kos* (about ten miles) through the

[1] See Government of India Survey Map (scale 1 mile to an inch): Sheet 54¼, or *I.G.*, xxvi (Atlas), Plate 56.

[2] *Tūzuk*, 3 (*Tūzuk* (R. and B.), i, 4–5).

[3] These gardens remind us of Bābur's vivid description, in the *Tūzuk-i-Bāburī*, of how he laid out gardens and built wells and tanks and baths and palaces at Agra (*Tūzuk-i-Bāburī*, 210–211; Leyden and Erskine, *Memoirs*, ii, 257–58). See also in this connection C. M. Villiers Stuart, *Mughal Gardens*, pl. vi., facing p. 40, and Binyon, *Court Painters of the Grand Moguls*, pl. iv, facing p. 12.

Bābur's mortal remains were temporarily deposited in the *Rām Bāg͟h* before being removed to Kabul, where they lie in the terraced garden known to the modern visitors of the Afg͟hān capital as *Bāg͟h-i-Bābur*. The *Rām Bāg͟h* was later used as a pleasure-resort by Empress Nūr Jahāṅ.

[4] Mr. Havell is therefore not quite accurate when he says that 'Humayun left no memorial of himself at Agra.' (*Agra*, 17). For fuller details of these gardens and their huge dimensions see Carleylle, *A. S. I. R.*, vol. iv (1871–72), pp. 103–109.

[5] The buildings erected (1564) at Nagarc͟hain (near Kakrālī village, seven miles to the south of modern Agra) by the order of Akbar—the emperor of shifting capitals—need not be mentioned since they soon vanished, possibly destroyed by order. See J. F. Fanthome, 'A Forgotten City' (in *J. A. S. B.*, 1904, part i, pp. 276–281)

city, with imposing mansions and pleasant gardens overlooking it on either side.[1]

We are told that the nobles began to build fine houses on both sides of the river (1560–61).[2] Orders were issued (A. H. 972 = A.C. 1565) for the building of the fort, which was completed (according to *Akbarnāma*[3] and *Bādshāh Nāma*[4]) in eight, and (according to *Tūzuk*[5] and the chronogram given in Budā'ūnī[6]) in fifteen or sixteen years, at a cost of thirty-five lakhs of rupees. We have seen above that Akbar's fort was built on the spot occupied by the mouldering brick citadel of Bādalgarh.

It is hardly the place to go into the details about Agra fort. We can only remark that the following is all that remains of Akbar's buildings: The outer walls, Jahāñgīrī Maḥal, and Akbarī Maḥal. The rest are later additions, most of which we shall have to note when we come to Shāh Jahān's architecture.

Besides the Fort Agra does not owe much to Akbar, except a few mosques and tombs of minor importance.

The Emperor Jahāñgir left three clearly distinguishable landmarks in the history of Agra: (1) Akbar's Tomb at Sikandra (finished, A.H. 1022)—a unique monument. (2) *I'timād ud-Daula*, built by Nūr Jahāñ on the east bank of the river (commenced, 1622; finished, 1628). (3) The huge garden known as *Bāgh-i-Nūr-Manzil* or *Bāgh-i-Dahra*[7] (to the south-west of modern Agra city and west of cantonment), where, as we have seen in the last chapter, Shāh Jahān encamped before entering Agra. It covered, if we are to believe Carleylle,[7] the huge area of 3840 × 2064 feet on a spot between Khawāspura and Sultānpura, now partly occupied by the Agra Cantonment station of the G.I.P. Railway.

[1] *Ā'īn*, ii, 84.

[2] *A. N.* ii, 122–23.

[3] *Ibid.*, ii, 247. *M. U.* (iii, 63) copies from *A. N.*, and is no independent evidence.

[4] *B. N.*, I, i, p. 154–55.

[5] *Tūzuk*, 2 (*Tūzuk*, R. and B., i, 3).

[6] Budā'ūnī, ii, 74 (Lowe, ii, 74–75). Budā'ūnī's text gives five years, but the chronogram reproduced by him yields 986, which gives us fourteen years for the building. This latter period nearly agrees with that in *Tūzuk*. So the text of Budā'ūnī stands obelized on this point.

[7] Carleylle's account of its origin (*A.S.I.R.* vol. iv, 1871–72) is erroneous, and should be read with caution. Sīl Chand (*Tafrīḥ ul-'Imārāt*), whom he cites and rejects, is in complete accord with the contemporary authorities when he says that this garden was built by Jahāñgīr.

The Ziārat Kamāl Khān shown on the Survey of India large-scale map, was once in this garden.

Now we come to the Agra of our own period. It had so far been known by its old name, which dates from Hindu times. But Shāh Jahān, on the day of his coronation, in generous recognition of the fact that Agra owed all its greatness to the great Akbar, named it Akbarābād after him ;[1] so that it is invariably so called by the historians of this reign. Since the older name was readopted after Shāh Jahān's deposition, however, we shall take no notice of this change, and shall continue to call it by the better-known name, Agra.

Through the cloud of abundant but somewhat conflicting evidence it is tolerably clear that Agra, at this period, was a large and populous city extending on both sides of the Jumna, with a total circumference of some twenty-five miles. We shall deal with each part of Agra—on the right and on the left bank of the river—separately.

On the west side, linking up the more or less straggling suburbs, it extended lengthwise from where the *Tāj* stands to-day[2] all the way to Sikandra—some nine miles or so ; and the maximum breadth was from the edge of the water to Shāhganj—a matter of three miles. But this gives us no adequate idea of the size of the city. We shall therefore let John Albert de Mandelslo, who visited Agra in A.C. 1638, and who is a fairly reliable witness, speak on the subject :

'It is at least twice as big as *Ispahan*, and it is as much as a Man can do to ride about it on horse-back in a day. It is fortified with a good Wall, of a kind of red Free-stone, and a Ditch, which is above thirty fathom broad. Its Streets are fair and spacious, and there are some of them vaulted, which are above a quarter of a League in length, where the Merchants and Tradesmen have their Shops, distinguished by their Trades and the Merchandises which are there sold; every Trade, and every Merchant having a particular Street and

[1] Statements of Thevenot, Bernier and Tieffenthaler to the contrary notwithstanding. See *B.N.*, I, i, 156.

To avoid confusion it is, however, to be noted that numismatically the new name was not adopted until A.H. 1038, *i.e.*, the second year of Shāh Jahān's reign. (H. Nelson Wright, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, vol. iii, Introduction.)

[2] It appears from Tavernier's account (Tavernier, i, 109) that Tājganj or 'Tasimacan,' as he calls it, was a prosperous suburb of Agra and a great resort of merchants and foreigners before the *Tāj* was built.

Quarter assigned him. There are in it fifteen *Meidans* and *Basars*, whereof the most spacious is that which is before the Castle, where may be seen sixty great Guns of all sizes, but not kept in any order so as to be made use of. There is also in that place a high Pole, as at the *Meidan* of *Ispahan*, where the Court Lords, and sometimes the *Mogul* himself divert themselves with shooting at the Parrot fastned [fastened] at the top of it. There are in the City fourscore *caravanseras*, for the accommodation and convenience of Forreign Merchants, most of them three Stories high, with very noble Lodgings, Store-houses, Vaults and Stables belonging to them, together with Galleries and private Passages for the correspondence and communication of the Chambers. Every one of them hath a certain person, whose charge it is to lock them up, and to take care that the Merchandises be safely kept. He does also supply the place of a Sutler, and sels all sorts of Provision, Forrage, and Wood, to those that lodge in them.'[1]

He further tells us that in the city of Agra there were seventy great mosques (six of which were *Ādīna* or cathedral mosques) and 800 baths or 'hot-houses,' which seem to have been state-owned and state-managed. These mosques, it is interesting to note, served also as sanctuaries for criminals and other refugees.[2]

M. de Thevenot (who visited India in 1666–67) has also a pleasant description of Agra. He was much impressed by the long range of buildings and garden enclosures along the edge of the water on the city side :

'This palace [*viz.*, Agra Fort],' he says, 'is accompanied with five and twenty or thirty other very large ones, all in a line, which belong to the Princes and other great Lords of Court; and all together afford a most delightful prospect to those who are on the other side of the River, which would be a great deal more agreeable, were it not for the long Garden-walls, which contribute much to the rendering the Town so long as it is. There are upon the same line several less Palaces and other Buildings. All being desirous to enjoy the lovely prospect and convenience of the Water of the *Gemna*, endeavoured to purchase ground on that side, which is the cause that the Town is very

[1] Mandelslo, pp. 35. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 35–36.

long but narrow, and excepting some fair Streets that are in it, all the rest are very narrow and without Symmetry.

Before the King's Palace, there is a very large Square, and twelve other besides of less extent within the Town. But that which makes the Beauty of *Agra* besides the Palaces I have mentioned, are the *Quervanseras* which are above threescore in number; and some of them have six large Courts with their Portico's, that give entry to very commodious Appartments, where stranger Merchants have their Lodgings: There are above eight hundred Baths in the Town, and a great number of Mosques, of which some serve for Sanctuary. There are many mognificent Sepulchres in it also, several great Men having had the ambition to build their own in their own life-time, or to erect Monuments to the memory of their Fore-fathers.'[1]

No statistics for Agra are available; but we can well understand that the population must have fluctuated appreciably from time to time, the number swelling considerably when the Emperor was in station, and some big reviews[2] in progress, or else at the time of a military concentration preparatory to an expedition. Mandelslo asserts that 'were there a necessity, there might be rais'd out of it [*i.e.*, Agra] two hundred thousand men able to bear Arms.'[3] Assuming this to refer to civil population the number of the inhabitants of Agra would be in the neighbourhood of 700,000; and including the military, when the Emperor was in headquarters, the figure would easily approach a million. Father Manrique, who came in 1640, estimated the population of the city 'excluding strangers' at 600,000[4]—a figure not far short of the number we have independently arrived at.

Bernier, Tavernier and de Thevenot agree that even in 1666 Agra was the largest city in India, *i.e.* bigger than Delhi or Shāhjahānābād. It is not by any means unlikely that Agra was at this period the largest city in the world.

[1] Thevenot, *Travels*, part iii, p. 34.

[2] For these see a later chapter.

[3] Mandelslo, 41. This statement is challenged by M. de Thevenot (part iii, p. 35), who tries to make out that Agra was more extensive than populous. The true explanation of this difference of opinion lies in the fact that the former came early in Shāh Jahān's reign, while the latter did not arrive until 1666, when Shāh Jahān was no longer emperor and Agra no longer capital.

[4] Stanley Lane-Poole, *Mediæval India*, 336.

London is out of the running : According to Baedekar (*London*, Introduction, p. xxxi) its population was about 700,000 in 1700; and must have been much less in 1628. Salbancke describes even the Fatehpur Sikri of 1609 (then a deserted capital) as 'a city as great as London, and very populous'; [1] while from a curious remark of William Hawkins[2] it appears that the area of London in 1609-11 did not exceed the space covered by the Emperor's camp.

As for Paris, we consider it significant that Bernier, in his excellent and dispassionate comparison of Delhi, Agra, and Constantinople with Paris, does not definitely assert that Paris was bigger or more populous than Agra (which he would have done if he had known it to be a fact), although he does say that 'after making every allowance for the beauty of *Dehli*, *Agra*, and *Constantinople*, *Paris* is the finest, the richest, and altogether the first city in the world'.[3]

Again, Agra was probably the most cosmopolitan town in Asia; though, as Mandelslo says, 'most of the Inhabitants are Mahumetans'.[4]

Every observer of note agrees that, excepting the great thoroughfares, the streets were so crowded with people that one could hardly pass. [5] 'Four or five of the streets, where trade is the principal occupation, are of great length and the houses tolerably good; nearly all the others are short, narrow, and irregular, and full of windings and corners: the consequence is that when the court is at *Agra* there is often a strange confusion.' [6] The bazaars and passages in the

[1] Purchas iii, 84. The statement in Abdul Latif, *Agra* (p. 30) is misleading.

[2] 'When hee [the Emperor] rideth on Progresse or Hunting, the compasse of his Tents may bee as much as the compasse of London and more, and I may say, that of all sorts of people that follow the Campe, there are two hundred thousand : for hee is provided, as for a Citie.'

Captain William Hawkins' *Relations* (Purchas iii, p. 35-36).

[3] Bernier's *Travels* (Constable), p. 286. 'Toutes ces beautez de Dehli, d' Agra et de Constantinople bien considerées & balancées, [Paris est] la plus belle, la plus riche, la premiere Ville du monde.—Bernier, *Suite*, i, 97.'

[4] Mandelslo, 41.

[5] *Tūzuk*, 2. (*Tūzuk*, R. and B., i., 3); Peter Mundy, ii, 207; Finch (Purchas iv, 72); and Bernier, *Suite*, i, 93. (Bernier's *Travels* (Constable), 285).

[6] Bernier's *Travels* (Constable), 285.—'Hormis quatre ou cinq de ces principales ruës marchandes qui sont tres-longues et assez bien bâties; tout le reste n'est la pluspart que petites ruës estroites sans symmetrie, que détours et que recoins; ce qui cause des embarras étranges quand la Cour y est.'—Bernier, *Suite*, i, 93.

neighbourhood of the fort, including the great square in front of it, were every day, about durbar time, entirely taken up by the *umarā* and their long retinues, the usual traffic being either diverted or held up: 'such a number of Eliphants, horses, Coaches, Soldiers, peons, etts. [and other] people that is incredible', says Mundy.[1] And on the occasion of some festival, some great reception or a state ceremony, this great, crowded Agra proved totally inadequate—one of the reasons that ultimately brought about, as we shall see, the transfer of capital from that city to Delhi.

The city presented a pleasant variety of stately mansions of princes and nobles (many of which, according to 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Lāhorī,[2] had been erected at a cost of from one to five lakhs), gardens, mosques, caravanserais, baths, tombs and open squares; and the lowlier houses of brick or of stone (most of which, according to the Emperor Jahāñgīr,[3] were three or four storeys high), and the shops of every degree of prosperity must have given the town a quaint and picturesque appearance.

Tieffenthaler, who was there in the fifties of the eighteenth century, only caught an echo of the past glory of Agra. In the outlying parts of the city, the houses are in ruins, he says, owing to desertions and lack of repair, and the suburbs, once so populous, have all but ceased to exist. Yet, he hastens to assure us, 'alle diese Trümmer sind Zeugen der ehmaligen Pracht und Grösse einer glänzenden Stadt.'[4] As for the houses nearer the heart of the city, he tells us, hey are high and well-built on foundations of hewn stone, and though their external appearance is not very imposing their inside is elegantly appointed. The palaces of the great are throughout large and luxurious.[5]

We have said that Agra was a huge emporium: Taking into account the extent and population of the metropolis and the enormous scale on which the exchange of wealth took place on such occasions as feasts and functions of state, the reader will have no difficulty in realizing that Agra was probably the largest single trade-centre in the

[1] Peter Mundy, ii, 207. [2] *B.N.*, I, i, 157.
[3] *Tūzuk*, 2. (*Tūzuk*, R. & B., *i*, 3). [4] Tieffenthaler, i, 115.
[5] 'Die Häuser der Stadt sind hoch und vest auf einem Grunde von Werkstücken; ihr äusseres Ansehen ist nicht sehr erheblich, das innere dagegen ist ziemlich geschmückt; die Palläste der Grossen sind durchgehends gross und prächtig.' Tieffenthaler, i, 114.

world, specially as regards the more valuable commodities, the prices of which, at the time of a celebration, must have pointed to a high index-number. Joseph Salbancke, with a keen eye for trade, speaks of Agra as a 'great resort of Merchants from Persia, and out of India,' enumerates among the valuable merchandise silks and cloths and precious stones (including diamonds from Bisnagar, Delhi and Agra itself, and rubies, sapphires and spinels from far-away Pegu); and tells his countrymen that here there was great demand for 'our richer Silkes and Velvets, but especially our clothes of light colours.'[1]

It is worthy of note, however, that the shops did not present the magnificent array we should expect from such a trade-centre. Costly merchandise such as carpets, shawls and precious stuffs, and gems, jewels and rarities of all sorts, was generally kept in warehouses, as Bernier tells us;[2] the high-class merchants (including foreign merchants like Tavernier), who dealt only with the pick of the aristocracy, preferring to sell their goods from house to house. Since the highest classes seldom made their purchases in the streets, jewellers, artists, manufacturers, and all those who catered only for the rich, had no occasion to expose their wares and work for sale. The art of window-dressing, consequently, found no scope in India. No wonder that Bernier saw nothing at Agra or Delhi to match the street of St. Denis in Paris.[3]

The only class of shops that made any impression on Bernier were the fruiterers'. By Bernier's account, which relates to Delhi but applies equally to Agra, the fruit-shops were stocked during the summer 'with dry fruit from *Persia*, *Balk*, *Bokara*, and *Samarkande*; such as almonds, pistachios, and walnuts, raisins, prunes, and apricots; and in winter with excellent fresh grapes, black and white, brought from the same countries, wrapped in cotton; pears and apples of three or four sorts, and those admirable melons which last the whole winter. These fruits are, however, very dear; a single melon selling for a crown and a half.'[4] Among fresh fruits are also mentioned the

[1] *The Voyage of M. Joseph Salbancke* (Purchas, iii, 83-84).

[2] Bernier, *Suite*, i, 24. (Bernier's *Travels* (Constable), 248-49). [3] *Ibid.*

[4] Bernier's *Travels* (Constable), 249. '. . . fruits secs, qui viennent de Perse, de Balk, de Bokara et de Samarkande, comme amendes, pistaches, noisettes, raisins, prunaux, abricots et autres; et dans l' Hyver on y voit d' excellens

indigenous melon (cheap and inferior,—good melons being scarce), mangoes (plentiful, cheap and delicious), water-melons (in great abundance almost throughout the year), apples, oranges, plums, bananas and pine-apples.[1] The fruit-market was presumably situated in the quarter of Agra Peter Mundy calls *Phal Hatti*, where, he says, the factors of the East India Company used to live.

Among other eatables Bernier found sweetmeats filthy and fly-blown. Nor did the Indian confectioner's art make much appeal to him, not even the best bread, which, he says, contained plenty of fresh butter, milk and eggs. He always treated cooked meat, sold in the bazaar, with suspicion. Raw meat was always available in abundant variety: Beef and mutton were common, but the flesh of the goat, specially of the he-goat and the kid, was highly prized. And fowls (including the hen with jet-black skin, the flesh of which was 'delicate and tender'), pigeons and partridges, quails, turtle-doves, ducks, geese, hares and fish (especially the excellent *singī* and the *rohū*, still the best ordinary fresh-water fish in these parts) could be had for the money.[2]

Wine was unobtainable, its use being prohibited. 'If wine be sometimes found in the *Mogol* empire, it is either *Chiraz* [S͟hīrāz] or *Canary*'—the former coming from Persia *via* Bandar Abbas and Surat, the latter brought to India by the Dutch. Both these wines, however, were almost too costly to drink.[3]

Peter Mundy does not scruple to mention even the 'common stews' in different quarters of the city, each of which 'every eveninge is like a faire'.[4]

As for a bird's-eye view of the city, we notice that the European travellers were invariably struck by the high enclosure-walls of houses

raisins frais noirs et blancs qu'on apporte de ces mesmes Païs bien enveloppez dans du coton, des pommes et des poires de trois ou quatre especes, et de ces admirables melons qui durent tout l'Hyver. Le mal est que tous ces fruits sont fort chers ; j'ay veu vendre des melons jusques à un écu et demy.'—Bernier, *Suite*, i, 25-26.

[1] Bernier, *Suite*, i, 26-27. (Bernier's *Travels* (Constable), 249-50). Peter Mundy, ii, 215-16.

[2] Bernier, *Suite*, i, 27-32. (Bernier's *Travels* (Constable), 250-52). Peter Mundy, ii, 215-16.

[3] Bernier, *Suite*, i, 33. (Bernier's *Travels* (Constable), 252-53).

[4] Peter Mundy ii, 216.

and gardens; while, according to Bernier, '*Agra* has more [than Delhi] the appearance of a country town, especially when viewed from an eminence. The prospect it presents is rural, varied, and agreeable; for the grandees having always made it a point to plant trees in their gardens and courts for the sake of shade, the mansions of *Omrahs*, *Rajas*, and others are all interspersed with luxuriant and green foliage, in the midst of which the lofty stone houses of *Banyanes* or *Gentile* merchants have the appearance of old castles buried in forests. Such a landscape yields peculiar pleasure in a hot and parched country, where the eye seeks in verdure for refreshment and repose'.[1]

Now we turn to the part of Agra on the east or left bank of the Jumna. Here, as we have seen, must have stood the garden-palaces of Bābur and Humāyūñ, at this time only a century old and therefore probably in a fair state of preservation. The æsthetical Mughals had not failed to utilize whatever remained of them, and during the reigns of Akbar and Jahāñgīr the whole stretch developed into a tastefully laid-out suburb, where princes and magnates owned villas and pleasure-houses mostly along the water's edge.

The length of this suburb, 'Abdu 'l-Ḥamīd Lāhorī and the Emperor Jahāñgīr agree, was two and a half miles, running north-east and south-west, from a point on the river near Humāyūñ Masjid to a spot beyond Nunihai; and the breadth, measured on a line across the bend of the river, at right angles to the major axis, one and a quarter miles. There were few residential houses in this garden-city.[2]

Hither the aristocracy of Agra often resorted for a picnic or a holiday-excursion—a welcome refuge from the scorching heat of Agra, the whirl and worry of noisy city life, and the tiresome formalities of an elaborately ceremonious court. We can imagine a

[1] Bernier's *Travels* (Constable), 285. 'Agra ressent plus le champestre que Dehli, principalement quand on le regarde d'un lieu plus éminent, mais ce n'est point un champestre qui luy soit des-avantageux; il est tres-beau et tres-divertissant; car comme il y a par tout entre ces maisons d'Omerahs, des Rajas et autres, quantité de grands arbres verts mêlez, chacun ayant esté curieux d'en planter dans son jardin et dans sa cour pour avoir de l'ombre, et que ces hautes maisons de pierres de Banyanes, ou Marchands Gentils, paroissent deçà delà entre ces arbres comme quelques restes de vieux Châteaux de Forests; il se fait par là dedans des veuës et des perspectives tres-agreables, principalement dans un Pays sec et chaud, où les yeux semblent ne demander que de la verdure et des ombrages.' —Bernier, *Suite*, i, 94.

[2] *B.N.*, I, i, 157. *Tūzuk*, 2. (*Tūzuk*, R. and B., i., 3).

minister weighed down by the taxing toils of state, or a choicer spirit in a mood for solitary contemplation, or, again, perhaps a rich roué on the primrose path of dalliance, of a spring forenoon, or else on a sultry day, crossing the swift swirl of the Jumna in one of those gaily-painted row-boats [1]—of the type, low, long, and slender, with sharp ends, sketched by Peter Mundy,[2] with some twenty variously coloured oars and a covered seat either in centre or in front, flags flying and yak-tails streaming.[3]

The Jumna itself was no insignificant part of the charm of the metropolis : The many-coloured craft sailing over its waters from villa to villa and garden to garden, which were provided no doubt with beautiful landing-places flanked with shapely towers, must have cast an additional glamour round the social intercourse among the higher classes. Normally there must have been a perpetual gala day on the Jumna ; but on the occasion of some such festival as the *Shab-i-Barāt* or a prince's marriage the illuminations and the fireworks by the waterside, reflected in the moving glass of the Jumna, turned sober earth and sky into a world of grotesque and weird brilliance ![4]

Nor was the importance of the Jumna confined to Agra. It appears that navigation had always been a fashionable mode of travel among persons of quality even for longer distances. It is on record that Akbar and his court travelled down the Jumna by boat to Agra more than once.[5] And Peter Mundy saw 'verie great lighters or Gabares [He means a barge—here, an elaborate variety of the Indian *patela*] of 3, 4, or 500 Tonns each, serving for transportinge great men with their howshold and howshold stuffe downe the river to Etaya [Etāwa], Ellahabaz [Allahābād], Puttana [Patna],Dhacca [Dhākā, Dacca] etts. [and other] places on the river Ganges, haveing howses in the midle for the weomen, and many of them on their stemms the figures of the head of an Eliphant, Dragon, Tiger, etts., with double sternes.'[6] There were also, he says, great boats to convey the Emperor's *maḥal* or seraglio 'with severall roomes, able to carry a prettie village with all theyre Inhabitants and goods ; such is theire hugenesse'.[7]

[1] Corresponding to the modern *bajra* or *mayūrpankhī*.
[2] Peter Mundy, ii, Illustration No. 11, facing p. 158.
[3] Peter Mundy, ii, 158.
[4] For fuller details of these wait for a later chapter.
[5] Once in October, 1558, and again in October, 1560.
[6] Peter Mundy, ii, 224. [7] Peter Mundy, ii, p. 224, f. n. (3).

Again, the river, with its continuation in the Ganges, was a waterway of great *commercial* importance, for we know that barges of a tonnage of three or four hundred, with very high ends,[1] were used for conveying salt, timber, stone, etc., on a main line extending from Delhi and Agra, through Patna, into far-away Bengal.[2]

Of the architectural monuments standing in or near Agra at this date we have said enough in the historical outline. We need only remind ourselves that while Akbar's Tomb at Sikandra was mellowing and getting acclimatized to this world of vicissitudes, *I'timād ud-Daula* had just trembled into existence; and the *Tāj*, the crown and glory of the world's architecture, was yet in the womb of time. But we are on the eve of its creation: and we can imagine all the finer instincts of an artistic people tumultuously gathering power and point—waiting silently, unconsciously for some great tragedy to give them shape and an opportunity for adequate expression.

Our account of Agra will not be complete without a mention of certain large palaces, remains of which Carleylle [3] found at considerable distances from modern Agra. He claims to have noticed traces of Bīrbal's huge palace, called *Hans Maḥal*, on a beautiful locality on the water's edge, nine or ten miles to north-west of modern Agra, and some four or five miles from Sikandra; and of another extensive building near Sāmūgarh (now Fatehabad) also attributed to Bīrbal. On the basis of these and other minor excavations Carleylle tries to make out a case for an outer, far-flung ring of suburbs with the major axis running north-west and south-east, measuring some twenty-five miles. Carleylle's generalizations, as we have said before, have to be received with reserve; and in this case the evidence he adduces, even if acceptable, leads us at best only to a few solitary villas dotted at long intervals. Still the powerful influence exercised by the great city along such an extensive orbit gives a quiet dignity to the metropolis.

SOURCES

A complete list of the works, both Persian and European, which have been consulted, is hardly necessary, since references have been given in their proper places in the body of the chapter.

[1] The modern *patela*. See Peter Mundy, ii, Illustration No. 17, facing p. 230.

[2] Peter Mundy, ii, 87.

[3] *A. S. I. R.* vol. iv (1871-72), pp.120-21.

In addition to some of the Persian histories mentioned in the bibliography at the end of Chapter I, which have been used for this chapter also, other Persian works have been referred to. The preparation of this chapter has, besides, entailed a close study of the works of the European travellers, who visited Mughal India in the seventeenth century. For it was soon realized that for the actual facts and conditions of life as well as for the general look of things and places, we have to depend almost entirely on the vivid descriptions of the foreigners, who saw with a curious eye and wrote for the unfamiliar reader. The contemporary historians, generally speaking, take these for granted, and often busy themselves with details much less significant from our telescopic point of view.

The European travellers vary widely in point of veracity, accuracy of observation, and power to understand and record—differences due partly to opportunity or access afforded to the writer and partly to his temperament and capacity.

Among these François Bernier undoubtedly occupies the place of honour. Both as a thinker and as a penetrating observer he stands pre-eminent. Generally speaking, his observation is accurate and his judgment unclouded. His testimony, where it is direct, is invaluable; and, where he trips, we know that it is his informant who is in fault. Bernier was long enough in India—eight whole years, from 1659 to 1667—to give him ample opportunity for examination and analysis of things and events. He knew Delhi and Agra intimately.

Thevenot was in India for about a year, chiefly in 1666. He gives much picturesque detail about Delhi, Agra, and the provinces, about customs and costumes of people, and about the curiosities and feasts and festivals that he saw.

Neither of the above, however, reached India in Shāh Jahān's reign. Special importance from our point of view, therefore, attaches to Peter Mundy (who served the East India Company in India 1628–1634) and Mandelslo (who landed at Surat on April 29, 1638, and sailed from Indian shores on January 5, 1639). In these two authors we have first-hand evidence of Shāh Jahān's India in its prime and of its metropolis.

Father Manrique, a Spaniard, visited India in 1640. *Itinerario de las Missiones qui hizo el padre Fray Sebastian Manrique* (Roma, 1649 and 1653), ' one of the most authoritative and valuable of the works by

early travellers,' according to V. A. Smith,[1] is very rare and not available to us in India. We have therefore used Stanley Lane-Poole's account from the *Itinerario* (in *Mediæval India*, p. 336).

The most leisurely of these travellers was the Frenchman, Jean Baptiste Tavernier, who made no less than five voyages to India. During the long period 1631–1667, he repeatedly visited Turkey, Asia Minor, Persia and India. The chief merit of this writer lies in the fact that, besides being a well-travelled man, he was a skilled jeweller and an experienced man of affairs. As regards Agra, however, we are disappointed in him. He visited the city in its palmiest days—in 1640–41—and then again in November 1665 and August 1666, when Aurangzeb had been reigning some seven years and Delhi had long been the capital. Tavernier therefore witnessed both the culmination and the decline of Agra. He might have given us a comparative description of the Agras of Shāh Jahān's and Aurangzeb's times, for which his experience so fully qualified him.

Tieffenthaler is a great mine of minute geographical information about Mughal India, and the author's descriptions of towns and provinces are often full and interesting. He visited India in the middle of the eighteenth century, when Agra had passed its meridian.

Foreign travellers of minor importance like Hawkins, Salbancke, and the rest, have been laid under contribution where it has been necessary.

Abdul Latif, *Agra*, is a useful and comprehensive book, but the information given in it should be carefully checked on every point.

Archæological reports and gazetteers have been freely used wherever the need has arisen.

[1] *Akbar*, 474.

‘ Maasir-i-Jahangiri ’

LITERAL TRANSLATION OF THE MAASIR-I-JAHANGIRI

BY

THAKUR RAMSINGH, M.A., *Pleader, Indore, C. I.*

INTRODUCTION

AN apology is needed for using the word ‘ introduction ’ here, as the description given below, is the history of the manuscripts, existing at this time of the hitherto unpublished work, called the *Maaser-i-Jahangiri*, together with the accentuation of the importance for publishing and translating the work at this distant date.

According to page 439 of Sir H. M. Elliot's *History of India*, vol. vi, it is evident that the work *Maasir-i-Jahangiri* is by Khwaja Kamgar Ghairat and was commenced in the third year of the reign of Emperor Shah Jahan.

1. The earliest recital of the work is in Gladwin's *History of Jahangir* (Calcutta, 1788).

2. Later on the recital is found in the *Critical Essays on Various Manuscript Works*, also in James Fraser's *Abridged Moghul History* prefixed to his life of Nadir Shah and also in Muhammad Tahir Inayat Khan's *History of Shah Jahan*.

3. Sir H. M. Elliot after noticing the work in the sixth volume mentioned above, gives only two extracts from the life of the Emperor Jahangir. The first refers to the murder of Sheikh Abul Fazal while the second refers to the revolt of Mahabat Khan in the twenty-first year of Jahangir's reign. The extracts from volume vi show that one of the extracts, referring to Abul Fazal's murder, was an event in Jahangir's life before his accession to the throne while the other refers to his reign. Thus Sir H. M. Elliot's manuscript contains Jahangir's entire life both as an heir-apparent and as an Emperor. A reference to Professor Reynold Nicholson, Professor of Persian in the Cambridge University, made it clear that Sir H. M. Elliot's manuscript was not available in the libraray of that University and that the work has not been published as yet.

4. Professor Beni Pershad of the Allahabad University after supporting Sir H. M. Elliot *in toto*, says in a page 456 of his *History of Jahangir* that he used the manuscript of the *Maasir-i-Jahangiri* in the Khuda Baksh Khan Library, Bankipore. He also says that the *Maasir-i-Jahangiri* was not printed till 1922.

5. The proprietor of the Khuda Baksh Khan Library, Bankipore, Patna (the Bodlein of Persian manuscripts) was addressed through Justice Jaini of Indore High Court and the proprietor, S. Khuda Baksh Khan Saheb very kindly gave full description of the existing manuscripts of the work to the effect that 'Elliot's collections of manuscripts are now in the British Museum' (*vide* preface to vol. i of the *British Museum Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts* by Dr. Riew). Elliot's copy of the *Maasir-i-Jahangiri* is referred to by Dr. Riew in vol. ii, page 932 of his *Persian Catalogue.*

'The beginning of Sir H. M. Elliot's copy differs from the three other copies in the British Museum, (*vide* vol. i, page 257 Riew's *Catalogue of British Museum*). 'The beginning in the manuscript in the Khuda Baksh Library at Patna is precisely the same in the three copies in the British Museum, described above. The fact that the author's name, the date of composition (given in the preface) are the same in the three copies in the British Museum which are older than Elliot's copy, and in the one in the Khuda Baksh Library, gives us fair reason to suppose that Elliot's copy does not contain the original beginning.'

6. After perusing the note of S. Khuda Baksh Saheb, I on June 4, 1927, went with my own manuscript to the Khuda Baksh Library at Bankipore, Patna. Syed Raza Ali, the Head Clerk of the Library was very courteous and showed me the Patna manuscript. It was found that the Patna manuscript was divided into three portions. The first portion of the library manuscript ends with the chapter describing the death of Akbar, the installation of Jahangir by Akbar himself and the enumeration of the names of the daughters of Akbar; while my manuscript, describing the same, adds a chapter on the description of the Dahra garden, containing the Mausoleum of Akbar, and this additional chapter has been published in the April number of the *Journal of Indian History, Madras, for 1927*. There is no second portion in my manuscript and the Khatme (conclusion) says there ended the '*Maasir-i-Jahangiri*. The second portion of the manuscript in the Khuda

Baksh Library on its title page describes the rest of the portion as *Moasir-i-Jahangiri* and not *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*. *Moasir* (معاصر) as distinguished from *Maasir* (مآثر) means the contemporary account.

7. On October 7, 1927, the Keeper of the Department of Oriental Books and Manuscripts, British Museum, London, was kind enough to reply to the queries regarding the various existing manuscripts of the work. He says that the British Museum possesses two manuscripts of the *Maasiri-i-Jahangiri*, namely Or. 171 and Ad. 26220. They differ greatly in the order in which their materials are arranged. They have a like beginning, but a different ending. Both treat in the closing section of the twenty-second year of Jahangir's reign, but Or. 171 deals with it more fully. Both give the names of Akbar's daughters at the end of a short account of his death. Neither of them is divided into two parts and in neither is there mention of the *Moasir*.

8. This account of my search shows that the work *Maasir-i-Jahangiri* has not been published up to date, that the manuscript of Sir H. M. Elliot is different from manuscripts of the work existing in the British Museum, the Khuda Baksh Library and from my manuscript; and that the last chapter regarding the mausoleum of Akbar the Great, found in my manuscript, is wanting in all the manuscripts existing in the British Museum and the Khuda Baksh Library; and that the *Maasir-i-Jahangiri* by Khwaja Ghairat, contained the entire life of Jahangir.

9. The Head Clerk of the Khuda Baksh Library gave me to understand that a copy of the manuscript of the Library was being furnished to Doctor Shafaat Ahmad Khan, PH.D., Professor of History in the Allahabad University. It is hoped he would determine the exact position of the above. There is no doubt that Khwaja Ghairat was entrusted with the writing of the entire life of Jahangir (*vide* the introductory chapter of the *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*), but whether he accomplished the entire work, is to be determined because soon after his being entrusted with the work of writing the biography of Jahangir under Shah Jahan's order, the Khwaja was appointed Governor of Thatta where he soon died.

10. So far as my studies of the biography of Jahangir go derived as they are from the perusal of *Toozuk-i-Jahangiri*, *Wadyat*

Jahangir and *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, etc., it is found that the portion dealing with the incidents of the birth of Jahangir and the events of his life as Prince Salim as heir-apparent, are wanting in almost all the biographies. The importance of the first portion of Jahangir's life as detailed by Professor Beni Pershad in his *History of Jahangir* on page 456, is really substantial and the publication in original Persian of the first portion of the work at least, is needed as a separate epoch of Indian History. It is earnestly hoped that Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan would bring the hitherto unpublished *Maasir-i-Jahangiri* to the notice of the savants of history but a literal translation of the same work before the first year of the reign of Jahangir, would not be out of place and is herein undertaken. Strict literal translation has been done to show the trend of imaginative writing of the history in the reign of the Moghul Emperors. No doubt the redundance and repetition of the same ideas with different synonyms and autonyms would be somewhat repugnant to the European ear but the tracery and the exact rendering of the Persian text would have its own value.

Before closing this note I beg to acknowledge the ungrudging assistance I have got from Babu Ram Dayal Saheb, Financial Secretary to the Jaora Darbar for the explanation of some important archaic words absent in modern Persian dictionaries. I also tender my gratitude to Professor Reynold Nicholson and to Mr. Lionel D. Barnett, the Keeper of the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts, British Museum, London and to S. Khuda Baksh Saheb.

RUBRIC I

' Commence in the name of God Who is very Merciful and Kind.'

' Adoration, universeful in measure, be to the King of Reality Who thrid and fastened the arrangement and management of mankind to the assistance of the leaders of intellect, whose profession is to dispense Justice and, to the power of Kings whose constant attention is for doing equity. Benedictions innumerable be on the Soul of the Commander-in-Chief of the Kingdom of Being who raised the Standard of Pity and the Banner of gnosis in tho fortified city of Becoming and much Salutation be on the progeny and the companions (of the Prophet). Nevertheless, now be it not remain hidden from the heart of the inquirers of information regarding the Reality and the investigators of the traces of subtleties, that the Emperor Abu Muzaffar Noor

Uddin Jahangir Ghazi, may God illumine his reason (the protector of the world having the status of Solomon and having the sublime dignity of gracing the throne by his setting thereon and of being the happy conjunction predicting victory, and as being inseparable from Justice and, the embellisher of the thrones of the Kingdoms of Reality and metaphor), has himself written the biography of his fortune, which grew in prosperity daily from the beginning of his ascension of auspicious circumstances to about his own becoming a prey (death) and named it the Jahangir Nama; but the incidents of his birth of good consequences and those of his heir-apparentship did not find place in that book (the Autobiography),—this insignificent particle, Kamgar Husaini who possesses distinction in the hereditary servants of the Royal Household desired that he should complete afresh the entire events of the days of the purest life, and give them the robe of writing in a fitting decoration in brief. In the year 1004 Hijri corresponding to the third year of the perpetual reign of (the best of Mankind, Imperial Victor of the Earth, Ruler of the world and the creatures therein, the Knower of the celestial mysteries, the lamp light of the Gorgan dynasty, the right begotten son of the illustrious race, the Zenith Starred and Exalted) His Majesty Shabuddin Mohammad Sahibqiran Sani Shah Jahan the Emperor Ghazi (may God keep him in glory till the day of rest), the material for the compilation (of this biography) was collected and was named Maasir-i-Jahangiri. And the sublime titles and the exalted names of the illustrious father and eminent grandfather and ancestors of His Majesty Emperor Shah Jahan are respectively these; Abu-ul-Muzaffar Noor Uddin Mohammad Jahangir Badshah Ghazi was the son of Jalal Uddin Mohammad Akbar Badshah, who was the son of Naseer Uddin Mohammad Humayun Badshah, who was the son of Zahiruddin Mohammad Babur Shah Badshah, who was the son of Umar Sheikh Mirza, who was the son of Sultan Abu Sayeed Mirza, who was the son of Sultan Mohammad Mirza, who was the son of Miran Shah Badshah, who was son of Qutub Uddin, whose father was His Majesty Sahib Qiran Amir Timur of Gorgan. In this Book of Prosperity, the 'Firdaus Makani' means Zahir Uddin Mohammad Babur Badhshah; 'Jannat Ashayani' means Naseer Uddin Mohammad Humayun Badhshah; the 'Arsh Astani' means His Majesty Jalal Uddin Mohammad Akber and Hazrat 'Shahanshahi' means Noor Uddin Jahangir Badhshah. The meaning of the Heir-apparent

(Shahzada Wali Ahud) is to denote His Majesty Sahib Qiran Sani Shabuddin Mohammad Shah Jahan Badshah. It is hoped that the above mentioned Mnemonics should ever be kept in memory from the very commencement as given above. As regards the perfect by felicitous birth of Jahangir, the Shadow of God, His Majesty Akbar in order to perpetuate and keep alive the Sovereignty and its constant-increase, always prayed for the fulfilment of the desire from the threshold of Heaven for the grant of a fit heir for the throne, who might be wise and prudent, and the holy heart of the Emperor believed that the homes of the persons near the threshold of disinterestedness and of those who were chosen ones of the Court of Oneness, were, the doors of his cherished desire, and was eagerly waiting for the rising of the world illumining sun : when some that were standing at the foot of the vicegerent throne (towards which all were attentive) submitted that Sheikh Saleem was the name of a pious saint who in all the divine worshippers of God in this country was eminent in the external and internal purity, and his higher self and the efficiency of his prayer was famous, and according to lineage he was the seventh in generation from Sheikh Farid called Shakur Ganj (the Store of Sugar), and that he lived in the town of Sikri which is at a distance of twelve *Kos* (24 miles) from Agra. If that anxious desire is revealed by His Majesty to him (Sheikh), it is hoped that the plant of the supplicated wish might bear fruit with the irrigation of his prayer and the face of the aim might appear in the mirror of manifestation. Necessarily His Majesty went to the residence of the Sheikh and with sincere supplication and pure faith revealed to him the secret. The Sheikh who had an enlightened heart and was perfectly knowing the heart of the Emperor internally, expressly conveyed to the Emperor the rising of the Star in the constellation of the Royalty and thus expressed the message of permanent happiness. His Majesty the Emperor Akbar said that he had vowed to put that fortunate son in his (Sheikh's) lap for education so that through his spritual and mundane help he (the son) may obtain the wealth of greatness. The Sheikh after accepting this meaning proposal brought on his tongue that the same be fruitfully blessed and that he (the Sheikh) himself even now give that young plant of the Government his own name. As it was all with true intention and firm faith, in a short period, the tree of hope became fruitful of the desire. As the time of the delivery of the conception reached nigh,

the noble mother of Jahangir, with all full faith and pure pleasure, was sent to the house of the Sheikh and in that house, the abode of Prosperity, on Wednesday the 17th of the month of Rabi-ul-Awal, 977 Hijra, in the twenty-fourth degree of the constellation of Libra that Sun of the heaven of Rank and Glory and that Moon of the Sphere of Wealth and Prosperity, shone, from the East of the heavenly ordination and from the exordium of the Almighty's gifts and bestowed of his own accord on the world the working capital of peace in perpetuity.

It is one of the strangest accidents that Emperor Akbar in his fourteenth year of age having placed the Crown of the Empire on the head of honour, himself adorned the throne of sovereignty and then later on, again after fourteen years with a view to get this anxious desire, raised the dignity of the Pleasure to a greater extent. The gist is that this soul pleasing message, the harbinger of Joy adorning reached the Capital at Akbarabad (Modern Agra) and was in the blessed hearing of the Emperor Akbar. The vociferations of congratulations echoed and echoed back in the dome of the ninth firmament. Great meetings and festive gatherings were arranged for. And owing to the appearance of this Soul refreshing eventual message, barnful of gold and lap-ful of silver were dispensed to keep away the evil-eye. For the thanksgiving of this grand gift, orders were sanctioned and issued for the release of all the prisoners that were confined in the forts of the cities. And according to the undertaking that progeny of the illustrious race of sovereignty and world conquering was named as Sultan Saleem. The Learned and the Poets in drawing out the chronogramic date of the birth, composed wonderful subjects expressing astonishing meanings in the bright Panegyric odes in Poetry. Out of these one discovered the "*Durr Shahwar Akbar*" and the other discovered the "*Gauhar Taj Akbar Shahi*"—meaning respectively the 'Pearl befitting Akbar' and 'The Jewel of the Crown of Akbar'. But Khwaja Husain of Merr from his power of intellect and freshness of comprehension composed a panegyric ode of eminence which may fairly be said to be the Book of Deeds or of Perfection Specimens of poetry, and a Manual for Courtiers, and presented the same ode to Emperor Akbar. The first hemistich of the ode gives chronogramic date of the ascension of Emperor Akbar and the second hemistich gives the date of the birth of Emperor Jehangir the world illuminer. The expediency of

managing these two difficult matters was performed with all the diversions of the figures of speech and the elegance of words by the composer. Some verses from that ode are written in this unique book.

The Ode

Gratitude be to God Who, for the dignity and glory of the King brought on the bank the Jewel of Grandeur from the ocean of Justice.

A bird came down from the nest of the dignity of existence; a star from the height of grandeur and emblandishment became apparent.

A rose-tree like this has not been seen in the circuit of the flower garden; a tulip like this has not blown out from amidst the garden of red flowers.

The hearts became glad because again came Justice and Equity from the Sky and again the world became alive from the kindness of the spring-tide.

That new moon of the constellation of worth and dignity came in existence and that new plant of the hearty wish of the King's desire came to fruition.

The king is one of the continents of purity and is of the Court of faithfulness.

He is candle to all the lovers and is the object of the candidates' heart. He is the perfect dispenser of Justice and his name is Mohammad Akbar the Lord of the happy conjunction.

The renowned king is the searcher of the aim and is successful; he is perfectly wise, efficient, the most just and learned in the world.

He is the loftiest and the most just and is wise having no equal in the world. He is the shadow of God's graciousness and is fit for the Crown and the Signet.

The King is the defender of the Religion and being just is the pivot of the world.

For his assembly the heaven's astrolabe is the burner for aloe wood.

For his cavalcade the Fish (name of a star) comes joyfully straight.

He is the Sun of the constellation of existence and is the Jewel of

the river of liberality. From the breeze in the high the hearts of the falcons become glad for the life of the prey.

Oh, King I have brought the string of pearls of faith present from the enormous mine—search again and be attentive. Nobody possesses a present better than this but if anybody possesses, let him who possesses be told to go and fetch it and to go and fetch whatever he may possess.

From the first hemistich eke out the year of the ascension of the King and from the second eke out the year of the birth of the eye of the world.

So long as remains in balance the computation of days, month and year, that computation from the year, month and day may ever revolve for the illustrious (Jahangir). May my king remain permanent and also the Prince for the days without reckoning and for the years innumerable.

Philosophy of War among the Ancient Hindus

BY

PRITHWISCHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

IN the Psalter we find depicted in striking contradiction both the historic actual and the prophetic ideal concerning war. When the Psalms were written, the historic actual was, 'God teacheth my hands to war and my fingers to fight;' and at the same time the prophetic ideal was 'God shall scatter the peoples that delight in war.'[1] Humanity has remained much the same in this respect since the days of Jesus.

Man is a warring animal, declared Hobbes. 'I am a man and that means a fighter' is one of Goethe's famous sayings. The instinct of combat is instilled in human nature; and in spite of what theorists might say, and doctrinaires might propound, war has been and still is a universal and inevitable operation in the life-history of states. In fact, the history of humanity is a history of perpetual strifes and conflicts, interwoven on a sand-board of hollow professions and lofty sentiments.

Ancient India was no exception in this respect. The Law of Nature asserted itself on the soil of Hindusthan with no less rigour than in other parts of the world. In primitive times, man fought with man, clan with clan, tribe with tribe. It is out of these conflicts that almost all the states of the ancient and the modern world were born. The Maurya empire, no less than the British empire, was a child of war.

From the remotest days of King Divodāsa in the *Ṛgveda* upto the time when the enfeebled voice of Hindu independence was choked under the iron heels of the Ghaznavide hosts, the history of India presents a record of almost endless series of wars, interrupted by occasional periods of peace and prosperity. Kings were made and unmade, kingdoms set up and overthrown. Mighty conquerors like Chandragupta, Samudragupta, Harṣavardhana and Dharmapāla passed

[1] *Hibbert Journal*, 1916, p. 29.

from one end of the country to the other with their nameless hosts, wrecked and plundered the neighbouring states, and on the ashes of their ruins built up extensive empires, which in their turn were knocked down and dissolved either by internal rebellion or external aggression. Barbarian hordes from Central Asia like the Śakas, the Kuṣānas, the Gurjaras, and the Huṇas poured in from time to time, pulled down the indigenous kingdoms that stood in their way and carved out independent states of their own. In fact, countless were the wars fought on the soil of Hindusthan in ancient times. And it is not, therefore, to be wondered at if the secular minds among the Hindus devoted a fraction of their speculation on this ugly phenomenon of human history and sought to pry into its nature, its causes, its consequences and its remedies.

War has been defined by Kauṭalya [1] as an 'offensive operation' (*apakāro-vigrahaḥ*, Kauṭ. vii, 1). The *Agni Purāṇa* defines war 'as the direct result of injuries done to each other by hostile monarchs' (*parasparāpakāreṇa puṃsāṃ bhavati vigrahaḥ*, chap. ccxl. 14). According to Śukra, 'the affair that two parties, who have inimical relations with each other, undertake by means of arms to satisfy their rival interests is known as warfare.'[2] When the essential elements of these definitions are combined, the definition of war would stand thus: War is a contest, born of injuries done to each other, carried on by means of arms, between two parties, having the intention of ending peaceful relations and substituting for them those of hostility (*śatrubhāvam-ubhayoḥ*). This makes a near approach to the definition of war according to modern International Law.[3]

The causes of war were varied. Kāmandaka speaks of them as follows: 'Possessed of thoughts of revenge, and with hearts burning with anger engendered by the infliction of mutual wrongs, people proceed to fight with one another. One may also launch upon a war for the amelioration of his own condition, or when oppressed by his

[1] For the use of Kauṭalya instead of the oft-repeated Kauṭilya see Ganapaṭi Sastrī's introduction to *Arthaśāstra* and Venkataram Sharma's 'A note on the word Kauṭalya' in *I.H.Q.*, vol. i, p. 596, Mr. D. B. Diskalkar in a note to the same journal (vol. i, p. 786) says that he found an inscription of V. S. 1291 (*Vaiśākha śudi* 14 *Guran*) from the village Gaṇesar near Dholkā in Gujarat which in 1-9 clearly reads Kauṭalya.

[2] Chap. iv, vii, lines 438-9.

[3] Lawrence, *Principles of International Law* (14th ed.), p. 331.

foe, if the advantages of the soil and the season be in his favour. Usurpation of the kingdom, abduction of women, seizure of provinces and portions of territory, carrying away of vehicles and treasures, arrogance, morbid sense of honour, molestation of dominions, extinction of erudition, destruction of property, violation of laws, prostration of the regal powers, influence of evil destiny, the necessity of helping friends and allies, disrespectful demeanour, the destruction of friends, the want of compassion on creatures, disaffection of the *Prakṛti Maṇḍala*, and common eagerness for possessing the same object, these and many others have been said to be the sources of war.'[1] The grounds of war, as given by the *Agni Purāṇa*, are exactly the same.[2]

Wars were classified by Hindu political thinkers under various heads, according either to the weapons used, the methods employed, or the nature of their origin. Śukra divided wars into three classes, viz., *daivika*, *āsura*, and *mānuṣa*. 'The *daivika* warfare is that in which charms are used, the *āsura* that in which mechanical instruments are used, the *human* warfare that in which *śastras* and hands are used.'[3] Vāhudantīputra, a pre-Kautalyan author on *Arthaśāstra*, divided wars into four classes according to the nature of their origin: (*a*) that caused by the invasion of one's territory, (*b*) that caused by something done by others prejudicial to the exercise of the regal powers, (*c*) that resulting from some dispute about the boundaries of dominions, and (*d*) that produced by some disturbance of the *Maṇḍala*.[4]

According to Kāmandaka and the author of the *Agni Purāṇa* wars were of five varieties: (*a*) those produced by a spirit of rivalry, (*b*) those caused by some dispute about lands, (*c*) those having women at the root, (*d*) those produced by irresponsible talks, and (*e*) those consequent on some fault or transgression on one side (*sāpatnaṃ vāstujaṃ strījaṃ vāgjātamaparādhajaṃ*).[5]

In another place, Kāmandaka says, 'Men take cognizance of two kinds of hostilities only, viz., that which is hereditary, and that bred by some fault or transgression.' (*Kulāparādhaje.*)[6]

[1] *Kāmandaka*, x. 1-5; Trans. by M. N. Dutt, pp. 136-7.

[2] *Agni Purāṇa*, 240, 15-18.

[3] Chap. iv, sect. vii, lines 440-1.

[4] Quoted by Kāmandaka, x. 17-18. For identification of Vāhudantīputra see *Introduction*, *Kauṭalya*, vol. iii, by Ganapati Śāstrī.

[5] Kāmandaka, x. 16-17; *Ag. P.*, 240, 19.

[6] *Kāmandaka*, x. 19.

Kauṭalya divides battles into three classes in accordance with the methods employed. These were open battle, treacherous battle, and silent battle (*vikramasya prakāśayuddhaṃ, kūṭayuddhaṃ, tūṣnīṃ yuddhamiti*).[1] 'When the battle is fought in the daylight and in some locality, it is termed an open battle ; threatening in one direction, assault in another, destruction of an enemy while he is careless or in trouble, and bribing a portion of the army and destroying another portion, are forms of treacherous fight ; an attempt to win over the chief officers of the enemy by intrigue, is the characteristic of silent battle.[2]

In other words, the *prakāśayuddha* is a pitched battle fought by fair means on an open field. Elsewhere[3] a *prakāsayuddha* has been defined as *dharmiṣṭha* and we are told that a previous fixing of time and place is its essential requisite (*nirdiṣṭadeśakāla*). A *kūṭayuddha*, on the other hand, is a battle in which cunning and artifice play a decisive part, Surprises, laying of ambushes, feigned attacks and retreats, feigned flight, pretence of inactivity, spreading of false news as to one's strength and dispositions, use of the enemy's parole—all these formed part and parcel of *kūṭayuddha*. Kauṭalya deals with this class of warfare at some length, and some forms of artifice, recommended by him, take the shape of faithlessness, fraud and breach of one's word. Among these are a breach of safe-conduct ; of a free retirement; of an armistice in order to gain by a surprise attack an advantage over the enemy; feigned surrender in order to kill the enemy when they approach unsuspiciously; and incitement to crime, such as murder of the enemy's leaders, incendiarism, robbery and the like. None need wax indignant at these unpalatable instructions, for, in spite of dubbing them as 'dirty tricks', even the civilized nations of Europe have practised them right upto this day. Take, for instance, the pretence as practised by Murat on November 13, 1805, against Prince Amersperg, in order to get possession of the passage of the Danube at Flörisdorf; the like stratagem which a few days later Bagration practised against Murat at Schöngraben ; the deceptions under cover of their word of honour practised by French generals

[1] Book vii, chap. vi.

[2] *Kauṭalya, Translation*, p. 337. The distinction between *prakāśayuddha* and *Kūṭayuddha* is also indicated in the *Ag. P.*, chap. ccxlii, *verses* 12-13.

[3] Book x, chap. iii,

against the Prussian leaders in 1806 at Prenzlau.[1] The late European war also presents numberless parallels of this nature. One should make use in war, declared Frederick the Great, 'of the skin of the lion or the fox indifferently'. Machiavelli explains the same doctrine very candidly in his *Prince*.[2] In fact, cunning and artifice in warfare have been practised from the remotest antiquity upto the present day.

The third variety of Kauṭalyan warfare is no warfare at all in the modern acceptance of the term. As Mr. P. N. Banerji says, 'It will be evident from a careful perusal of Kauṭilya that silent battles were fought by the employment of spies. They are not battles at all in the modern acceptance of the term but should rather be regarded as a means of causing dissensions in the enemy's ranks by secret agencies—a method which has proved so successful during the last great European War both in Russia as well as Germany.'[3]

Elsewhere Kauṭalya divides warfare under two heads, viz., *vyāyāmayuddha* and *mantrayuddha*. A *vyāyāmayuddha* is almost the same thing as an 'open battle' (*prakāśayuddha*). Physical strength and skill are its fundamental requisites. It precludes any resort to hide-and-seek policy. *Mantrayuddha*, on the other hand, is only another name for *tūṣnīṃ yuddham*. Cunning, spying and lying are its prime factors.[4] That *mantrayuddha* (battle of intrigue) is different from *kūṭayuddha* is apparent from the following sentence:

'*Teṣāmuttiṣṭhamānaṃ sandhinā mantrayuddhēna kūṭayuddhēna vā prativyūhēta*,'[5] 'when any one of these is on the point of rising against a weak king, the latter should avert the invasion by making a treaty of peace, or by taking recourse to the battle of intrigue, or by a treacherous fight in the battle-field.'[6] The characteristic difference between a *mantrayuddha* and a *kūṭayuddha* is probably brought out in the lines that follow. '*Śatrupakṣasya sāmadānābhyāṃ, svapakṣaṃ bhēdadanḍābhyām. Durgaṃ rāṣṭraṃ skandhāvāraṃ vā-sya gūḍhā śastra-rasāgnibhiḥ sādhayēyuḥ*.' It is probable that conciliation, bribery and sowing of dissensions in the enemy state, spoken of above, formed the characteristics of a *mantrayuddha*; while the secret employment of weapons, poison and fire was the primary means of a *kūṭayuddha*.

[1] *German War Book*, p. 84 (f. n.). [2] Ch. xviii.
[3] *International Law and Customs in Ancient India*, p. 97.
[4] Kauṭalya, xii, 2. [5] *Kauṭalya Arthasastra*, xii, 1.
[6] Kaut. Trans. pp. 443–4.

The point of difference between a *vyāyāmayuddha* and a *mantrayuddha* is illustrated by the following lines :

'*Pārṣṇigrahaṇābhiyānayostu mantrayuddhādabhyuccayaḥ Vyāyāmayuddhē hi kṣayavyayābhyāṃ ubhayorvṛddhir jitvāpi hi kṣīṇadaṇḍakośaḥ parājito bhavati ityācāryā.*'[1] Here the main distinction is that while a *vyāyāmayuddha* involves a heavy loss of men and money, a *mantrayuddha* entails no such loss. In other words, a *mantrayuddha* is carried on by other means than the sacrifice of life and capital. It is essentially a 'battle of intrigue'.

Like war itself, the conquerors were divided into three classes by Kauṭalya. These were a just conqueror (*dharmavijayī*), a demon-like conqueror (*asura-vijayī*), and a greedy conqueror (*lobha-vijayī*). 'Of these the just conqueror is satisfied with mere obeisance. Hence, a weak king should submit to him.' 'The greedy conqueror is satisfied only with gains in land or money. Hence a weak king should satisfy such a conqueror with wealth.' 'The demon-like conqueror satisfies himself not merely by seizing the land, treasure, sons and wives of the conquered, but by taking the life of the latter. Hence, a weak king should keep such a conqueror at a distance by offering him land and wealth.'[2]

Likewise, enemies are classed under two heads. 'That foe, who is equally of high birth and occupies a territory close to that of the conqueror, is a natural enemy (*sahajaḥ*); while he who is merely antagonistic and creates enemies to the conqueror is a fictitious (*kṛtrimaḥ*) enemy.'[3] The *Agni Purāna* speaks of three kinds of enemies, hereditary (*kulya*), adjacent (*anantara*), and artificial (*kṛtrima*). 'Of these that which is mentioned first is more serious than the one subsequently mentioned in the order of enumeration' (*guravastē yathāpūrvam*).[4]

In the same way allies are divided into two classes by Kauṭalya. 'He whose friendship is derived from father and grandfather, and who is situated close to the territory of the immediate enemy of the conqueror (*sahajam*); while he whose friendship is acquired for self-maintenance is an acquired (*kṛtrimam*) friend.'[5] The author of the

[1] Book vii, chap. xiii.

[2] *Kauṭalya Arthaśāstra*, xii, 13.

[3] *Kauṭalya*, vi, 2.

[4] *Agni Purāṇa*, 225, 9.

[5] Op. cit.

Agni Purāṇa discerns two varieties in what Kauṭalya describes as the *sahaja* ally, viz., the ancestral (*pitṛpitāmaham*) and the territorial neighbour of the enemy (*sāmantañca tathā ripoḥ*).[1]

The definitions, classifications and discussions, cited above, unmistakably point to the fact that the secular thinkers amongst the ancient Hindus devoted not a little of their thought and speculation on the subject of war. They discussed and analysed it thoroughly and developed a philosophy on the subject. There does not seem to have been a single political thinker in ancient India who has not dealt with the art of war as well. Political and military philosophy are indissolubly intermixed; for, war, as Trietschke taught, is 'political science *par excellence*'.

Bernhardi contends that 'whenever we look in Nature, we find that war is the fundamental law of development.' In the struggle between State and State, he says, there is no right except might, no justice except the arbitrament of war. The ancient Hindus were likewise convinced that the world could not be ruled without force. 'I do not perceive any creature,' said Arjuna, 'which maintains life without inflicting injury upon others; one creature lives upon another, the stronger upon the more feeble. The mungoose eats the mouse, the cat eats the mungoose, the dog kills the cat, the dog is eaten by the spotted leopard. Lo, all things are swallowed by the Destroyer at his coming! The mobile and immobile universe is food for all that lives. Such is the decree of the gods.'[2]

It is a very widely held opinion that war plays a necessary and essential part in evolution. Every species, it is said, produces more offspring than the conditions of life on this planet will allow to reach maturity, and hence the struggle for existence among individuals and the survival of the fittest by a natural selection. 'Briefly, in the business of war,' said Luther, 'men must not regard the massacres, the burnings, the battles, and the marches, etc.,—that is what the petty and simple do who only look with the eyes of children at the surgeon, how he cuts off the hand or saws off the leg, but do not see or notice that he does it in order to save the whole body.' 'War,' says von Bernhardi, 'gives a biologically just decision, since its decisions rest on the very nature of things.' We have the same idea in the Hindu

[1] *Agni Purāṇa* 225, 10.

[2] *Śānti Parva*, xv, 20-23.

philosophy of war. 'The reclaimer of a field,' declared Bhīṣma, 'for reclaiming it takes up both paddy blades and weeds. His action, however, instead of destroying the blades of paddy, makes them grow more vigorously. They that wield weapons, destroy many that deserve destruction. Such extreme destruction, however, causes the growth and advancement of those that remain.' [1]

'While Hindu ethics,' says Gettel, 'assigned a low place to military virtues and taught pacifist fatalism, Hindu political thought is decidedly militaristic, and sometimes machiavellian.' [2] The first part of the above dictum is somewhat controversial; for we are not aware of any Hindu thinker of antiquity, who 'assigned a low place to the military virtues'. According to the Hindu conception of the genesis of the social order, the warrior class sprang out of the arms of the Creator, and though they are held by some to be next to the Brāhmanas, the intellectual leader of the community, in order of rank and importance; by others they are regarded as the latter's equal, if not superior.[3] The Gītā, perhaps the highest authority on Hindu ethics, teaches that the military virtues are not to be despised but are essential for the preservation of the social equilibrium.

But even if there might be some difference of opinion with regard to the first part of Gettel's dictum, there is no room for doubt with regard to the second. In fact, there is hardly a page in the history of Hindu political thought—especially in its international aspect—on which the grim shadow of the war-monster is not cast. The general impression that one is apt to derive from a study of the secular political literature in ancient India is that war is the natural condition of mankind; peace is an exceptional condition secured by special agreement.[4] The doctrine of *Maṇḍala*, which formed, as it were, the theoretical basis and psychological background of inter-statal relations in ancient India, is essentially a doctrine of strife and struggle. The theory 'assumes and is prepared for a world of eternally warring states.' It connotes a state of international *mātsya-nyāya*.[5] Every kingdom must, therefore, be in a state of armed preparedness, not merely for

[1] *Śānti Parva*, xcvii, 6-7.

[2] *History of Political Thought*, p. 27.

[3] See Ghoshal—*History of Hindu Political Theories*, pp. 66, 82, 109, etc.; also *vide poste*.

[4] Cf. Kāmandaka, ch. x, 16-24 (M. N. Dutt's Translation).

[5] B. K. Sarkar—*Political Theories and Institutions of the Hindus*, p. 221.

self-defence, but in order that it may pounce upon an enemy at any favourable moment. Furthermore, the waging of war was regarded as one of the essential duties of a king.[1] 'Subdue thy foes, protect thy subjects, worship the deities in sacrifices, and fight battles with courage, O delighter of the Kurus.'[2] 'Like a snake,' says Uśanas, a pre-Kauṭalyan author on politics, 'swallowing up mice, the earth swallows up these two, viz., the king that is averse to battle and the Brāhmana that is exceedingly attached to wives and children.'[3] 'Like a fisherman,' says Bhāradvāja,[4] 'who becometh prosperous by catching and killing fish, a king can never grow prosperous without tearing the vitals of his enemy and without doing some violent deeds. The might of thy foe, as represented by his armed force, should ever be completely destroyed, by ploughing it up (like weeds) and mowing it down and otherwise afflicting it by disease, starvation and want of drink.'

The king must always be watchful and exerting. 'By exertion,' says Bṛhaspati,[5] 'the *amṛta* was attained; by exertion the *asuras* were slain; by exertion Indra himself obtained sovereignty in heaven and earth.' That king, the author continues, who is not exerting, is always smitten by foes like a snake which is devoid of poison. The king, even if full of strength, should not disregard a foe however weak. For, 'a spark can produce a conflagration, and a particle of poison can kill.' Elsewhere, we are told, that no respect whatever is due to a king who does not either by fair means or foul subdue his foes. 'He sinks like a cow in the mud and is helpless as an ant.'[6]

The same conception of foreign policy provoking a constant apprehension of war is more or less shared by the other secular political thinkers of ancient India. Thus the *elan vital* of a ruler, according to Kāmandaka, lies in 'the acquisition of unacquired things'.[7] 'Where can there be any happiness for a king,' says the author, 'unless the deep-rooted tree—his enemies—be eradicated by the mighty elephant—his intelligence—goaded by the guide—his earnest endeavours?'[8] Without planting his feet, Kāmandaka adds, on his enemy's head, graced with crowns bedecked with gems and jewels, a king cannot attain to

[1] *Śānti Parva*, lxiii, 18; xci, 34.
[2] *Ibid.*, lxxxix, 9.
[3] *Śānti Parva*, lvii, 3.
[4] *Ādi Parva*, cxlii.
[5] *Śānti Parva*, lviii, 14–17.
[6] *Vana Parva*, xxxv, 7; *Sabhā Parva*, xv, 11.
[7] *Kāmandaka Nīt.*, xi. 55, 56.
[8] *Ibid.*, xiii, 13.

prosperity.[1] Bāna tells us in his historical romance called *Harṣacaritam* that emperor Harṣa launched upon his remarkable *Digvijaya* campaign with a solemn vow. 'How can I rest,' declared the emperor, 'so long as my feet are not smeared with an ointment found in every continent, consisting in the light of precious stones in the diadems of all kings?'[2] 'The earth swallows the king,' says Śukra, 'who does not fight and the Brāhmana who does not go abroad, just as the snake swallows the animals living in the holes.'[3] 'Let us remember,' says Trietschke, 'that the essence of the state is power, and the highest morality of the state is to care for power.' This is perfectly in agreement with the military ethics of Kauṭalya, for he declares in the same strain: 'A king shall always endeavour to augment his power and ensure his success' (elevate his happiness, according to Shamasastry) *Tasmācchaktiṃ siddhiṃ ca ghaṭetātmanyāveśayitum.* For this, all means are justified. Spying, lying and bribing. Whatever be the means, fair or foul, declares Kauṭalya, the king must make himself 'the nave' of the circle of states, 'making the kings of those states as spokes of that circle.'[4] Our author is apparently a believer in the maxim '*Die welt geschichte ist das welt gericht*', or to put it less pretentiously, 'Nothing succeeds like success'. His attitude towards the neighbouring states is very much akin to that which Newman ascribed to the Erastian view of the treatment of the Church—to keep them low and in a perpetual state of terror-stricken servility.

It must be remembered that only normally strong states might follow this cult of expansion. But what about weaker states, living in constant apprehension of their strong neighbours? They could not possibly be expected to tread along the same path. Ancient teachers were sharply divided in their views as to the attitude that a weak king should assume towards its strong neighbours. Thus Bhāradvāja opines that 'when a king of poor resources is attacked by a powerful enemy, he should surrender himself together with his sons to the enemy and live like a reed (in the midst of a current of water). He who surrenders himself to the strong, bows down to Indra (the god of rain).'[5] Bhīṣma also prescribes submission to a weak state, when

[1] *Ibid.*, xiii, 12.
[2] *Harṣacaritam* (Cowell's *Translation*), p. 188.
[3] *Śukra Nīti*, ch. iv. sect. vii, lines 604-5.
[4] *Kauṭalya, Translation*, p. 314.
[5] *Kauṭalya*, xii, 1. The translation is here slightly altered to bring it into line with Pandit Ganapati Sastri's reading.

threatened by a strong foe. 'That cow,' said Bhīsma, which cannot be easily milked has to suffer much torture. On the other hand, that cow which is capable of being easily milked, has not to suffer any torture whatever. The wood that bends easily does not require to be heated. The tree that bends easily has not to suffer any torture (at the hands of the gardener). Guided by these instances, O hero, men should bend before those that are powerful.'[1] In another place of the *Mahābhārata*, the same lesson is sought to be brought home to a weak king in a more forceful manner. A dialogue is cited between the ocean and the river-goddess Gangā. The ocean enquired of the river that though she brought down hundreds of large trees and other objects by uprooting them, why was the cane exempted. Gangā replied: 'Trees stand in one and the same place and are unyielding in respect of the spot where they stand. In consequence of this disposition of theirs to resist our currents, they are obliged to leave the place of their growth. Canes, however, act differently. The cane, beholding the advancing current, bends to it. The others do not act in that way. After the current has passed away, the cane resumes its former posture. The cane knows the virtues of time and opportunity. It is docile and obedient. It is yielding, without being stiff. For these reasons, it stands where it grows, without having to come with us. Those plants, trees and creepers that bend and rise before the force of the wind and water, have never to suffer discomfiture (by being taken up by the roots).' A weak king, it is concluded, when he is threatened by an enemy decidedly more powerful than himself, should adopt the behaviour of the cane.[2]

Kauṭalya, an extreme exponent of the cult of expansion, as we have seen above, advised weak kings to follow a policy of discriminating submission. 'Whoever goes to wage war with a superior king,' says our author, 'is reduced to the same condition as that of a foot-soldier opposing an elephant.' 'Like a stone striking an earthen pot,' Kauṭalya adds, 'a superior king attains a decisive victory over an inferior king.'[3] Elsewhere he says that 'whoever goes with his small army to fight perishes like a man attempting to cross the sea without

[1] *Śānti Parva*, lxvii, 9–11.

[2] *Śānti Parva*, cxii, 8–14.

[3] *Kauṭalya*, vii. 3.

a boat.'[1] Nevertheless, it is far from Kauṭalya's intention to advocate a policy of abject submission. The king who bows down to all, he says, lives in constant despair 'like a crab on the banks of a river'.[2] Kāmandaka, as usual, follows in the footsteps of his great master. Thus, according to him, a distinction must always be made between what is, and what is not capable of being done, with the aid of intelligence. 'The butting of an elephant against a rock,' he adds, 'results only in the breaking of its tusks.'[3] A weak king must never think of waging open war with a strong foe. 'Fall not on fire like foolish insects,' Kāmandaka says. 'Touch only that which can be touched with safety. What indeed does an insect falling on fire reap but (thorough) burning?'[4]

Radically opposed to the views cited above is the philosophy of. Viśālākṣa, another ancient teacher. According to him, 'A weak king should rather fight with all his resources, for bravery destroys all troubles; (this) fighting is the natural duty of Kṣatriya, no matter whether he achieves victory or sustains defeat in battle.' Viśālākṣa was not, however, the only thinker who held this view; there were a host of others who subscribed to it.[5] Alexander asked a gymnosophist as to why he persuaded *Sabbās* (*Sambhu*) to revolt. Because, said the Hindu sage, 'I wished him either to live with honour or die as a coward deserves.'[6] King Porus, Rājyapāla, Prithvirāj Chauhan, and Rānā Pratāp of the later medieval age were the historical products of this school of political thought.

Hindu political philosophy, in so far as it relates to inter-statal relations, bears the stamp of an intensely practical genius and often of a sordid Machiavellianism. This will be partially apparent from what has been said above. But nowhere is this better illustrated than in the teachings of Bhāradvāja, whom we have already quoted. The king should, says Bhāradvāja, 'so conduct himself that his foe may not detect any flaw in him. But by means of the weakness he detecteth in his foe, he should pursue him (to destruction). He should always conceal, like the tortoise its body, his means and ends, and he should

[1] *Kauṭalya*, xii, 1.

[2] *Ibid.*, Kauṭalya's views on the subject are elaborated in vii, 2, 3, 5 and xii, 2, 3, 4, etc.

[3] *Kāmandaka*, xi, 33.

[4] *Kāmandaka*, x, 35.

[5] Cf. *Kauṭalya* vii, 15; *Translation*, p. 364.

[6] Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*.

always conceal his own weakness from the sight of others.' He should always be vigilant and alert like a herd of deer sleeping in the woods. An enemy, however resourceless and feeble, should never be despised, for 'a spark of fire is capable of consuming an extensive forest if only it can spread from one object to another in close proximity'. The foe must be annihilated, root and branch. 'Thou must,' says Bhāradvāja, 'destroy thy foes, completely tearing them up by the roots. Then shouldst thou destroy their allies and partisans. The allies and partisans can never exist if the principals are destroyed. If the roots of a tree are torn up, the branches and twigs can never exist as before.' No means is too vile or too low for a king to adopt. Even religion, according to Bhāradvāja, might be prostituted for the attainment of political objects. 'By maintaining the perpetual fire, by sacrifices, by brown clothes, by matted locks, and by hides of animals for thy bedding, shouldst thou at first gain the confidence of thy foes, and when thou hast gained it, thou shouldst then spring upon them like a wolf. For it hath been said that in the acquisition of wealth, even the garb of holiness might be employed as a hooked staff to bend down a branch in order to pluck the fruits that are ripe. The method followed in the plucking of fruits should be the method in destroying foes, for thou shouldst proceed by the principle of selection.' Moreover, expediency should be made the key-note of every move in foreign policy. 'Bear thy foe upon thy shoulders till the time cometh when thou canst throw him down, breaking him into pieces like an earthen pot thrown with violence upon a stony surface.' An analogy is drawn between kings and razors. 'Kings should, in the matter of destroying their foes, ever resemble razors in every particular; unpitying as these are sharp, hiding their intents as these are concealed in their leathern cases, striking when the opportunity cometh as these are used on proper occasions, sweeping off their foes with all allies and dependents as these shave the head or the chin without leaving a single hair.' Finally Bhāradvāja advises the king to cultivate the habit of being honey-tongued but bitter-hearted towards foes. 'If thou art angry, show thyself as thou art not so, speaking even then with smiles on thy lips. Never reprove any one with indications of anger (in thy speech). And, O Bhārata, speak soft words before thou smiteth and even while thou art smiting! After the smiting is over, pity the victim and grieve for him, and even shed tears.

Comforting thy foe by conciliation, by gift of wealth, and smooth behaviour, thou must smite him when he walketh not aright.[1]

In Bhāradvāja the Machiavellian character of the Hindu conception of foreign policy reaches its culmination. Yet he was not the only author to represent this tendency of Hindu international politics. For passages which bear the same stamp are strewn throughout the *Mahābhārata*[2] and the writings of the other secular political thinkers of ancient India. Kauṭalya, for instance, goes so far as to sanction the employment of wine, women, and poison for the reduction of a foe, and his conception of *Kūṭayuddha* as we have already seen, involves the use of deceit and fraud of a most ruthless type. Kāmandaka generally follows in the foot-steps of his great master. Nor is Śukra free from this Machiavellian taint. A firm believer in opportunism, he has not the slightest hesitation in suggesting that a king 'should always do good of those whom he intends to ruin', just as the fowler 'sings sweet in order to entice and kill the deer'.[3] The king should, Śukra says elsewhere, 'act guardedly like the cat and the fowler, and by creating confidence extirpate the enemy whose soul has been ruined by vices.[4] The plea urged in each case is, of course, the time-worn plea of end justifying the means. This reminds us of a remarkable statement of Trietschke in his paper on 'Cavour.' The statesman, says the German historian, 'has not the right to warm his hands by the smoking ruins of his country with the comfortable self-praise : I have never told a lie ; that is a monk's virtue.'

The practical nature of the Hindu philosophy of war is most strikingly brought out in connection with the theory of launching upon an expedition. What are the circumstances under which a *Vijigīṣu* prince should mobilize his forces against an open or potential foe—this was the question which the Hindu political thinkers naturally asked themselves. And they gave the almost unanimous reply that a prince should launch upon an expedition of an offensive character only when he felt sure that he commanded greater strength and better resources than the latter. 'A king,' says Manu, 'when he shall find his subjects and allies contented (with his gifts and honours, etc.), and himself in a very exalted position in respect of his foes, shall then declare war with his adversary). When he shall find his forces exhilarated and

[1] *Ādi Parva*, cxlii.

[2] Cf. e.g. *Śānti Parva*, cii, 34–38.

[3] *Śukra Nīti*, v, lines 62–63.

[4] *Ibid.*, lines 8–9.

largely augmented and those of his adversary in a contrary condition, then the king must go out campaigning against him.'[1] According to Śukrāchāryya, the ruler who wants to fight should carefully consider the season, the region, the enemy's strength, one's own strength, the four-fold policy, and the six attributes of statecraft.[2] He enjoins further that ' one should commence warfare when he is attacked or oppressed by somebody, or even when he desires prosperty, provided one is well-placed as regards time, region and army.' [3] Likewise, Kauṭalya held that the *Vijigīṣu* king should ' know the comparative strength and weakness of himself and of his enemy; and having ascertained the power, place, time, the time of marching, the troubles in the rear,[4] the loss of men and money, the profits and danger, he should march with his full force; otherwise, he should keep quiet.' Kāmandaka also shared the same view.[5] ' When,' he declares, ' one is immune from internal troubles and external complications, and is endowed with the three-fold power of counsel, strength, and energy, and when the enemy is beset with serious troubles, one might undertake an expedition against the hostile state.'[6] The author adds that the prince who, filled with an over-weening pride, does not consider the relative strength and weakness of himself and of his foes, and yet attacks the latter, digs his own grave ; ' such a prince is narrow-minded and inprudent and knows not what he does.'[7]

Further, no expedition of an offensive character, according to the *Arthaśāstra* writers, should be undertaken by any king when there is any apprehension of danger from the rear. It has always proved a paying business in warfare to embarrass an enemy either by inciting other powers to attack it from the rear or by fomenting internal troubles within its territory. Both Kauṭalya and Kāmandaka specifically refer to these kinds of trouble.[8] And it was, therefore, considered desirable that the *Vijigīṣu* should seriously consider both sides of this question before launching upon an expedition. For of

[1] *Manu*, vii, 170–1. [2] *Śukra Nīti* iv, vii, lines 444–5.

[3] *Ibid.*, lines 496–7.

[4] Here we have *Paścātkopaḥ* in the original. Shamasastry's *Translation* does not, therefore, seem to be quite faithful.

[5] *Kauṭalya*, *translation*, p. 395. [6] xvi, 1.

[7] *Kāmandaka*, xi, 83.

[8] Kauṭalya repeatedly refers to the gravity of *paścātkopa* ; *Kāmandaka*, xvi. 14–16.

the two, viz., trouble in the rear and possible acquisition in front, the former is considered to be of a far more serious nature than the latter. 'Of the two things,' says Kauṭalya, 'slight annoyance in the rear and considerable profit in front, slight annoyance in the rear is more serious; for the slight annoyance that one may have in the rear is fanned and augmented by traitors, enemies and wild tribes as also by the discontented elements in the state. The gain that the invader may make in the front is nothing in comparison with (lit. swallowed by) the loss and impoverishment caused to friends and loyal servants by the annoyance in the rear. In fact, the profit in front is reduced to its one-thousandth part by the loss in the rear. So one should not undertake a foreign expedition even when the annoyance in the rear be one-hundredth in proportion to the profit in front; for the proverb goes that a disaster is like the point of a needle (slight at first but grave before long).'[1] Kāmandaka also argues in the same strain. Thus, a prince, according to him, should never enter into hostilities against a foreign foe, when there are symptoms of discontent at home, or when any attack from the rear is apprehended, for 'one should never sacrifice that which is within grasp for that which is yet unseen'. *Na nāśayēd dṛṣṭamadṛṣṭahētoḥ.* Kāmandaka adds, however, that when the *Vijigīṣu* felt certain that he would be able to acquire the profit in front as also obviate the danger in the rear, he might launch upon an expedition for the acquisition of a great profit. *Puraśca paścācca yadā samartha-stadābhiyāyānmahate phalāya.*[2] Kauṭalya has a more detailed elucidation of the circumstances under which a foreign expedition may be hazarded even when there is any apprehension of danger from the rear. Chap. iii of Book ix, in which he deals with these, as also with the measures that a king should undertake for the pacification of the internal troubles and external complications of a state, is an eloquent testimony to the practical character of the Hindu philosophy of war.

[1] *Kauṭalya*, ix, 3. The translation of the passage has been considerably modified. The original stands thus: *Alpaḥ paścātkopaḥ mahān purastāllābhaḥ iti. Alpaḥ paścātkopaḥ garīyān. Alpaṃ paścātkopaṃ prajātasya dūṣyāmitrāṭavikā hi sarvataḥ samēdhayanti, prakṛtikopo vā. Lavdhamapi ca mahāntaṃ purastāllābham evaṃbhute bhṛtyamitrakṣayavyayā grasante. Tasmāt sahasraikīyaḥ purastāllābhasyāyogaḥ, śataikīyo vā paścātkopa iti na jāyāt. Sūcīmukhā hyanartha iti lokapravādaḥ.*

[2] *Kamandaka*, xvi, 14–16.

The same characteristic is also distinctly evident in the fact that the political thinkers of ancient India recognized the *people* to be an important factor in the decision of a war. In the passages quoted above we have already seen how Kauṭalya cautions a *vijigīṣu* prince against launching upon a campaign of conquest when there is any likelihood of his absence being utilized by the discontented elements in the state for raising the standard of revolt against his authority. In Book vii, chapter v, Kauṭalya emphasizes the importance of a contended and loyal people in a series of queries and answers. 'When there are two assailable enemies,' Kautalya asks himself, 'one of a virtuous character and under worse troubles, and another of a vicious character, under less troubles, and with disloyal subjects, which of them is to be marched against first ?' The reply is pregnant with wisdom. 'When the enemy of virtuous character and under worse troubles is attacked, his subjects will help him ; whereas, the subjects of the other of vicious character and under less troubles will be indifferent. Disloyal or indifferent subjects will endeavour to destroy even a strong king. Hence the conqueror should march against the enemy whose subjects are disloyal.' Kauṭalya next puts the question as to which of the two kings, viz., one whose subjects are impoverished and greedy, and another whose subjects are oppressed, should be marched against in preference to the other. On this point one of his predecessors held that the *vijigīṣu* king should march against the enemy whose subjects were impoverished and greedy, 'for impoverished and greedy subjects suffer themselves to be won over to the other side by intrigue, and are easily excited. But not so the oppressed subjects whose wrath can be pacified by punishing the chief men (of the state).' Kauṭalya, however, repudiates him on the ground that the subjects, though impoverished and greedy, 'are loyal to their master and are ready to stand for his cause and to defeat any intrigue against him ; for it is in loyalty that all good qualities have their strength. Hence the conqueror should march against the enemy whose subjects are oppressed.' The third question that Kauṭalya deals with in this connection is which of the two, viz., a powerful enemy of wicked character and a powerless enemy of righteous character should be marched against in preference to the other. And the reply is as follows : 'The strong enemy of wicked character should be marched against, for when he is attacked, his

subjects will not help him, but rather put him down or go to the side of the conqueror. But when the enemy of virtuous character is attacked his subjects will help him or die with him." Kauṭalya then launches into a minute analysis of those faults on the king's part that create impoverishment, greed and disaffection among the subjects. When the people become impoverished, Kauṭalya goes on, they become greedy; when greedy, they become disaffected; and when disaffected, they either go over to the enemy's side or themselves slay their master. Further on, Kauṭalya sums up in a nutshell the dangers that are likely to arise from an impoverished, a greedy, or a disaffected people. 'An impoverished people,' we are told, 'are ever apprehensive of oppression and destruction (by overtaxation, etc.), and are therefore desirous of getting rid of their impoverishment or of waging war or of migrating elsewhere. A greedy people are ever discontented and they yield themselves to the intrigues of an enemy. A disaffected people rise against their master along with his enemy.' Hence the king, Kauṭalya concludes, should avoid those causes that produce impoverishment, greed and disaffection among his people. Otherwise disaster and ruin are sure to overtake him. The *people* are thus recognized to be an important factor in the decision of a war.[1]

The same salutary note is clearly perceptible in the rules that Kauṭalya lays down for the pacification and consolidation of a conquered state. The territory, Kautalya thinks, may be either newly acquired, or recovered from a usurper, or inherited from an ancestor. In all these cases, the author argues, the king should be kind and considerate in the treatment of the subjects. The king who acquires new territory, we are told, 'should cover the enemy's vices with his own virtues and the enemy's virtues by doubling his own. . . . . .' He should ingratiate himself with the people 'by strict observance of his own duties, by attending to his works, by bestowing rewards, by remitting taxes, by giving gifts and by bestowing honours.' He should specially favour learned men and orators as well as the charitable and the brave, release all prisoners, and relieve the miserable, the helpless and the diseased. The king is, moreover, asked to bestow rewards according to his promise upon those who deserted the enemy's side for his own, 'for whoever fails to fulfil his promises

[1] *Kauṭalya*, vii, 5.

becomes untrustworthy both to his own and his enemy's people'. Further, he should follow the friends and leaders of the people, for, as Kauṭalya urges in a later passage, ' whoever acts against the will of the people becomes unreliable'. Moreover, and herein Kauṭalya shows his remarkably keen insight into human nature, the king is urged to respect and conform to the established customs of the newly acquired realm. He should adopt the same mode of living, the same dress, the same language and manners as those of his subjects, and should participate in their congregational festivals and amusements. Those customs should only be abolished which the king considers to be positively unrighteous or injurious to the revenue and the army. But even while laying down these healthy rules of conduct, Kauṭalya is not free from ' that intellectual cunning which is so characteristic of him'. Thus, we are told that any member of the defeated enemy's family, who is capable of wresting the conquered territory and ' is taking shelter in a wild tract on the border, often harassing the conqueror,' should be provided with a sterile tract or else with a part of a fertile tract on condition of supplying a fixed sum of money and a fixed number of troops ; in raising these, it was believed, he would assuredly incur the hostility of the people and be destroyed by them.[1]

We now pass on to another phase of the Hindu philosophy of war. We have seen before how war has been eulogized and declared to be a political and biological necessity for the world by the ancient political thinkers of India. A recognition of the vital importance of the army for the state follows as a logical corollary from this. ' Upon the army death or life depend; it is the means of existence or destruction of the state,' so declared a Chinese military philosopher in the sixth century B.C. The Hindus were no less emphatic in their estimate of the importance of the army for the state. Thus, according to Śukrāchāryya the relation of the army to the state is that of the mind to the man.[2] As without the mind the human organism cannot work, so without the army the state-organism comes to a deadlock. ' Without the army, ' Śukra says elsewhere, ' there is neither kingdom, nor wealth, nor prowess. '[3] ' Without the army, no one can overpower even an insignificant enemy. The gods, monsters as well as human beings have to depend on others' strength (i.e., the strength of the army). The

[1] *Kauṭalya*, xiii, 5 ; cf. *ŚāntiParva*, xcvi.
[2] Ch. i, lines 122–4.
[3] *Śukra Nīti*, iv, vii, lines 7–8.

army is the chief means of overpowering the enemy. So the king should maintain a formidable army '.[1] Not satisfied with these sermons, Śukra seeks to drive home his lesson by the following categorical question. 'Even in the case of a man of no position, everybody becomes his tool if he has strength and becomes his enemy if he be weak. Does not this hold true in the case of rulers ?[2]

In the same strain, the soliders' duties are stressed and proclaimed as second to none. 'The world rests on the arms of heroes like a son on those of his sire. He, therefore, that is a hero deserves respect under every circmstance. There is nothing higher in the three worlds than heroism. The hero protects and cherishes all, and all things depend upon the hero.'[3] 'Among men,' we are told elsewhere, 'the highest duties are those performed by the warrior caste. The whole world is subject to the might of their arms. All the duties, principal and subordinate, of the three other orders, are dependent for their observance upon the duties of the warrior. The Vedas have declared this.'[4] What, then, is the duty of the warrior caste ? 'The essence of the warrior's duty lies in fighting, says the *Mahābhārata* over and over again. No matter how challenged, the warrior, who is true to his salt, must respond. In fact, it makes no difference whether he expects to kill or be killed in the contest, he must fight; and in either case, he gets his reward; for 'crooked is war always; who strikes and is not struck again ? But it is the same if one be slain or not, for he that dies in battle wins victory from death'; for 'death in battle is the womb of heaven'.[5]

Similarly the political thinkers of ancient India incessantly preached that the warrior must never think of fleeing from the field of battle. 'The man who runs away from battle is surely killed by the gods,' says Śūkra.[6] Bhīṣhma was exactly of the same view. 'The very gods with Indra at their head send calamities unto them that desert their comrades in battle, and come home with unwounded limbs.'[7] The warrior, who saves himself by flight from the field of battle, merits drastic punishment from the society to which he belongs, not excluding his own family. 'He who desires to save his own

[1] *Śukra Nīti*, iv, vii, lines 13-16.
[2] *Ibid.*, lines 8-9.
[3] *Śānti Parva*, xcix, 16-17.
[4] *Śānti Parva*, lxiii, 24.
[5] *Sabhā Parva*, xxii, 18,53; *Rām*, vi, 93, 24-25; cf. also *J.A.O.S*, vol. 13, p. 186.
[6] *Śūkra Nīti*, iv, vii, line 601.
[7] *Śānti Parva*, xcvii, 20.

lifebreath,' says Bhīṣma, ' by deserting his comrades, should be slain either with sticks or stones or rolled in a mat of dry grass for being burnt to death. Those among the Kṣatriyas, that would be guilty of such conduct, would be killed after the manner of killing elephants.'[1] Śukra goes further in his condemnation. The turn-away from the field of battle, he declares, not only ' gets disrepute ' and is ' cried down by the entire people ' but ' endures the sins of the whole people ' and is condemned to eternal hell after death.[2]

Moreover, it was considered a sin for a warrior to die of disease at home. ' Death on a bed of repose, after ejecting phlegm and urine and uttering piteous cries, is sinful for Kṣatrīya. Persons acquainted with the scriptures do not applaud the death which a Kṣatriya encounters with unwounded body . . . . In disease, one may be heard to cry, saying ' What sorrow ! how painful ! I must be a great sinner ! With face emaciated and stench issuing from his body and clothes, the sick man plunges his relatives into grief. Coveting the condition of those that are hale, such a man (amidst his tortures) repeatedly desires for death itself. One that is a hero, having dignity and pride, does not deserve such an inglorious death.'[3] The same ideas are also expressed by Śukra in equally emphatic terms.[4] What manner of death, then, should a heroic warrior covet ? ' Surrounded by kinsmen and slaughtering his foes in battle, a Kṣatriya should die by the edge of keen weapons,' says Bhīṣma.[5] He must, to quote a modern phrase, die in his boots.

And the man, who dies thus with his face to the foe on the field of battle, attains an endless life in heaven. He is translated to the region of Indra, where he is served by thousands of *Apsarās* and *Gandharva* girls. ' Foremost of *Apsarās*, numbering by thousands, go out with great speed (for receiving the spirit of the slain hero), coveting him for their lord.'[6] According to Śukra, people should not regret the death of the brave man who is killed in battle ; the man is purged and delivered of all sins and attains to heaven. The great position that is acquired by the sages, Śukra goes on, after long and tedious penances is also attained by those warriors who meet death in war. ' This is at once penance, virtue, and eternal religion. The man

[1] *Śanti Parva*, xcvii, 21-22.
[2] *Sūkra Nīti*, iv, vii, lines 656–661.
[3] *Śanti Parva*, xcvii, 23-27.
[4] Op. cit., line 608.
[5] Op. cit., 28.
[6] *Śānti Parva*, xcviii, 45.

who does not fly from a battle does at once perform the duties of all the four *āśramas*.' In this world, Śukra finally adds, two men go beyond the solar sphere in heaven, viz., the austere missionary and the warrior who is killed in battle with his face to the foe.[1] Such is the burden of the teachings of the ancient authors. The warrior must kill or be killed in the fight; there is to be no third alternative. If he conquers the foe, he attains to fame and glory on earth; if he is defeated and killed in the fray, he goes direct to heaven.

We may be confident that these teachings were not altogether in vain but had filtered deep into the rank and file of the nation. This is eloquently borne out by the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang. Describing the Mahārāṣtra country, he says, 'Whenever a general is despatched on a military expedition, although he is defeated and his army is destroyed, he is not himself subjected to bodily punishment; only he has to exchange his soldier's dress for that of a woman much to his shame and chagrin. So many times these men put themselves to death to avoid such disgrace.'[2] The history of the Rājputs also bears ample testimony to the permeation of these ideas among the commonalty of the warrior caste.

In the eagerness for emphasizing the warrior's duty, many sacred caste rules were laid aside. The warrior might kill any one that attacked him. Not even the Brāhmanas are exempt. Thus it is unequivocally stated in the *Mahābhārata* that 'if one sees a priest among those raising arms against him, a priest, acting just like a warrior, and kills him when he is thus fighting, that is not a priest murder at all, that is the decision of the works on duty.' *Udyoga Parva*, 178, 51, 53. Śukra also sanctions the slaughter of Brāhmanas who join the hostile power in the field of battle. 'The Brāhmana who appears with a murderous intent is as good as a Śūdra. There can be no sin in killing one who comes with a murderous intent.'[3] Śukra further enjoins upon the warrior to set at nought the opinions of philosophical doctrinaires on matters relating to war. They might be ornaments in 'palaces assemblies, and cloisters,' they should be held in esteem for their

[1] *Śukra Nīti*, iv, vii, lines 620-1, 624-27, 632-33.
[2] Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, iv, p. 147.
[3] *Śukra Nīti*, iv. vii, lines 649-50; cf. also l. 653-55.

character and intellectual attainments, but their opinions on strictly political and military matters should never seriously weigh with a warrior.[1] When once he has launched into a battle, he must fight it to a finish, regardless of consequences.[2]

The last great European war has brought about a tremendous revulsion of feeling against war. European statesmen, at the present moment, are busy, or at least profess to be busy, in devising measures for the total eradication of this bloody, body-eating Moloch. Time alone can show what measure of success attends their endeavours for the establishment of an era of perpetual peace on earth. But the question that naturally springs up in this connection is whether the ancient Hindus ever realized the horrors and miseries of war as the modern Europeans do, and whether they sought to devise any practical measures to make gory battles avoidable. They did. They too were painfully alive to the horrors and calamities of war and they too strove to avoid the 'path of the spear' as far as possible. One of their illustrious emperors made a strenuous endeavour to hush 'the sound of the war-drum' (*bheri-ghosa*) for ever into silence and establish a reign of justice and righteousness on earth. The feelings of anguish and remorse that were roused in Asoka's mind by the horrors and atrocities of the Kalinga campaign are vividly described in the striking language of his longest Rock Edict (No. xiii).

'His Majesty King Priyadarśin in the ninth year of his reign conquered Kalinga. One hundred and fifty thousand were thence carried away captive, one hundred thousand were there slain, and many times that number perished. Ever since the annexation of the Kalingas, His Majesty has zealously protected the law of piety, has been devoted to that law, and has proclaimed its precepts. His Majesty feels remorse on account of the conquest of the Kalingas, because, during the subjugation of a previously unconquered country, slaughter, death, and taking away captive of the people necessarily occur, whereat His Majesty feels profound sorrow and regret . . . . . Even those persons who are themselves protected, retain their affections undiminished; ruin falls on their friends, acquaintances, comrades, and relatives, and in this way violence is done to (the feelings of) those who are personally unhurt. All this diffused misery is a matter

[1] *Śukra Nīti*, iv. vii, lines 638–45. [2] Cf. *Bhagavat Gītā*, ii.

of regret to His Majesty. . . . . The loss of even the hundredth or the thousandth part of the persons who were slain, carried away captive, or done to death in Kalinga would now be a matter of deep regret to His Majesty.'[1]

In the annals of the Hindus there are on record other instances of this nature, which express the pang and bitterness evoked in the human soul by the brutalities of war. The *Mahābhārata*, for instance, graphically describes the profound sense of repentance, which overtook Yudhiṣthira at the conclusion of the great Kurukṣetra war.[2] The *Bhagavat Gītā* depicts how Arjuna was smitten with a sudden pang of remorse at the prospect of the slaughter of his relatives in the ranks of the opposing army. 'Alas, woe betide me! What an awful sin are we resolved to commit, that for the lust of dominions, we stand ready to shed the blood of our kindred.' 'Better far for me,' Arjuna proceeds, 'if the armed sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra were to slay me unarmed and unresisting.'[3]

From the brief precis given above it will be apparent that the ancient Hindu mind was no less distressed by the horrors and miseries of war than any other ancient people. Even the secular *Arthaśāstra* writers, who stuck fast to the principles of expediency and utilitarianism, were not altogether oblivious of the disadvantages of war such as 'loss of men and money, sojourning and sin'.[4] It, therefore, remains to be seen what practical steps the Hindus took, firstly, to minimize the horrors of war, and, secondly, to avoid it.

The first of these purposes was sought to be achieved by the promulgation of a series of international ordinances for the guidance of the combatants in a war. War is in its nature harsh and cruel. As long as it exists at all it must involve hard blows and terrible suffering. Yet by these ordinances certain mitigations and restraints were imposed upon the combatant's right of violence against his enemy. They had the same end in view as was sought to be achieved by the conventions passed at Geneva (1864, 1868 and 1906), St. Petersburg (1868), Brussels (1874), and the Hague (1899 and 1907).

This aspect of the question has been dealt with at considerable length by Messrs. P. N. Banerji and S. V. Viswanātha. Our task is,

[1] V. A. Smith, *Asoka*, pp. 26-27.
[2] *Sānti Parva*, i-xxvii.
[3] i., 44, 45.
[4] *Kauṭalya, Translation*, p. 320.

therefore, considerably lightened and we shall content ourselves with giving merely a brief résumé of what they have already said.

According to the ancient Hindu code of military honour, it was considered a gross offence to refuse quarter to an armed enemy, who had ceased fighting and asked for mercy. He might be imprisoned, but never slain or wounded. 'The warrior whose armour has fallen off,' said Bhīṣma, 'or who begs for quarter, saying—I am thine—or joining his hands, or who has laid aside his weapon, may simply be seized but never slain.'[1] 'The wicked,' Bhīṣma declared elsewhere, 'that desert the man who seeks refuge with them in confidence, reach hell.'[2] Wounded and armless opponents were likewise declared exempt from slaughter. 'A weak or wounded man should not be slain . . . . . . or one whose weapon has been broken . . . . . or one whose bowstring has been cut or one that has lost his vehicle.'[3] It was similarly forbidden to slay one who was asleep, or weary, a fugitive, one who was walking along a road unaware of danger, the insane, the mortally wounded, one who was greatly enfeebled by wounds, one who lingered trustfully, one who was absorbed in grief, foraging parties, camp-followers, servants, old men, children and women.[4] The principle was apparently recognized that only so much stress might be laid upon an enemy as was sufficient to destroy his power of resistance. 'A king should never slay a large number of his foes, and it does not behove any one to clear all the enemy subjects off the earth.'[5]

It was further laid down that only warriors placed in similar circumstances should encounter each other in fair and open combat. 'Mailed soldier against mailed soldier, cavalry against cavalry' was an article in Bhīṣma's code of military honour. Prisoners of war were to be cared for and treated with humanity. According to Bhīṣma, those of the opponents who were captured by the victor should either be sent to their own homes, or if brought to the victor's quarters, should have their wounds attended to by skilful surgeons, and when cured, set at liberty.[6]

[1] *Śānti Parva*, xcvi, 3.
[2] *Ibid.*, xcv, 12.
[3] *Śānti Parva*, xcv, 12.
[4] *Ibid*, c. 27-29 ; *Manu*, vii, 90-94.
[5] *Ibid.*, ciii, 13 ; cf. also *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Āraṇya Kāṇḍa*, 65, 6.
[6] *Śānti Parva*, xcv, 12-13.

Weapons which caused unnecessary pain or which inflicted more suffering than was indispensable to overcome the foe were condemned. 'When a king fights with his foes,' declares Manu, 'let him not strike with instruments concealed, with barbed or poisoned weapons, the points of which are blazing with fire.' [1] The destruction or seizure of enemy's property unless imperatively demanded by the necessities of war was also prohibited. Temples and their property in places under military occupation and the private property of individual citizens were on no account to be seized.[2]

By these and similar conventions of chivalry and military honour, the Hindus strove to mitigate the severity of war.

Now we pass on to the second phase of our problem, viz., the measures that the Hindus devised for the avoidance of war. It must be confessed, at the outset, that the ancient Hindus did not believe in the possibility of war being totally eradicated from the world of man. On the contrary, as we have seen before, they regarded war as an outcome of that instinct of combat which is inherent in every creature on earth, a manifestation of that law of struggle which works itself out in and through nature. Nevertheless, they felt distressed at the miseries and horrors that a war inevitably brought in its train, and, therefore, strove to keep it at bay as long as possible.

To subdue an enemy four traditional 'means' were known to the Hindus. These were *sāma* (conciliation), *dāna* (bribery), *bhēda* (producing disunion, *divide et impera*, which foreign rulers still regard as a highly useful maxim), and *daṇḍa* (force or violence). The list was, however, sometimes reduced and often extended. Thus in the *Udyoga Parva*,[3] the 'means' are regarded as only three, viz., conciliation, bribery and force.

Sāmnā dānēna vā Kṛṣṇa ye na sāmyanti śatravaḥ
Yoktavyastēṣu daṇḍaḥ syājjīvitaṃ parirakṣatā.[4]

In the *Śānti Parva*, lix, 23, Bṛhaspati gives only conciliation, bribery and dissension as the three legitimate means. But elsewhere the means' are given as five or seven in number. Thus in the *Udyoga*,

[1] *Manu*, vii, 90.
[2] E.g. *Agni Purāṇa*, ccxxvi, 22-25.
[3] lxxxii, 13.
[4] Cf. also *Bhīṣma Parva*, cxi, 81.

Parva,[1] *naya* or political intrigue is added to the traditional list of four.

Mitramamṃśaṃ mahāvāho nimagnaṃ punaruddhara
Sāmnā bhēdēna dānēna daṇḍēnātha nayēna ca.

On the other hand, Kāmandaka, in one place, expands the list to seven and speaks of the 'means' as follows:

Sāma dānaṃ ca bhēdaśca daṇḍaścēti catuṣṭayam
Māyopekṣēndrajālaṃ ca saptopāyāḥ prakīrtitāḥ.

Māyā (fraud), *upēkṣā* (neglect) and *indrajāla* (delusive tricks) are here added to the usual four. The *Agni Purāṇa* also speaks of these seven 'means' and elucidates their essential characteristics.[2]

Now it was more or less a unanimously accepted maxim among the ancient Hindu political thinkers that with a view to crippling a foe, a king should in the first instance try the alternative methods of conciliation, bribery and *divide et impera*; and only when these are found ineffective, may he resort to violence. War was with them the *ultima ratio ragum*, as the Latin phrase goes, because 'the results of war are uncertain' and 'it may entail loss to both parties.'[3] Hence, they argued, preference should be given to the less violent methods of humbling the foe. 'The victory,' says Bhīṣma 'that one acquires by battle is very inferior. Victory in battle, it seems, is dependent on caprice or destiny . . . Sometimes it may be seen that even fifty men, resolute and relying upon one another, cheerful and prepared to lay down their lives, succeed in grinding enemies numerically much superior. Sometimes even five or six or seven men, resolute and standing close together, of high descent and enjoying the esteem of those that know them, vanquish foes much superior to them in number. The collision of battle, therefore, is not desirable as long as it can be avoided. The policy of conciliation, of producing disunion, and making gifts should first be tried; battle, it is said, should come after these.'[4]

[1] cxxxii, 31–32.

[2] *Vide* chap. ccxxxiv.

[3] *Manu* vii, 199—*anityo vijayaḥ*; *Kāmandaka*, ix, 61. *Nāśo bhavati yuddhēna kadācid ubhayorapi*; Yājñavalkya, i, 346.

[4] *Śānti Parva*, cii, 17, 20–22.

The *Manusamhitā* repeats the same ideas. 'The king,' says Manu, 'should aspire for victories more glorious than those achieved by war.' For, 'victories achieved by battles are not spoken of highly by the wise.' A king should, therefore, first try to subdue his foes by conciliation, by bribery or by the policy of *divide et impera*; and it is only when these are found to have proved abortive, should he enter into hostilities with them.[1] Kauṭalya was evidently of the same view, for he tells us that of the four 'strategic means' (*upāyacaturvargaḥ*) viz., *sāma*, *dāna*, *bhēda* and *daṇḍa*, 'that which comes first in the order of enumeration is easier than the rest' (*purvaḥ purvaścāsya laghiṣṭhaḥ*).[2] Kāmandaka condemns 'over much reliance upon valour and energy', which 'oftentimes becomes a source of repentance'; and is exuberant in his praise of the three other means.[3] Śūkra was a firm believer in the policy of dissension and held that 'separation is the best of all methods or policies of work' (*upāyēṣūttamo-bhēdaḥ*).[4]

It is by these alternative methods of hostility that the ancient Hindu political thinkers of India strove to avoid or at least delay war. They undoubtedly involved less carnage of men, less wastage of capital and less miseries to the participants. The law of struggle was there, constantly seeking to manifest itself, yet so adroitly manipulated as to subject its victims to the minimum possible injury.

1 *Manu*, vii, 198-200.

2 *Kauṭalya*, ix, 6.

3 *Kāmandaka*, xi, 32; xi, 48; xviii, 2.

4 *Śūkra*, iv, vii, line 592.

The Rise of the Peshwas

CHAPTER I

Balaji Vishwanath's Rise to Peshwaship—Settlement of the Country

BY

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Far away in the west where the green landscape of the Konkan fades over the water's blue, and the wavy line of the Ghats presents a dreamy picture of hoary antiquity, there is a village called Shriwardhan. Near by flows the little river Sabitri, and empties itself into the Bankot creek. In this village was born Balaji Vishwanath, in the family of the Bhatts, who were the hereditary Deshmukhs of three contiguous villages Shriwardhan, Harihareshwar and Dandarajpuri. He passed his early boyhood in this delightful spot, on which all the grand aspects of nature shed their influence. Born to wealth and authority, he must have early imbibed those sterling qualities that distinguish a leader of men. As a child he must have heard in silent horror the stories of the cruelties of the Abyssinians and the Portuguese. In his boyish curiosity he must have pondered long on the adventures and achievements of the great Shivaji, and his miraculous escape from the Mughal Court. He must have seen in his prime of youth the majestic figure of that great king, and must have been fired with an ambition to serve him, and the cause, for which he lived and died. But all these are mere guesses, that lack historical testimony. It is a pity that the early career of the great Peshwa is shrouded in uncertainty up to the time when he appeared in the limelight of publicity. His career has been subject to gross misrepresentation, and its story is a mere patch-work of conjectures and half-authenticated facts. We get only glimpses of his early life, and they leave us all the more curious about one of the most virile personalities of Maratha history. Out of the old Bakhars a few stray facts can be gleaned, but written long after his time, and drawing profusely upon floating rumours or family legends, they abound in inaccuracies, and therefore whatever they lay down, confuse rather than afford a clue to unravel the tangled story of the man. Grant Duff based his history mostly on these facts, and though successfully controverted by brilliant scholars like Rajwade, Sardesai, Parasnis and Kincaid they still hold sway over the minds of the students of Indian history.

Grant Duff discovers Balaji Vishwanath in the year 1708, when he is employed as a Carcoon or revenue clerk by Dhanaji Jadhav, the Senapati or Commander-in-chief of Shahu. 'The principal Carcoons

'employed by Dhunnajee in revenue affairs, where Abbajee 'Poorundhuree, Koolkurnee of Sassor (Sasswar), near Poona, and 'another Brahmin, Koolkurnee of Shree Wurdun, in the district of 'Choule, a village then claimed by the Seedee, from which in conse-'quence of some intrigue connected with the Seede's enemy Angria, 'he had fled to Sassoor, and had been recommended to Dhunnajee 'Jadow by Abbajee Poorundhuree, and Parshuram Trimbuck. The 'name of this Koolkurnee, afterwards so celebrated as the founder of 'the Peshwa's power, was Ballajee Wishwanath Bhutt.' [1] Thus starting life as a Carcoon of Dhanaji he rose in his estimation and favour, and by the middle of 1708 when Dhanaji 'died on his way from Kolhapoor, on the banks of the Warna' Balaji Vishwanath was with him and 'had 'the management of all his affairs, which created an unconquerable 'jealousy on the part of Chunder Seyn Jadhow, Dhunnajee's son, and 'several Brahmins in his service.' [2]

Next Balaji Vishwanath appears associated with Chandra Sen Jadhav, the Senapati on the death of his father, in the expedition to realize the Chauth, Sardeshmukhi, and Ghasdana from the Mughal territories. 'He was now charged with collecting and appropriating a 'share of the revenue for the Raja, a situation of control, which under 'no circumstances was likely to be favourably viewed by the 'Senaputtee. The jealousy formerly entertained was increased 'tenfold, and on a very slight cause, arising from a dispute about a 'deer run down by one of Ballajee's horsemen, the suppressed enmity 'burst out in attempted violence; and Ballajee was obliged to flee for 'his life, first to Sassoor, where the Suchew's agent in Poorundhur did 'not think it prudent to protect him, although he begged hard to be 'permitted to enter that fort. The horsemen, his pursuers, were in 'sight; but the Commander of the fort was obdurate. With a 'few followers, amongst whom were his sons Bajeerao and Chimnajee, 'Ballajee Wishwanath attempted to cross over to Pandoogurh, a fort in 'the opposite valley, but Jadhow's horsemen were already in his route, 'and searching for him in every quarter. In this dangerous extremity, 'he contrived to conceal himself for a few days, until two Mahrattas, 'the one Peelajee Jadow, and the other surnamed Dhoomal, then 'common Sillidars in his service, collected a small troop of horse, and 'promised to sacrifice their lives, or carry him and his sons, that 'night, to the Machee of Pandoogurh.'

'Ballajee Wishwanath, as the manuscripts state, did not parti-'cularly excel in the accomplishment of sitting upon a horse, but the 'Sillidars, although they had a skirmish, performed their promise, 'and the commander of the fort protected him by Shao's orders. 'Chunder Seyn Jadhow peremptorily demanded his being delivered up 'to him, and threatened, in case of refusal, to renounce his allegiance 'for ever.' [3] Shahu however refused to give up Balaji and sent order to Haibat Rao Nimbalkar, Sarlashkar, to march against the Senapati, who being defeated fled to Kolhapur and joined Shambhaji. The disaffected Senapati further changed side and went over to Nizam-ul-mulk, who supported the claims of Shambhaji to the Satara kidgdom, and stirred up strifes between Shahu and Shambhaji. Instigated by

[1] Grant Duff, vol. i, pp. 418-9. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 423.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 427-8.

Chandra Sen he ordered an army against the Sarlashkar and 'Shao in 'order to support him, sent forward a body of troops under Ballajee 'Wishwanath, whom he now (1712) dignified with the title of Sena 'Kurt or agent in charge of the army. Ballajee effected a junction 'with Hybut Rao Nimbalkur . . . . . A battle was fought in which 'the advantage claimed by the Mahrattas, is contradicated by their 'subsequent retreat to the Salpee Ghaut . . . . . . At length an 'accommodation took place . . . . hostilities ceased, and the Moghuls 'returned to Aurangabad.' [1]

Here for the first time in his life, Balaji who never excelled in riding, appears as a commander of an army. It is really surprising how Shahu could have bestowed the title of 'Senakurt' or the organizer of armies, and the command of a relieving force, on a Brahmin clerk who did not know riding at all. And this was not the only time when a command was bestowed upon him. He was required, as we shall see presently, to lead armies many a time against many a turbulent chief.

At this time Shahu's kingdom was in a welter of anarchy, petty chieftains had set up their independence, defied the central authority and carried on plundering raids on all sides. Consequently Shahu's government had broken down, and it was Balaji Vishwanath, who 'instilled some vigour into his councils, and began to take a lead in 'public affairs. He proposed to reduce Dummajee Thorat a predatory Maratha chief. He led an army against him, with the hope of victory but he was seduced to a conference, 'treacherously seized, 'and thrown into confinement together with his friend Abbajee 'Poorundhuree, his two sons and several of their immediate 'retainers.'[2] When Thorat threatened them with torture and ultimate death, the king was forced to pay a heavy ransom and released them. Thus released he was next deputed against Krishna Rao Khataokar, another chief subsisting on organized plunder. Better fortune attended his arms this time. Krishna Rao was defeated, and after submission, pardoned. In the meantime the Peshwa Bahiro Pant Pingley, who had been sent against Kanhoji Anghrey, a partisan at first of Tara Bai and then of Shambhaji, was defeated and was taken prisoner by that pirate chief of the Konkan. Marching on, Angrey took Lohgarh and Rajmachee, 'and it was reported that Angria was 'about to march for Satara. All the force that could be spared was 'collected to oppose him, under Ballajee Wishwanath, who undertook 'the command, with hopes of being enabled from his former connec-'tion with Angria, to effect an accommodation, more desirable than any 'that might result from a protracted contest with a powerful neigh-'bour . . . . Ballajee was successful in his endeavours and Angria, on 'condition of receiving ten forts, and sixteen fortified places of less 'strength, with their dependent villages ; on being confirmed in the 'command of the fleet, and his title of Surkheil, agreed to renounce 'Sumbhajee, to release the Peishwa, to restore all his conquests, except 'Rajmachee, and to maintain the cause of Shao.

'Ballaji having performed this service in a manner so entirely to 'Shao's wishes, was received on his return to Satara with the greatest

[1] Grant Duff, vol. i, p. 431. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 434.

'distinction; and in consequence of the failure of Byhroo Punt Ping-'ley, that minister was removed from the dignity of Mookh Purdhan 'and Ballajee Wishwanath was appointed Peshwa in his stead (1714).'[1]

That, in short, is the account of Balaji Viswanath's rise, till he became the Peshwa of Shahu. In this there are three distinct stages; the first, when he is employed as a Carcoon under Dhanaji Jadhav; the next, when he is made Sena Karte, and leads the first army into the field; and last, when as a result of his brilliant services he supersedes Bahiro Pant Pingley, and is appointed as the Peshwa in his place. There are many discrepancies in this narrative, which have been made up by the researches of a devoted band of Maratha scholars, and thanks to their labours, we are now in possession of a more cogent, comprehensive and authentic account of his career.

In the Konkan, where the Sabitri falls into the sea at a distance of about eighty miles to the south of Bombay, there were two villages Shriwarthan and Belas, the former situated on its northern, and the latter on its southern bank. In these two villages lived two families, the Bhatts and the Bhanus, long known to each other and for long friendly to each other. In this family of Bhatts was born Balaji about the year 1660.[2] His father Viswanath, and his ancestors were the hereditary Deshmukhs of the village, and owed allegiance to the Sidis of Janjira.[3] When Shivaji vowed to establish स्वधर्म or Hindu religion, स्वराज्य or Hindu state and स्वातंत्र्य or Hindu freedom, many Hindus from the Konkan groaning under the oppression of the Sidi came to serve him. One such was Viswanath Bhatt, Balaji's father, the nature of whose services to Shivaji, there is no means of knowing. After the death of his father, Balaji with his elder brother Janoji took charge of the office of Desmukh of the village.[4] His abilities soon won him new honours, and in 1692 he held the offices of Deshmukh of Dandarajpuri and Sabhasad of Dabhol.[5] A little later owing to a misunderstanding with Sidi Shamal then ruling at Janjira, Janoji the elder brother was taken to Janjira, was sewn up in a sack, and was dropped into the deep sea.[6] Thus Janoji met his death, and the cruel proceedings of the Sidi forced the younger brother Balaji to leave the village with all his family. He crossed over to the other side of the river Sabitri, and came to the Bhanus in Belas.[7] The three Bhanu brothers Hari, Ramaji and Balaji Mahadev with the fugitive Balaji Viswanath took

[1] Grant Duff, voi. i, pp. 435–6.

[2] वार्षिक इतिवृत्त शके १८६७, pp. 91–96; *Marathi Riyasat*, voi. i, p. 30.

[3] षाण्मासिक वृत्त शके १८३४, pp. 70–71; वार्षिक इतिवृत्त शके १८३७, pp. 86–90.

[4] Sohni's *chronicle of the Peshwas*, p. 1; *Bharat Varsha*, vol. ii, August 1899, p. 1.

[5] वार्षिक इतिवृत्त शके १८३४, pp. 200–9.

[6] *Life of Shahu Maharaj, the Elder*, by Chitnis, p. 21; *Bharat Varsha*, vol. ii, August, p. 2—Rajwade, vol. ii, p. 1.

[7] *Ibid.*

counsel together, and afraid of the Sidi, determined to leave the country for the Desh, beyond the Ghats. But in due time the Sidi had been apprised of the flight of Balaji Viswanath, and he wrote to the Abyssinian Governor of Anjanwel to apprehend him. He was accordingly captured and was kept a prisoner for about twenty to twenty-five days, before the Bhanu brothers could purchase his release by bribing the Sidi Governor.[1] As a mark of his gratitude to the Bhanus, Balaji promised on oath that whatever he would earn in the Desh[2] one quarter of it he would resign to the Bhanus—a promise which he and his successors faithfully kept to the last. While still at Anjanwel, one Visaji Narayan rendered very great help to him, for which later in life, when he was the Peshwa he granted him a pension of Rs. 700 a year.[3] From there they started to visit the temple of Bhargav Ram, where it is surmised, Balaji, got the blessings of Brahmendra Swami, the celebrated saint of the Konkan.[4] In the Desh he purchased the Patil-ship of a village called Garade, near Saswad, and invited his brother-in-law to come and live there. It is here that he came into contact with the Purandares, who were the old residents of the place.[5]

Coming of a rich and distinguished family of the Konkan he soon attracted notice in the Desh. During the disastrous days of Aurangzeb's war, he filled many a responsible office in the Maratha state, and gained proficiency in revenue administration. Side by side he acquired a good knowledge of the military organization of the Marathas and of the Mughals. In those days revenue collection depended upon military force, and all revenue officers had to maintain troops to facilitate their work. So Balaji, even when serving as a revenue officer, gained experience in organizing and leading armies. As Malhar Ram Rao Chitnis wrote of him, 'he was a valiant warrior,'[6] and he got his first training as a warrior at this time. In co-operation with Ambajee Purandare, he took the contract of collecting Dhanaji's share of the Chauth from the Mughal territories, and therefore had to maintain five to ten hundred troops.[7] He had thus worked for several years as a revenue collector, before he was made the Sar-subhedar of Poona about 1696.[8] This was a very responsible office, corresponding to that of the Commissioner of a division at present. About this time he first became acquainted with Shahu and his mother, under what circumstances we do not know.[9] They were then prisoners in the imperial camp, at Brahmapuri on the southern bank of the Bhima. Aurangzeb lived there for four years and a half

[1] *Bharat Varsha*, vol. ii, August, p. 2.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] द्वितीय संमेलनवृत्त, pp. 193–6.

[4] ब्रह्मेंद्रस्वामी धावडशीकर, by D. B. Parasnis, p. 9.

[5] *Marathi Riyasat*, vol. i, p. 28.

[6] *Life of Shahu Maharaj, the Elder*, p. 36.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 21–22.

[8] सप्तम संमेलन वृत्त, pp. 125–8.

[9] तृतीय संमेलनवृत्त, pp. 85–91.

from May 21, 1695 to October 19, 1699,[1] and it was during these years that Balaji rendered some services to Shahu, and obtained his favour.[2] Now Balaji's stars were on the ascendant. He had come into intimate contact with the Joshis of Pali, of whom Mahadaji Krishna later on gave his daughter in marriage to Baji Rao, Balaji's eldest son. Through his influence with Tara Bai, Mahadaji Krishna got Balaji established at Rangna.[3] Shortly after he took service under Dhanaji Jadhav[4] the Senapati of Tara Bai and while still in his service he raided Gujrat. The historian of Gujrat remarks that 'as 'soon as Aurangzib's death, was known, the Marathas under Balaji 'Viswanath burst into east Gujrat, marching through Jhabhua and 'Godhra, where they were ineffectually opposed by the Governor 'Murad Baksh.' Balaji next intended an attack on Ahmedabad and as he approached the city, consternation seized all people high and low, rich and poor. 'The Viceroy thoroughly alarmed concluded a treaty 'with Balaji and on receiving a tribute of Rs. 2,10,000 the Marathas withdrew.'[5] Here we come across for the first time an instance of Balaji's great military ability. The fact that he struck terror into the heart of the people and their protectors alike, shows that he must have been a leader of note. Thus Balaji had a brilliant career and antecedent, and varied experience about the men and matters of his times before he was of any use to Shahu.

When Shahu entered Maharastra he was the Sarsubhedar of Daulatabad, in charge of the collection of the annual black mail, and therefore a trusted lieutenant of the Senapati Dhanaji Jadhav.[6] In consequence of the disagreement between Dhanaji and Tara Bai on the matters of the oath, as has been observed already, the former sent Balaji to Shahu's camp, to ascertain whether Shahu was really the son of Shambhaji. When he returned satisfied on the point, he persuaded his chief to adhere to Shahu, and it was just for that that Dhanaji had been contending against Tara Bai. So there is nothing very extraordinary in the fact that the master and the servant resolved to join Shahu. But unlike Dhanaji, Balaji was never half-hearted in his adherence. We have seen in the Introductory II, how Dhanaji's devotion to the cause of Shahu was not above reproach. He was actuated by a selfish desire, to profit at the cost of his master, and actually yielded to the persuasion of Tara Bai and Ramchandra Pant for closing the Rangna campaign, which he knew would be detrimental to the interests of Shahu. But Balaji never faltered in his loyalty to

[1] *Aurangzib*, vol. v, p. 6.

[2] *Marathi Riyasat*, vol. i, p. 30.

[3] पंचम संमेलनवृत्त, pp. 1–11.

[4] सप्तम संमेलनवृत्त, pp. 125-8.

[5] *Hstory of Gujrat, Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, part i, p. 296. Here the author refers to Mirat-i-Ahmedi, which being an independent source must be true when it asserts that Balaji led a large number of Marathas into Gujrat in 1707. Further it is entirely in keeping with the later facts. If Balaji were not a military leader of proved merit, Shahu could not have bestowed the title of Senakarte soon after in 1708.

[6] वार्षिक इतिवृत्त शके १८३७. pp. 302–3.

Shahu. Once he adhered to him, he remained unmoved; and his unflinching adherence bore golden fruits for him. On the occasion of his coronation, Shahu appointed him Mutaliq to the Amatya Ambu Rao Hanmante.[1] After the death of Dhanaji, between June and November 1708, he was given the title of Senakarte, or the organizer of armies, which again bears testimony to his military abilities.[2] In June 1708 died Dhanaji, and in November of the same year Chandra Sen, his son succeeded to his office. Chandra Sen did not like this elevation of Balaji to the office of Senakarte, and since then became jealous of him.[3] Shortly after this, as has been narrated already, there came Bahadur Shah into the Deccan, and when he left for the north, Maharastra was plunged into a civil war. Shahu and Tara Bai prepared to proceed to the extreme. The country was seething with anarchy, and the ambitious chieftains were not slow to defy the central authority and set up their independence. As a result of his two years of warfare (1708--10) Shahu had established his sway over not more than twenty-five miles round Satara. The rest of the country was held in strength either by the partisans of Tara Bai or the predatory chiefs who were loth to recognize any authority. Such were Damaji Thorat in Supa, Shahaji Nimbalkar at Faltan, Udaji Chouhan in Miraj, Khem Sawant in South Konkan and Kanhoji Angre in north Konkan. North of the Krishna, Krishna Rao Khataokar held the whole country for the Mughals.[4] Of these Damaji and Krishna Rao wrought the greatest mischief, and established a reign of terror in the country. Therefore about the year 1710, Shahu deputed his newly created Senakarte against Damaji Thorat, who professed to be in the service of Ramchandra Pant, Amatya of Tara Bai, but really obeyed no authority. Accompanied by his friend Ambaji Trimbak and his family he started to reduce the freebooter. As he came within striking distance of his head-quarters, Hingangaon, where he had built a fortress, Damaji was frightened and entreated him to arrange for an amicable settlement. He invited him into his fort to discuss the terms and promised on oath, taken on Belbhandar, that he would be allowed to return in safety. The solemnity of the oath left not a shadow of doubt in the mind of Balaji and he accepted the invitation of Damaji. As soon as he entered the fortress, the freebooter broke his promise, seized him and confined him in prison. When reminded of his breach of faith, he is said to have remarked, 'What sanctity could a Bel and some Bhandar (turmeric) lend to one's words? Bel is a fruit that grows on the tree and Bhandar, we consume every day.' Having imprisoned Balaji he threatened him with the worst tortures, and ultimely with death, if a large ransom was not paid for him. Shahu apprised of these proceedings of Thorat, paid the ransom demanded and effected the release of Balaji.[5] On the failure of Balaji, Shahu ordered Chandra Sen, the Senapati, to lead an army against him and totally crush him about the beginning of 1711. With him went his revenue secretary Balaji Vishwanath specially

[1] ततोय संमेलनवृत्त pp. 85–91.

[2] *Marathi Riyasat*, vol. i, p. 32.

[3] Rajwade, vol. ii, p. 7. Introductory ii.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 11–13. थो: शा: च: p. 36.

charged by Shahu to keep a close watch on him. Already there was no love lost between them, for Balaji had monopolized Dhanaji's confidence, much to the dislike of his son. Now that he was kept as a spy on him, the degree of his resentment could be better imagined than described. The slightest incident would be enough to throw them into open hostility, and one such incident did occur in that expedition.

It so happened that one day while the army was decamping, a black buck suddenly rose, and pursued by Piraji Raut, a trooper in the service of Balaji Vishwanath, entered the tents of Vyas Rao, a Brahmin in the service of Chandra Sen. With a Brahmin's compassion for animal life, Vyas Rao gave the beast shelter against its pursuer. And since Vyas Rao would not give it back, Piraji in a dudgeon hurled his spear at him and wounded him. Frightened at his own misdeed, and apprehending the worst consequences he went to Balaji Vishwanath, confessed his fault, and sought his protection. Balaji like a benign master promised his protection to him. Vyas Rao on his part complained to his master who came down upon Balaji, and demanded Piraji of him. To this demand, Balaji returned a flat refusal, which exasperated Chandra Sen, and he ordered his troops to attack Balaji's camp and capture Piraji Raut. Balaji however could make time to escape with a small following, but the Senapati's troops were hard on his heels. Flying before them he took shelter in the fort of Purandar, belonging to the *Sachiv*. Chandra Sen not to be thus flouted, sent a peremptory demand to the *Sachiv*, for surrendering his Secretary and backed his demand by an armed attack on his fortress. The Sachiv feeling powerless against the Senapati, advised Balaji to escape secretly to some other place. At dead of night Balaji stole out of the fort in company with Ambajee Purandare, and about five hundred horsemen, and fled precipitately towards the banks of the Nira. Chandra Sen's men were soon on his track. He was overtaken and defeated, and was again sent flying into Pandavgad, a fort that still towers over Wai. There he felt comparatively safe, and from there he sent Ambaji Purandare to inform Shahu what had taken place between him and his chief, and to implore the royal protection against his angry master. Khando Ballal Chitnis, a great friend of Ambaji Pant, also lent his support on the side of Balaji, and Shahu readily afforded him protection against the Senapati, and called him back to Satara. Thus was Balaji saved from the wrath of Chandra Sen.[1]

Already disaffected towards Shahu, Chandra Sen now became furious. He bluntly wrote to Shahu that if Balaji were not given back he would withdraw his allegiance from him.[2] Shahu was in a fix, for the open rebellion of the Senapati might mean a great disaster to the country, and a great crisis for himself. But he was not prepared to be thus dictated to by Chandra Sen. He soon summoned Habibat Rao Nimbalkar, then encamped in the neighbourhood of Ahmadnagar, and ordered him to chastise Chandra Sen for his insolence. Nimbalkar advanced against the Senapati, and a battle was

[1] *Marathi Riyasat*, vol. i, pp. 36–38. थो: शा: च: p. 28.

[2] थो: शा: च:, p. 29.

fought at Jeur, below the pass of Andarki, in which the Senapati was worsted. Thus baffled and beaten, Chandra Sen fled to Panhala in the hot weather of 1711 and joined Tara Bai openly. The son recompensed for the desertion of the father.

This desertion of Chandra Sen created a sensation amongst the partisans of Shahu. Most of them were only playing a double game, —most of them tendered only a lip homage to Shahu to promote their own interests. Chiefs of no less importance than the Sawant of Wadi, Angrey, and Khande Rao Dabhade had declared for Tara Bai. And in the very ranks of Shahu's partisans Chandra Sen was sowing sedition. His motives and activities, while he was a servant of Shahu, are clear from the following letter that he wrote to Shivaji II about August 27, 1711. 'My devotion is for the feet of the master; my 'desire is for the service of the master, and for reputation in his 'service. Rajashri Jadhav Rao (Dhanaji) knew of no other deity than 'the feet of the master. When there arose internal factions in the 'kingdom he led an army with a promise to serve the master. But 'there was a turn of fortune, which turned the heads of all. Hence 'to fulfil his purpose (Dhanaji's original purpose of helping Shivaji's 'cause) has been the sole desire of my heart, and with this idea in 'view, I have drawn together Rajashri Appaji Thorat, Damaji Thorat, 'Shahaji Nimbalkar, Santaji Pandhare and others, and without paying 'any heed to the temptations of Shahu, I have showed disaffection 'towards him. With a view to induce into this affair Khanderao 'Dabhade, and the Pratinidhi, who are attached to you, I specially 'sent for them and had an interview with them. I also met Haibat 'Rao Nimbalkar. Whatever I had planned with Rajashri Thorat, 'Khanderao Dabhade and Santaji Pandhare, I disclosed to Nimbalkar, 'who also had the same idea in his mind. Then we included all the 'Sardars present in our conspiracy, and held consultations with the 'Pratinidhi. We proclaimed you, and made rejoicings. I have sent 'my letters and those of the abovementioned Pandit into the fort. 'Now you should march upon Satara, destroy the factions, and order 'rejoicings.'[1] Here Chandra Sen is positive in his statement that he never felt that devotion for Shahu, which he feels for Shivaji II. Therefore he was trying to convert the Pratinidhi and Dabhade to his views, and to enlist them on Tara Bai's side. It is also evident that there were other chiefs like Haibat Rao Nimbalkar, Damaji Thorat, Appaji Thorat, and Santaji Pandhare, who shared his views and had formed a conspiracy against Shahu. They had gone so far as to proclaim Shivaji II, and had written letters to corrupt the officers of the fort of Satara. Indeed the conspiracy was formidable, when we take into consideration, the rank and resources of those who were in it. Their underhand dealings came to light only when Chandra Sen rebelled, and openly joined Tara Bai. The extreme insecurity of Shahu's position is fully realized when we note that there was not a single powerful chief on his side. The situation of Shahu was fast becoming critical, and in this crisis Balaji Vishwanath came to his rescue.

In fact these trying times revealed the real worth of Balaji. Be it said to the credit of Shahu, that he could find out the right man to

[1] *Marathi Riyasat*, vol. i, pp. 34–35.

meet this crisis. He was a shrewd judge of men, and therefore he now confidently turned to the Chitpavan Brahmin. Bahiro Pant Pingley; the Peshwa was of no great help to Shahu, for he was utterly incapable of handling a difficult situation.

Persuaded by Chandra Sen, Haibat Rao Nimbalkar deserted Shahu; and thus he lost at once the services of his Senapati and of Sarlashkar, who were the chief officers of his army. Consequently his army organization suffered and with it his military strength. Shahu had only two thousand men out of the main army, that had deserted along with the Senapati.[1] Indeed Shahu's military strength was insignificant, and there was no commander-in-chief to organize an army. To the chief command of the army however he appointed Chandra Sen's younger brother Santaji Jadhav before the year was out (1711).[2] But he was not a tried hand, and Shahu was in need of a powerful army so that he might successfully cope with the combined strength of Tara Bai and Chandra Sen. Therefore he ordered Balaji Vishwanath to get one ready for the field. To recruit an army and keep it ready for action vast sums of money were necessary, and Shahu had not even a fraction of what was required.[3] Balaji realized his helplessness, but advised patience. With prompt decision he borrowed large sums of money from the prominent money-lenders like Mahadaji Krishna Naik, and recruited an army for the service of Shahu. To pay off this debt, which he had incurred on his own responsibility he got from the king an assignment of jagirs yielding twenty-five lakhs a year. Thus he prepared to meet the enemies of Shahu.

On the other hand Shahu had not been paralysed by the magnitude of his danger. Recovering from his momentary despair he proceeded to deal sternly with the conspirators. The most prominent of them Haibat Rao and Chandra Sen, had deserted to Tara Bai, and there remained only Parshuram Pant to reckon with. He had been set at liberty, and was holding the office of Pratinidhi ever since 1710 or 1711.[4] Now his treasonable proceedings made Shahu furious, and in a paroxym of rage he ordered his eyes to be put out. As he was taken out to be blinded there came Khando Ballal rushing in, and stopped these operations. Then he went to the king and pleaded with great importunity for mercy, and got the order changed into mere confinement. The Pratinidhi was therefore put in chains, and was ordered to be kept under strict surveillance on November 20th 1711.[5] Afterwards his house and property were confiscated. There were other conspirators like the Thorats and Santaji Pandhre but their reduction depended upon the armed operations, and Balaji's services had to be requisitioned for the purpose. Balaji was not keen upon punishing the rebels so long as Tara Bai and Chandra Sen remained uncrushed. They were the arch conspirators, and the most determined enemies of Shahu. So Balaji first proceeded to deal with them,

[1] Rajwade, vol. ii, p. 10.
[2] *Selection from Satara Raja's Diaries*, vol. i, p. 78.
[3] *Marathi Riyasat*, vol, i, p. 39.
[4] *Selections from the Satara Raja's and Peshwa's Diaries*, vol. i, p. 54.
[5] थो: शा: च:, p. 32.

and resolved to try diplomacy before he tried force. The astute Chitpavan Brahmin endeavoured to meet intrigue by intrigue. He came to know that Ramachandra Pant, Tara Bai's Amatya and for long her chief advisor, had again been thrown out of favour, and Tara Bai now reposed confidence in her new ally Chandra Sen. However successful in her intrigues Tara Bai was a tactless and ungrateful person. Forgetting all the devoted services of Ramachandra Pant she showed distinct dislike for him, and the latter therefore intrigued with Rajas Bai, Tara Bai's co-wife and rival, to turn the tables on her. Balaji seized the opportunity and secretly joined Ramachandra Pant and Rajas Bai to crush Tara Bai. Nor did he stand alone with the two conspirators. A powerful section of Kolhapur nobles favoured the cause of Rajas Bai against her rival. But the support of Balaji Vishwanath, which meant the support of Shahu, encouraged the partisans of Rajas Bai, and they succeeded in throwing Tara Bai and her son into prison and setting up Shambhaji and Rajas Bai in their stead. Thus was brought about a bloodless revolution at Kolhapur entirely to the benefit of Shahu and much more to that of Shambhaji. Though Tara Bai was overthrown in 1712 and her son was deposed, yet Shambhaji did not ascend the throne in an official way till two years later.[1] At any rate Shahu got rid of the most implacable of his enemies. Nor was this the only result of Balaji's manœuvres. With the fall of Tara Bai, Chandra Sen was forced to leave Kolhapur. He could not hope for protection from Shambhaji, and therefore fled to Nizam-ul-mulk, who had in the meantime been appointed Viceroy of the Deccan. He found a very agreeable master in him, and constantly urged him to make war on the Marathas.

After the overthrow of Tara Bai, Balaji undertook an expedition to reduce the power of Krishna Rao Khataokar. With him went Shripat Rao, the second son Parshuram Pant Pratinidhi, then in prison. The captive father bade his son achieve success for Shahu in the campaign, win the royal favour and thereby effect his release, or get killed.[2] The young man promised to do his father's bidding, and the army advanced on the town of Khatao, fifteen miles to the east of Satara.

Krishna Rao, chief of Khatao, subsisted on organized plunder. He had deserted to Aurangzeb after the execution of Shambhaji, and had been awarded the jagir of the Khatao Parganah. He had also got the title of Maharaja from Aurangzeb, for his meritorious services to him.[3] Later on he lived there as a servant of the Mughals. But like many others he recognized no authority, and was a frebooter of some notoriety. When he heard that Balaji Vishwanath was coming to attack him at the head of a large army, he prepared to meet him on the field. The battle was joined near his stronghold of Khatao. It was a hard-contested action, and the day was won for Shahu by the bravery of Shripat Rao and the Khataokar was killed. His two sons submitted and came to pay homage to Shahu, who graciously granted their paternal jagir to them.

[1] *Marathi Riyasat*, vol. i, p. 40.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] थो: शा: च:, p. 37.

Balaji Viswanath Appointed Peshwa on November 16, 1713

Thus by the end of the year the position of Shahu was comparatively secure. He had got rid of Tara Bai, Chandra Sen, and Khataokar. Parshuram Pant Pratinidhi still rotted in prison and repented for his crime. But now his deliverance was near at hand. On his return from the late expedition, in which success had been achieved on account of the reckless bravery of Shripat Rao, Balaji recommended to Shahu in the strongest terms, the release of the Pratinidhi, on the score of the meritorious services of his son. Shahu relented, Khando Ballal also threw in his weight on the side of Balaji.[1] Thus persuaded Shahu released Parshuram Pant and reinstated him in his office of Pratinidhi. Parshuram Pant out of his gratitude to Balaji Viswanath took the first opportunity of requiting his kindness and he ever remained loyal to Shahu.[2]

The same year, 1712, Shahu had sent Bahiropant Pingley Peshwa against Kanhoji Angrey, nominally the admiral of the Maratha fleet, but really the most powerful and independent pirate chief of the west coast. He was a partisan of Tara Bai, and now that she had fallen, Shahu wanted him to recognize his authority and pay homage to him. In fact Angrey had no real sympathy with Tara Bai's cause, nor any real fear for Shahu's power. He was bred to the sea as a hereditary profession. His father Tukoji was serving under Sidoji Gujar, the head of the Maratha fleet. After Tukoji's death about the year 1690 Kanhoji took his father's place in the admiralty. He soon distinguished himself on the sea and in 1690 he was appointed the second in command of the fleet. Towards the end of Raja Ram's reign i.e., 1698 he is mentioned to have held the office of Sarkhel i.e., Admiral of the Maratha fleet.[3] That was the time of the Maratha war of Independence. Inspired by a burning love for his country's cause, he like many other notable Marathas vowed vengeance on the Mughals, who had seized Raygad, Anjanwel and Sindhudurga, and had given them to the Sidi of Janjira. The Sidi held the admiralty of the Mughal fleet since 1670.[4] Shivaji and Shambhuji had made several attempts to destroy him, but had failed. Now Kanhoji's one aim of life was to recover the Maratha forts in his charge, and to reduce his power on the sea. He was inexorable in his resolution and succeeded in achieving his aim to a very great extent. He worsted the Siddi on the sea, and conquered the forts of Sagargad, Kolaba, Khanderi and others from him. He roved undaunted from Bombay to Malabar, and struck terror into the hearts of the sea-faring nations, like the English and the Portugues and the Dutch. These were the allies of the Siddi, and hence were subject to Kanhoji's relentless ravages.[5] Thus he fought all the enemies of the Marathas and stamped the dread of his power on the whole coast between Travancore and Bombay. He kept his

[1] थो: शा: च:, p. 37.

[2] *Marathi Riyasat*, vol. i, p. 44.

[3] मराठ्यांचे आरमार, p. 32.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 15.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

naval stores in the forts of Suvarnadurga and Vijaydurga and made Kolaba his naval station. He respected no flag on the sea, nor feared any authority on land.

In 1707 when Shahu returned to Maharastra, he was the Admiral of the Maratha fleet under the regency of Tara Bai. In the contest between Shahu and Tara Bai, the latter anxious to enlist his sympathy and support for her son, had granted the whole of the Konkan between Bombay and Sawant Wadi. But this was the time when most of the Maratha leaders found it very profitable to fish in troubled waters and loyalty was a rare virtue in Maharastra.

As has been noticed in the previous chapter he betrayed Tara Bai, when she was cooped up in the fort of Rangna. Taking advantage of the disorderly condition of the Maratha state, and of the helplessness of Shahu, after the desertion of Chandra Sen, he extended his arms, and subdued the district of Kalyan and the fortresses of Lohgad and Rajmachi all belonging to the Peshwa, Bahiro Pant Pingley.[1] Hence in 1712 Shahu ordered the Peshwa against Kanhoji and associated with him Nilo Ballal, the brother of Khando Ballal. But Kanhoji defeated them, captured and imprisoned them in the fort of Lohgad, and prepared to follow up his victory by a rapid march on the capital of Shahu. This threw Shahu into consternation, and he quickly resolved to have some capable man, on whom he could bestow the high office of Peshwa, and send him against this powerful pirate chief. Balaji had just returned from his successful campaign against Krishna Rao Khataokar. In the full flush of his victory, he must have commanded the confidence of Shahu; and he deserved it because of the signal services that he had rendered to Shahu on many occasions. On the other hand, ever since his appointment Bahiro Pant Pingley had displayed neither ability nor resourcefulness in any critical situation. But now the captivity of the Peshwa affected the smooth working of the government, and more than that, he was in great anxiety to stop the further progress of Angrey, who was fast advancing on Satara. Here was another crisis for Shahu, and he did not know what to do. Now he turned to the oldest and the most experienced of all his officers Parshuram Pant, for advice. He wanted him to accept the office of Peshwa and meet the situation. Parshuram Pant however suggested to him that Balaji was the favourite of the army, and it would be in the fitness of things if he was appointed to the office.[2] Shahu took the hint; and influenced partly by a deep sense of gratitude for all his meritorious services he invested Balaji with the robes of office on November 16, 1713 at a place called Manjri. Balaji Vishwanath, both by abilities and achievements, was eminently fit for the high office. Nevertheless he owed his appointment to the strong recommendation of Parshuram Pant Pratinidhi who thus requited the good offices of Balaji Vishwanath in such a fitting manner. Balaji was granted a jagir of five mahals in addition to what he had and was required to leave a Mutaliq or Deputy with the king. On the occasion of Balaji's installation Parshuram Pant was confirmed in his office of Pratinidhi; Ramji Pant Bhanu was appointed Fadnavis to Shahu through the influence of Balaji Vishwanath; Naro Gangadhar

[1] थो: शा: च: p. 37.

[2] Rajwade, vol. iv, pp. 34–35.

became the Majmuadar; the office of Mantri was taken away from Ramchandra Pant Punday and was confered on Naro Ram Shenvi; and the office of Sumanta was taken away from Mahadaji Gadadhar and bestowed on Anandarao Raghunath. Mansingh then was appointed Senapati, Hono Anant, Nyayadhish, and Mudgal Bhatt, Pandit Rao.[1] All these appointments were made on the advice of Balaji Vishwanath and all the officers were capable men except the Senapati. Therefore latterly the duties of Peshwa and of Senapati were discharged by the same man—Peshwa.

Peace with Kanhoji Angrey: February 28, 1714

Immediately after his investiture, Balaji Vishwanath was ordered to march against Kanhoji Angrey. Dark and robust, fierce and imperious, Kanhoji had struck terror in the hearts of all. Throwing Bahiro Pant Pingley and Nilo Ballal in the prison of Lohgad, he was still staying in that fortress, to remind Shahu of his careless courage. To tame such a man therefore was no easy task and no one was better fitted than the astute and intelligent, resourceful and domineering Chitpavan Brahmin Balaji Vishwanath. The Peshwa collected an army of three to four thousand troops and proceeded towards Lohgad.[2] As on a previous occasion against Tara Bai, Balaji tried diplomacy before he tried force. His familiar relations with Kanhoji Angrey already subsisting through correspondence now stood him in good stead. As he set out with the army he wrote to him to come and meet him on the way. Kanhoji accordingly came out and met him at Olwan near Lonawala.[3] Then they went by easy stages to Kolaba and there Balaji persuaded him to give up his defiant attitude and tender allegiance to Shahu. In a secret meeting Balaji told him, 'You and I are brothers; hence the Peshwaship is in your own house. Tell me if you would hand over the forts without fighting. Kanhoji agreed and Balaji appointed him Surkhel on behalf of Shahu. Kanhoji further submitted to the suzerainty of Shahu and promised to abandon the side of Shambhaji. A draft treaty was drawn up on February 28, 1714 according to which Balaji promised to surrender all the forts below the ghats to Kanhoji; and Kanhoji promised to surrender all the forts above the Ghats to Shahu. Kanhoji actually had ten forts and sixteen mahals. The forts are (i) Khanderi, (ii) Kolaba, (iii) Subarnadurg, (iv) Vijaydurg, (v) Jaygad, (vi) Devdurg, (vii) Kanakdurg, (viii) Fattehgad, (ix) Awachitgad, (x) Yeswantgad.

The Mahals are (i) Bahiro Gad, (ii) Kotla, (iii) Vikadgad, (iv) Manikdurg (v) Mirgad, (vi) Sargad, (vii) Rasalgad, (viii) Palgad, (ix) Ramdurg, (x) Khorepatan, (xi) Rajapur, (xii) Satwara, (xiii) Kamte (xiv) Sagargad, (xv) Shriwardhan, (xvi) Manranjan.[4]

Each promised to restore to their offices the servants of the other. Every year from the Dashera till the month of Margashirsha (i.e. October to December) the Peshwa should undertake a campaign against the Portuguese and the Abyssinian in the Konkan. If Angrey

[1] Rajwade, vol. ii, p. 17, *Marathi Riyasat*, vol. i, p. 47.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 35. [3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 25 f.n.

succeeded in recovering Raygad from the Mughals, he must hand it over to the Chhatrapati. Besides this he must surrender Lohgad, Tunga, Tikona, Korgad and Ghangad with their stores to the Peshwa; and the Peshwa must in return restore Rajmachi and a few other forts to Angrey. Further the Peshwa promised to help him against all his enemies, and to regard them as his own. These were the most significant conditions of the treaty. He further intervened to effect an agreement between Angrey and the Siddi, who were at war at this time, and rescued Bahiro Pant Pingley from the prison of Angrey.[1] He accompanied Balaji to Satara. Thus conciliating a powerful chief like Angrey and rendering thereby a signal service to Shahu, Balaji returned to Satara by the middle of March. His arrival was an ovation for him, and never before in his life Shahu had felt greater attachment for any one. Now Shahu's position in Maharastra was unshakable, and his power and prestige unquestionable.

Importance of the Treaty with Angrey

Two things resulted from this treaty with Angrey; one, it established perfect amity between Shahu and Angrey; two, it involved Shahu and therefore the Maratha kingdom, in the conflicts between Kanhoji and his enemies, i.e., the Portuguese, the Abyssinians and the English. But on the whole it was not detrimental to the interests of the Maratha state. Kanhoji single-handed was sufficient to terrorize his enemies and to more than hold his own against them. Now the support of the king secured by the treaty substantially increased his strength and self-confidence. So long as he was living, Konkan was safe against all foreigners. The importance of the treaty can therefore be all the more realized, and the service of Balaji Vishwanath all the more appreciated, when we take into account the various hostile powers that had their settlements on the west coast from Bassein to Sawantwadi. In 1715 the Portuguese were supreme at Bassein, Thana, Goa and Chaul; the English at Bombay and the Abyssinians at Janjira Against all these Angrey had to fight constantly and though he could overwhelm any one of these, he surely dreaded their combination. By the treaty all these enemies of Angrey became the enemies of the Maratha kingdom, and thus the unity of interests drew him (Kanhoji) ever close to the king of Maharastra. In one direction at least the treaty contributed to the unity of Maharastra, and to the formation of the future Maratha confederacy.

Conflict between Angrey and the Abyssinians

The Abyssinians were the most obstinate enemies of the Marathas, Their hostility persisted since the time of the great Shivaji. During the Deccan wars of Aurangzeb, they had helped him against the Marathas, and had thus occupied a large part of the Konkan. On the death of Aurangzeb his killedars (the commanders of the forts under him) left their charge and fled away. Thus many of these Mughal forts automatically came into the possession of the Abyssinians. The fort of

[1] Rajwade, vol. iv, p. 35 तहव करार मदार, p. 197.

Vishalgad was similarly occupied by the officers of Tara Bai.[1] In the years 1708, 1709 and 1710, the Abyssinians raided the country of the Marathas, and owing to their ravages the ryots fled from the villages. When Kanhoji Angrey became powerful he made war on the Abyssinians and it still continued when Balaji Vishwnanath concluded a treaty with Angrey in 1714. In accordauce with the terms of the treaty Balaji Vishwanath intervened and helped to bring about a settlement between them on January 30, 1715. It was decided that the Sidi should allow the Kamawisdars of Shahu to realize half the revenue from the villages of Goregaon, Gowel, Nizampur, Nagothane, Ashtami Pali, Ashre and Antone, which were in the possession of the Sidi.[2] Thus was settled the dispute between the Sidi and Angrey, not to the advantage of Angrey alone, but to that of Shahu also.

Conflict between Angrey and the English

So long as Kanhoji Angrey was the warden of the western coast of Maharastra the Europeans lived in constant dread of him. He did not rest content with the conquest of Vijaydurg. 'He drove out the 'Portuguese and other traders from many a place on the west coast, 'fortified them and ruled actually like an independent prince. Once 'he captured some ships full of Arab horses, with little difficulty and 'thus formed a new army of cavalry. The seafarers of all nations and 'all races—Muhammadans, the Dutch, the Portuguese, the French and 'the English, honoured the blood-red banners of this pirate chief.'[3] Therefore it was the constant thought of all these people to crush the power of Kanhoji. To take his fort of Gheria was the chief concern of the English. But in the life-time of Kanhoji they never succeeded. 'His (Kanhoji's) first recorded attack on an English ship was on the 'yacht conveying Mr. Chown, the newly appointed Governor of the 'English factory at Karwar. To escort the yacht went a small man of 'war. While they were still in sight of Bombay island, the two ships 'were attacked by a fleet of grabs or armed sailing vessels belonging 'to Angrey. The yacht defended itself gallantly. But Chown's arm 'was shot off and he bled to death in his wife's arms. Mrs. Chown 'and the crew were taken. The Bombay Government applied for her 'release, but to procure it had to pay Rs. 30,000 by way of ransom. . '. . . For two years after the capture of the Governor's yacht 'Angrey left the English alone; then he attacked the "Sommers" 'and the "Graham". The two ships beat off the pirates, but after- 'wards Angrey took a number of country crafts which he armed and 'added to his fleet.[4] These caused immense damage to the English coastwise trade.'

On December 26, 1715, Mr. Charles Boone arrived as the Governor of Bombay and noticing that Kanhoji Angrey obstructed their free movement on the coast, he vigorously set to equip a strong fleet against him. The preparation took him two years, and at the end of it he sent a squadron of nine battleships by name Britannia,

[1] *Marathi Riyasat*, vol. i, p. 82. [2] Rajwade, vol. ii, p. 26.
[3] *Marathi Riyasat*, vol. i, p. 56. [4] Kincaid and Parasnis, vol. ii, pp. 204-5.

Victory, Defiance, Revenge, Fame, Hunter, Hawk, Eagle and Princess Amelia, mounting 148 guns and conveying a naval force of 1,250 men, and a land force of 2,500 Europeans and 1,500 Indian sepoys. This strong squadron approached Vijaydurga on April 17, 1717, and began bombardment. But so terrible was the fire of Kanhoji, and so irresistible his attack that the English were forced to retire to Bombay after a loss of 200 killed and 300 wounded.

But Governor Boone was not a man to be so easily discouraged. In another year and a half he got two more battleships ready, and sent an expedition, this time to Khanderi. But this time also no better success attended the venture.[1] Badly beaten by Angrey, the squadron withdrew to Bombay. When the news of these reverses reached the Directors they approached the king with a request for help. Accordingly Admiral Mathews was despatched from Home and reached Bombay in September 1721. Further they sought the aid of the Portuguese, who willingly gave it, and with full preparation the combined fleets sailed towards Ali Bag. Reaching Kolaba, they made a desperate attack on the fort but once again they suffered a defeat and were forced to retire.[2] After this last discomfiture the English did not venture to attack Angrey; and so long as he was living the Europeans always kept at a respectable distance from him.

SUPPRESSION OF DAMAJI THORAT, 1716–18

After the settlement with Kanhoji Angrey, Shahu ordered operations against Damaji Thorat and Udaji Chowhan. They had risen to power, as has been observed, during the troublous times of Maharastra. How Damaji outwitted the shrewd Chitpavan Brahman and then entered into the conspiracy of Chandra Sen against Shahu have also been narrated. Soon after the desertion of Chandra Sen at the same time when Shahu sent Balaji Vishwanath Peshwa to reduce Angrey, he had also ordered the minor Sachiv Naro Shankar, to lead an army against Damaji. But the task of suppression could not be undertaken by Naro Shankar's mother Yesu Bai acting through her agent Ranjhekar until the year 1716. The minor sachiv remained at Vichitragad and his army proceeded to Hingni, in the Parganah of Patas, the seat of Thorat's power. Damaji however left the charge of Hingni under his lieutenants, made a dash upon Vichitragad, surprised it and captured the young Sachiv on March 29, 1717. Then he threw him into prison and held him to ransom just as he had done on a previous occasion. Shahu was forced once again to pay the ransom and rescued the minor sachiv, who had remained a prisoner of Damaji for about a year. The fact that Shahu had to ransom his officers twice from the clutches of Damaji Thorat clearly shows how weak was his power at this time. A robber chief could defy him with impunity. Even after the successful termination of the proceedings of Balaji Vishwanath, after Tara Bai was clapped in the prison at Kolhapur, Krishna Rao Khataokar destroyed, and Kanhoji Angrey secured on the side of Shahu, Damaji could not be suppressed. Not until the treaty with Sayyid Husain Ali Khan in February 1718, could

[1] *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, pt. ii, p. 8. [2] *Marathi Riyasat*, vol. i, p. 57.

Shahu successfully cope with this robber chief. By the middle of 1718, the Peshwa and Pilaji Jadhav Senapati started at the head of a strong army consisting of the Marathas and the Mughal contingents supplied by the Sayyid, besieged Hingangaon, reduced the fort and carried away Damaji as a prisoner.[1] He was imprisoned in the fort of Purandar, but was released in 1719. Not learning by experience he took to brigandage and was once again chastised, captured and imprisoned in the fort of Parli, where he died in 1728.[2]

SUPPRESSION OF UDAJI CHAUHAN

Then came the turn of Udaji Chauhan, a compeer of Thorat. He came of a very heroic family of the Marathas. His ancestor Ranoji served under Maloji Ghorpade, and Ranoji's son Bithoji Chauhan in co-operation with Santaji Ghorpade captured the golden capital of Aurangzib's camp. This deed of valour won for him the title of Himmat Bahadar from Raja Ram. His son Udaji was brave like him and in the time of Tara Bai occupied Shirole, Raibag and Bijapur. When Shahu came he had established the seat of his power at Battis-shirole, where he had built himself a fortress. Damaji and Udaji acted in co-operation against Shahu. Incited by Chandra Sen, they had made it their business to plunder the country as far as Satara. After the reduction of Damaji, the Peshwa turned his arms against Chauhan. But more important matters came pressing on him and he had to put off the campaigns for some time. The Chauhan too grew less troublesome and in 1737 he fled away and joined the Nizam. Balaji Baji Rao won him over and gave him a sumptuous jagir, and he served him loyally till his death in November 1762.[3] Whether against Damaji Thorat or Udaji Chauhan, Kanhoji Angrey or Krishna Rao Khataokar, Tara Bai or Chandra Sen, Shahu left to himself would have been ruined. His weakness and irresolution would have aggravated the perils of the situation. Fortunately he found in Balaji that ready resourcefulness which triumphs over crises. Neither was Balaji unaware of his limitations. Wherever he knew he would fail if he resorted to force, he managed adroitly by means of diplomacy or intrigue. But in spite of his incessant activities extending over a period of six years the situation did not improve very much. There was no civil war between Shambhaji and Shahu, but there was neither amity nor co-operation. Angrey had been won over to Shahu no doubt, but he ruled like an independent prince in his fiefs. He kept up only a show of submission to Shahu. Damaji and Udaji continued to give trouble and lastly Maharastra was torn by petty factions. So long as this condition continued there could be no stable government, no permanent peace. But the situation was fast changing on account of the dynamic forces operating not in Maharastra, but elsewhere round about, in the Mugal Empire.

[1] ब्रह्मेंद्रस्वामी यांचा पत्रव्यवहार. Doc. 183, p. 192.

[2] *Marathi Kiyasat*, vol. i, p. 62. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 63-64.

CHAPTER II (1715—19)

The Marathas and the Mughals—Balaji in Delhi

The period extending from the death of Shivaji, to the death of Aurangzeb is a remarkable epoch in the history of the Marathas. The Marathas, fighting in defence of their country and for the honour of their nation, at last succeeded in rolling back the tide of Mughal onslaught. But when the war of defence or 'the war of independence' as it is called, was over, their internal dissensions broke out in greater fury, and all semblance of unity—unity of authority or of interest, that had characterized their activities of that period receded to a distance. Sovereignty was divided between Shahu and Shambhaji; the country was divided into the fiefs of the different sardars. When Balaji Vishwanath had not succeeded in making up these divisions, Maharastra was drawn most unfortunately into the vortex of the Imperial politics. The attention of the Marathas was diverted from their home troubles, and they looked beyond their own country, into another which opened up golden vistas and held out promises of a glorious future for them. It is hardly true to say that just after the death of Aurangzeb the Marathas planned an aggressive warfare against the Mughals with the deliberate determination of founding an empire. For a few years after the arrival of Shahu in Maharastra they were absorbed in their domestic troubles, and Shahu himself was strongly opposed to the very idea of making war on the Mughals. They certainly never thought of founding an empire until Balaji Vishwanath and his Marathas returned from Delhi in 1719, with the first hand knowledge of the Imperial politics; and they could not have gained this knowledge but for the violent currents and cross currents convulsing the very core of the empire. It was by a mere chance that the Marathas befriended the Sayyids and were ushered into Delhi, where they had a glimpse of the ghastly rottenness of the empire, and the crumbling condition of the 'prop of the universe' (Mughal Emperor). Here we have to trace the outlines of Delhi politics, the activities of the chief wire-pullers there, and how the Marathas were drawn into their intrigues. It will be clear at the end of the narrative how the Marathas were dazed to witness the degrading condition of the House of Taimur and unwittingly chanced upon the tempting prize of an empire.

Daud Khan Punni the Viceroy of the Deccan (1708-13) agrees to pay the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi to Shahu

By the time of Aurangzeb's death the Mughal Empire was on its downward course, and his weak successors only accelerated the process. The Deccan, like all other imperial subahs, was in a welter of anarchy. When Shahu was released by Azam Shah, he had been granted the right of realizing the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi from the six subahs of the Deccan. Azam Shah however was killed in the battle of Jajau, and when Bahadur Shah came into the Deccan to suppress the rising of Kambakhsh, Shahu rendered military service to him, in return for which he pressed for the confirmation of the rights

granted by Azam Shah. But on account of the rivalry of Tara Bai, who also advanced the claim of her son to the throne of the Maharastra, and to the right of realizing the Sardeshmukhi, the prayers of Shahu could not be granted. Zulfikar Khan took the side of Shahu, while his enemy Munim Khan, that of Tara Bai. At last it was decided that they must fight out their cause, and the victor would have the privileges prayed for. In grim determination they set to the task, and in 1711 Shahu's power was established in Maharastra and that of Tara Bai declined. After the overthrow of Tara Bai, Shahu commissioned his Maratha Sardars to ravage the territory of Mughals. The Deccan was again swarmed by the roving bands of the Marathas. At this time the Imperial Court was in a deplorable condition and was the seed bed of all intrigues. There was no knowing as to what would happen to the Deputy Governor of the Deccan.[1] Daud Khan Punni who had been left as the Deputy Governor of the Deccan, pestered by the Marathas on the one hand, and abandoned by the emperor on the other, made the best of a bad situation, and promised to pay the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi to Shahu for the six Subahs of the Deccan according to the agreement of the Emperor Bahadur Shah. But Daud Khan made it a condition that these taxes were to be collected and paid by his officer Hiraman. The Maratha Generals or Shahu's officers should not rove in the country and collect these taxes.[2] Thus though Shahu had received the Farman for the collection of the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi as far back as 1707, he did not succeed in realizing these till about the year 1712.

NIZAM-UL-MULK AS VICEROY (1713–15) AND HIS PROCEEDINGS

In 1713 Daud Khan Punni was transferred to Gujrat and his place in the Deccan was taken by Nizam-ul-Mulk. He plays an important part in the History of the Marathas, and indeed the Deccan politics till the year 1748 centre round the personality of this remarkable man. Hence, it will not be out of place here to add a few words about him.

Ever since the foundation of the Mughal Empire a steady stream of Muhammedan immigrants had kept on flowing into India from beyond the passes. They often migrated to India with the prospects of trade or service. But besides mere traders and service-seekers there came many a devout pilgrim into India to sail for Mecca from the Indian ports. One of such pilgrims was Khwaja Abid Shaikh-ul-Islam of Bukhara. He was the grand father of Nizam-ul-Mulk. About the year 1655-6 he passed through India on his way to Mecca, and on his return took service with Alamgir. He rose to distinction in the Imperial service, and after him, his eldest son, Ghaziuddin the father of Nizam-ul-Mulk, filled several important offices of the Empire.

'Mir Qamar-ud-din, son of Ghaziuddin Khan by the daughter of 'Shah Jahan's wazir, Sadullah Khan, was born on August 11, '1671. In 1683–84, when in his thirteenth year, he received as his firs

[1] Iradat Khan, *Scott's Deccan*, pt. iv, p. 57.
[2] Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, p. 466.

'appointment in the services of the state the rank of four hundred Zat, 'one hundred horse. In the following year the title of Khan was added to his name. In 1690–91 he received the title of Chin Qilich Khan, 'and at Alamgir's death in 1707 he was Governor of Bijapur. His 'father and he took no part in the contest for the throne between the 'sons of Alamgir; and when Bahadur Shah had succeeded in defeat-'ing his rival, he removed the Turanis from the Dakhin.' Accordingly Ghaziuddin Khan Firoz Jang was sent to Ahmadabad in Gujrat, and Qilich Khan was appointed Subahdar of Oudh and Faujdar of Gorakhpur (December 9, 1707). At the same time the title of Chin Qilich Khan was changed to that of Khan Dauran Bahadur and he was raised to 6,000 Zat, 6,000 horse. 'A few weeks afterwards (January 27, 1708) 'he resigned all his titles and appointments; but at the desire of 'Munim Khan, the Wazir, he withdrew his resignation and was pro-'moted to 7,000 Zat, 7,000 horse. When his father died and the deceased's property was confiscated, Chin Qilich Khan (Khan 'Dauran as he then was) sent in his resignation afresh, February 6, '1711; this time it was accepted and 4,000 rupees a year were granted 'for his support. Quite at the end of Bahadur Shah's reign he return-'ed to the active list with the titles of Ghaziuddin Khan Bahadur Firoz 'Jang. On Bahadur Shah's death, he attempted to espouse the cause 'of Azim-ush-Shan, who long before had promised him high office, 'and he had made one march from Delhi at the head of 3,000 or 4,000 'men, when he heard of the Prince's death. Thereupon he discharged 'his men and retired into private life. Towards the end of Jahandar 'Shah's short reign, he was appointed to the defence of Agra. Then 'he and his cousin were brought over to Farrukhsiyar's interest, 'through Shariyat-Ullah-Khan (Mir Jumla), and as a reward for his 'neutrality he was now made Governor of the whole Dakhin, with the 'new titles first of Khan Khanan, and then of Nizam-ul-Mulk, Bahadur, 'Fateh Jang.'[1]

Activities of Nizam-ul-Mulk in the Deccan (1713–15)

In 1713 he was appointed as the viceroy of the six subahs of the Deccan each of which was under an Amaldar. Ambitious and unscrupulous he wanted to rule over it independently of Delhi, and he turned the troubles prevailing at the court to his own advantage. But he had to reckon with enemies nearer home. These were the Marathas who claimed the black mail on his subahs, and until he was rid of them, he could not get a free hand in his affairs. Hence from the very start of his career in the Deccan he determined to check the growing rapacity of the Marathas. The first step was to stop the payment of the black mail as agreed to by Daud Khan Punni, and then to rally round him all the disaffected chiefs of Maharastra.[2] Chandra Sen Jadhav had fled from Kolhapur, after the overthrow of Shivaji II, to his shelter and he gave him a sumptuous jagir at Bhalki, to the north of Bidar. Another Sardar, Sarje Rao Ghatge left the service of Shahu, and joined his standard. Already there was on his side Rambhaji Nimbalkar, the Thanadar of the important outpost of

[1] Irvine, vol., i, p. 268-72. [2] Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, p. 450.

Mughals, Baramati, near Poona. He became famous later on under the style of Rao Rambha Nimbalkar.[1] Besides these chieftains he artfully won over Shambhaji to his side, on the understanding that he would support him against Shahu. Thus an imposing array of adversaries was formed against Shahu, with Nizam-ul-Mulk as its leader. When the ground plan was complete, he told the Marathas with a show of reason that he could not pay the fixed contribution, because he did not know who the real king of Maharastra was—whether Shahu or Shambhaji. His next move was to foil the attempts of Balaji Vishwnaath, who tried to wipe off the Mughal authority from Poona and its neighbourhood. Balaji Viswanath had taken decisive steps to strengthen his hold on Poona. Recovering Lohgad from Angrey he had left it in charge of his tried friend Ramji Mahadev Bhanu. Mawal to the further west was entrusted to the care of Ramaji's brother Hari Mahadev Bhanu. He took the fort of Purandar from the Sachiv and put it in perfect order. Thus he made Poona secure on all sides.[2] But the Peshwa had yet much to do and Nizam-ul-Mulk had not yet achieved any appreciable success, when owing to the court intrigues at Delhi he was suddenly called back after a reign of only a year and five months, and Sayyid Husain Ali was appointed to his office. That was by the end of 1714, and it upset the plans of the Nizam.[3] He had hardly formed his ambitious schemes, when they came to naught. It was, therefore, with great resentment and disgust that he left the Deccan, and on April 4, 1715 the new Viceroy started from Delhi to assume his charge. This circumstance—the transfer of Nizam-ul-Mulk and the appointment of Sayyid Husain Ali—is fraught with consequences for Maharastra. For the present it relieved Shahu and Balaji Vishwanath from great calamities, and left the country free from a determined enemy, and his blood-thirsty proceedings. The regime of the new Viceroy as we shall presently see forms a landmark in the history of the Marathas.

History of the Sayyid Brothers

In the meantime were happening events at Delhi, that betokened ill for the empire. It was the scene of petty jealousies and mean faction fights. The emperor, Farrukhsiyar, had become a mere tool in the hands of unscrupulous nobles. His inability, and worthlessness had made him contemptible to all. The court had become a hot bed of sedition. There were two parties, one of the Emperor, the other of the Sayyid brothers. The Emperor's party conspired to destroy the power of the Sayyids, and the kingmakers' party plotted to counteract their designs. Many a time it seemed that matters would be pushed to the extreme and the Sayyid brothers would be thrown overboard. But clever and cautious as the Sayyids were, they successfully thwarted all the attempts of the Emperor and still retained their position intact. At last it was arranged that one of the kingmakers should be transferred to the Deccan. Accordingly the younger and the more capable Sayyid, Husain Ali Khan, was appointed to assume the charge of the Deccan as the viceroy in 1715.[4] Before we proceed with the

[1] Rajwade, vol. xx, p. 72.
[2] *Marathi Riyasat*, vol. i, p. 72.
[3] Iradat Khan, *Scott's Deccan*, pt. iv, p. 152.
[4] Irvine, vol. i, pp., 293-300.

narrative, it will not be improper to give a brief account of these Sayyid brothers, who were called the kingmakers, and who were destined to make a signal contribution to the rise of the Marathas.[1]

On the death of Bahadur Shah there ensued a contest for the throne between Jahandar Shah and Azim-Ush-Shan. When the latter was defeated and killed at Lahore, and Jahandar Shah ascended the throne, his son, Farrukhsiyar, prepared to avenge his father's death and to make a bid for the throne. But for the help of the two Sayyid brothers, who were won over by the entreaties of their mother for Farrukhsiyar, he would have been nowhere. Indeed his cause looked hopeless even after the adherence of the Sayyids. But the worthless character of Jahandar, his disgusting vices and revolting favouritism, had alienated many of the right-thinking persons.[2] In the battle of Agra he was defeated owing to the reckless bravery of the Barha

[1] 'The two Sayyid brothers, who now come into such prominence, were not the mere upstarts. men of yesterday, that it was too often the fashion to make them out to be. Besides the prestige of Sayyid lineage, of descent from the famous Barha branch of that race, and the personal renown acquired by their own valour, they were the sons of a man, who had held in Alamgir's reign first the Subahdari of Bijapur in the Dakhin, and then that of Ajmer, appointments given in that reign either to Princes of the blood or to the very foremost men in the state. Their father Sayyid Abdullah Khan, known as Sayyid Miyan, had risen in the service of Ruhullah Khan, Alamgir's Mir Bakshi, and finally, on receiving an imperial mansab, attached himself to the eldest Prince Muhammad Mauzzam Shah Alam.

' Hasan Ali Khan (afterwards Abdullah Khan Qutb-ul-mulk) and Husain Ali Khan, two of the numerous sons of Abdullah Khan Sayyid Miyan, were now men of about forty-six and forty-four years of age respectively. About 1109 H. (1697-8) the elder brother was faujdar of Sultanpur Nazarbar in Baglana, Subah Khandesh after that, of Siuni Hoshangabad also in Khandesh, then again of Nazarbar coupled with Thalner in sarkar Asir of the same subah. Subsequently he obtained charge of Aurangabad. The younger brother Husain Ali Khan, who is admitted by every one to have been a man of much greater energy and resolution than his elder brother, had in Alamgir's reign held charge first of Rantambhor, in subah Ajmer, and then of Hindaun Biana, in subah Agra.

' After Prince Muizz-ud-din, the eldest of Shah Alam's sons, had been appointed in 1106 H. (1694-5) to the charge of the Multan province, Hasan Ali Khan and his brother followed him there. In an expedition against a refractory Biluch Zamindar, the Sayyids were of opinion that the honours of the day were theirs. Muizz-ud-din thought otherwise, and assigned them to his then favourite Isa Khan Main. The Sayyids quitted the service in dudgeon and repaired to Lahor, where they lived in comparative poverty, waiting for employment from Munim Khan, the nazim of that place.

' When Alamgir died and Shah Alam, Bhadur Shah, reached Lahor on his march to Agra to contest the throne, the Sayyids presented themselves, and their services were gladly accepted. They were (Safar 1119 H. May 1707) promoted to the rank of 3,000 and 2,000 horse, respectively with a gift of kettledrums. In the battle of Jajau on the 18, Rabi I. 1119 H. (June 18 1707), they served in the vanguard and fought valiantly on foot, as was the Sayyid habit on an emergency. A third brother, Nur-ud-din Ali, Khan, was left dead on the field, and Husain Ali Khan was severely wounded. Though their rank was raised in Zul Qada 1119 H. (February 1708) to 4,000, and the elder brother received his father's title of Abdullah Khan, they were not treated with such favour as their exceptional services seemed to deserve, either by the new Emperor or his Wazir . . . At length, by the favour of Prince Azim-Ush-Shan, Abdullah Khan on the 21st Zul Qada 1122 H. (January 10, 1711) became that Prince's deputy in the province of Allahabad. About two years earlier (11th Muharram 1120 H., April 1, 1708), the same patron had nominated the younger brother Husain Ali Khan, to represent him in another of his Governments, that of Bihar, of which the capital was at Azimabad Patna.' Irvine vol. i, pp. 202–5.

[2] Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, pp. 432–34 ; *Irvine* vol. i, pp. 192–7.

Sayyids,[1] and Farrukhsiyar ascended the throne after executing Jahandar Shah, in February 1713.[2]

But almost from the first day of the reign there began a misunderstanding between Farrukhsiyar and the Sayyids. Farrukhsiyar soon discovered that he had forged his fetters by his own hands, and hence constantly conspired to get rid of the Sayyids. Mutual suspicions were fanned by Mir Jumla, Khan Dauran, Taqarrub Khan, and other personal friends and favourites of Farrukhsiyar. A few weeks after the battle of Agra, Husain Ali Khan wrote to his brother, who had proceeded to Delhi in advance, 'It was clear from the Prince's talk 'and the nature of his acts, that he was a man, who paid no regard 'to claims for service performed, one void of faith, a breaker of his 'word and altogether without shame. Thus it was necessary for 'them to act in their own interests without regard to the plans of 'the new sovereign.'[3]

At first the disputes ranged round two things: [4] 'The nominations to office, and the appropriation of the confiscated wealth of 'the Jahandarshahi nobles. A third lever for persuading Farrukh-'siyar to get rid of the two Sayyids was found in his superstitious 'fears.' When the younger Sayyid led a campagin against Raja Ajit Singh Rathor of Jodhpur (November 1713–July 1714) because he had forbidden cow-slaughter in his kingdom and the call for prayer from the Alamgiri Mosque, had ejected the imperial officers from Jodhpur and destroyed their houses; had entered the imperial territory and taken possession of Ajmer;[5] the emperor wrote letters to Ajit Singh secretly 'urging him to make away with Husain Ali Khan in any way he could, whereupon the whole of the Bakhshi's property and treasure would become his.'[6] But the emperor was disappointed by the result of the campaign, which ended in a brilliant victory for the Sayyid, and a favourable treaty for the Emperor.

Next he was advised by his party to elevate two nobles of power and position, and place them on an equality with the Sayyids, so that they might be a check to the authority of the two brothers. Gradually their power should be shorn off and 'the two brothers should be caught unattended and made prisoners.' [7] The two men selected to confront the Sayyids were Khan Dauran and Mir Jumla. No order was issued without their advice, and at length through the indiscretion of the palace servants the Sayyids learnt of the plots against their own life. It was rumoured that the Emperor attempted to ruin them, and from this stage the quarrel became public. It was once advised that Itimad-ud-daulah Muhammad Amin Khan should be made wazir in supersession of Abdullah Khan, and if Farrukhsiyar had only made up his mind, he would have easily destroyed the Sayyids. Relying constantly on what others said and never taking a bold initiative in any affair, he undermined the growing strength of his party, and in fact his schemes, often reaching consummation, collapsed on account of his irresolution. At last Farrukhsiyar conceived of a plan to separate the two brothers and then

[1] *L. M.* by Irvine, vol. i., pp. 229–33.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 254–58.
[3] Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii ; Irvine, vol. i, pp. 192–7.
[4] Irvine, vol. i, pp. 282–3.
[5] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 285.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 286.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 293.

to get rid of them one by one. Fortunately for him a proposal was put forward by the Sayyids themselves—praying for their transfer to Bengal and Dakhin, so that they might be away from the heated atmosphere of the court. It was at last decided that Sayyid Husain Ali alone should leave the court and take over the charge of the Dakhin, on condition that Mir Jumla also was sent away to Bihar, and Lutfullah Khan who was at the root of all mischiefs was deprived of his rank. This condition was necessary for the safety of his elder brother Abdullah Khan, who remained at court. On the 4th of April 1715, Husain Ali reported his departure from Delhi.[1] 'He 'took with him power to appoint and remove all officials and 'exchange the commanders of all forts in the Dakhin. Nay, a 'common story is that, under compulsion, Farrukhsiyar made over 'to him the great seal, in order that the warrants of appointment to 'the forts should not require imperial confirmation.' On the eve of his departure he had definitely told the Emperor, 'that in case of 'designs against his brother Koottub-al-Moolk, he would return to 'Dhely in twenty days. . .'[2]

Thus administering a threat to the Emperor and armed with all the authority necessary for independent action he left for the Deccan. Hardly had he turned his back, when new plots were formed, and Daud Khan, then Governor of Ahemadabad, Gujrat, was secretly instructed to resist the Sayyid to the best of his ability and if possible, to kill him.[3] The reward promised was the viceroyalty of the six subahs of the Deccan (22nd July–25th August 1715).[4] As the Sayyid marched into the Deccan Nizam-ul-Mulk passed him on the way, and burning in resentment, did not even pay a visit to him as was the binding etiquette of the court. Then came the alarming news that Daud Khan was preparing to resist him in combination with the Marathas led by Nemaji Sindhia.[5] In great trepidation Husain Ali awaited the encounter with Daud Khan and fortunately defeated and killed him in the battle near Burhanpur on the 6th September, 1715.[6] The defeat was due to the inaction of the Marathas, who withdrew to a distance, and actually joined Sayyid Husain, when the day was won.[7] On the defeat and death of Daud Khan his belongings fell into the hands of the Sayyid and among these were found the letters sent from the court, incriminating the Emperor in the intrigue against him.

Master of the situation Husain Ali now resolved to put down the Marathas. Khande Rao Dabhade, a chief of great power, had set up a number of outposts and realized the Chauth between Surat and Burhanpur, and further claimed the same from Gujrat and the Deccan for Shahu. Husain Ali at first deputed his commander Zulfikar Beg against Dabhade, but the latter tired the Mughal soldiers by a series of rapid marches, and at length surrounded them in the mountainous regions, and cut off Zulfikar Beg with his troops.[8] It came as a

[1] Irvine, vol. i, p. 303. [2] Iradat Khan, *Scott's Deccan*, part iv, p. 140.
[3] Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, p. 452.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 451.
[5] Iradat Khan, *Scott's Deccan*, part iv, p. 140.
[6] Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, p. 453; Iradat Khan, *Scott*, part iv, p. 141.
[7] Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, pp. 453–4.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 463.

shock to the Sayyid. He was not aware of the power of the Marathas, and this humiliation rankled in his heart. He made more vigorous preparation for his reduction. But Dabhade who seemed not to take notice of it went to Satara and paid his court to Shahu, who in recognition of his services appointed him the Senapati in the place of Man Singh More.[1] This elevation of Dabhade made the Sayyid more cautious and this time he deputed his Diwan Muhakkam Singh and his own brother Saif-ud-din, Subahdar of Burhanpur, against him. 'These 'two famous chiefs pursued Khandu in the hope of retaliating upon 'him, or of removing his posts so that they might no longer trouble 'the country and people of Khandesh. But they accomplished 'nothing.'[2] A contested battle was fought near Ahmadnagar, with indecisive results. The Mughals were harassed everywhere and it appeared as if their sway would be stamped out from the Deccan in spite of the presence of the ablest man of the empire. Shahu was not slow to take advantage of these victories. He commissioned Dabhade to levy contributions on Gujrat and Kathiawad. The news of these discomfitures suffered by the Sayyid at the hands of the Marathas elated the emperor and he wrote urging them to make war on his viceroy without respite.[3] This was just the thing the Marathas wanted, and encouraged by the emperor they harassed the Viceroy incessantly. But when Husain Ali was apprised of the underhand dealings of the emperor, he completely changed his attitude towards the Marathas and recalled Muhakkam Singh to the head quarters.[4] He knew there was only one way out of it, and in utter disgust, he proceeded to make the best of a bad affair. On the advice of Shaikh Zada Anwar Khan of Burhanpur, he opened overtures for an alliance with the Marathas and sent as his envoy Shankaraji Malhar, who had been the Sachiv in the reign of Raja Ram.[5] In his old age Shankaraji had retired to Benares and thence he had gone to Delhi.[6] At this time he was in the Mughal camp as the Karbhari of Sayyid Husain Ali. Shankaraji met Balaji Vishwanath, and after a good deal of deliberation on both sides, it was decided that the following conditions should constitute the treaty :—

(i) All the territory comprising the Swarajya of Shivaji, including all the forts therein, should be handed over to Shahu.

(ii) The portions of Kandesh, Gondwana, Berar, Haidarabad and Karnatak, conquered by the Marathas, should also be resigned to Shahu to be added to Swarajya.

(iii) The Chauth and Sardeshmukhi over the six subahs of the Deccan should be assigned to Shahu, who in return for the Chauth should maintain a contingent of fifteen thousand Maratha troops for the service of the Emperor, and in return for the Sardeshmukhi should maintain peace and order in the six subahs of the Deccan.

(iv) Shahu should not molest Shambhaji of Kolhapur.

[1] Rajwade, vol. ii, p. 28.
[2] Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, p. 464.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 464.
[4] Iradat Khan, *Scott's Deccan*, part iv, p. 151.
[5] Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, p. 466.
[6] Rajwade, vol. ii, pp. 29-30 ; Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, p. 466 ; थो: शा: च: p. 49.

(v) Shahu should pay an annual tribute of ten lacs of rupees.

(vi) The mother and family of Shahu, and Madan Singh (the son of Shambhaji by a concubine) who are in the custody of the Emperor at Delhi should be sent back home.[1]

These terms were accepted as a whole, with slight changes here and there in February 1718. Shahu proceeded to act upon the treaty as soon as it was ratified by the Sayyid. But when the Emperor got it, and was requested to ratify it, he simply rejected it with indignation. Nothing was further from his intentions than that Sayyid Husain Ali should make 'peace and bind the Marathas to his interest'.[2]

Significance of the Treaty

Whatever the emperor might do Sayyid Husain Ali had accepted it; and his acceptance was a matter of necessity rather than of choice. The peculiar circumstances of his situation had forced his hands, and it was with great hesitation that he had concluded the treaty. It proved advantageous to him and the country got a short respite from 'the calamities of war and its attendant famine which had vexed 'Deccan for a long series of years no doubt, but the governors of 'districts and farmers of revenue were more distressed than ever as 'they had now three collectors, one for the presence, one for the 'Choute, and a third for the Deesmukee.' Nevertheless the treaty came as a God-send to the Marathas. Vast privileges and important demands were conceded to them. They were recognized as more or less supreme in their own country, and on account of their being entrusted with the maintenance of peace and order they automatically acquired sovereign rights. They maintained fifteen thousand troops for the service of the emperor but at the cost of the Deccan viceroy. This was a very profitable subsidiary alliance formed by the Marathas long before Lord Wellesley. In short, the treaty made the viceroy dependent on the Marathas for military help and for the maintenance of peace and order. It is, therefore, a landmark in Maratha history.

The credit after all goes to the man who formulated the treaty. That was Balaji Viswanath one of the 'most intelligent generals of Rajah Shahu' as Khafi Khan remarks.[3] Once again he rendered a signal service to his country. Shahu's position was made not only unshakable but respectable, not only in the eyes of the Marathas but of the Mughals also. His prestige was enormously enhanced after this treaty, and no less was that of Balaji Viswanath. If Shahu was revered as a good king, Balaji Viswanath was both revered and regarded as the saviour of the country. Such was the significance of the treaty. It profited the Sayyid; it won sovereign right for the Marathas; it enhanced the prestige of the Peshwa.

[1] Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, p. 467; Iradat Khan, *Scott's Deccan*, part iv, p. 152; Rajwade, vol. viii, Doc. 78, pp. 102-8; Rajwade, vol. ii, pp. 30-31;

थो: शा: च: pp. 51 and 52.

[2] Iradat Khan, *Scott's Deccan*, part iv, p. 152.

[3] Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, p. 466.

Husain Ali's departure for Delhi

But amidst all his activities Husain Ali kept a close eye on the affairs at the imperial court. In the meantime his brother's position at Delhi had become extremely perilous. Not only had the emperor's wrath dogged him into the Deccan ; his perfidious conduct had thrown his brother into a critical situation. Dark webs of intrigue were closing round him, and there was no knowing when he might be undone.

Between 1715–17, the Emperor started on a series of hunting expeditions, of which the principal object was to form plans and find opportunities to make away with Abdullah Khan. New favourites were created. Nizam-ul-Mulk who had reasons to be hostile towards the Sayyids threw in his lot with the Emperor's Party and Khan Dauran and Mir Amin Khan hitherto the chief advisors of the Emperor were removed to make room for a Kashmiri favourite Muhammad Murad. Unprecedented honours were bestowed on him in almost bewildering succession and his rapid rise disgusted many of the sober and right thinking men. Nizam-ul-Mulk found it difficult to remain on good terms with the men of Farrukhsiyar's confidence, and withdrew to his new governorship of Muradabad in April 1717. But Muhammad Murad felt that he was not the man to encounter the Sayyids in the open. Hence he advised some of the powerful commanders to be called to the court. One by one Sarbuld Khan, Maharaja Ajit Singh and Nizam-ul-Mulk were summoned to effect the deliverance of the Emperor from the hated tutelage of the Sayyids, and each one of them, who came with high hopes, was alienated by the blind favouritism of Farrukhsiyar. Everyone's claims and everyone's abilities were subordinated to Muhammad Murad's, and hence they left the Emperor in disgust to side with the Sayyids. On August 27, 1728 the Emperor attempted to seize Abdullah Khan but failed. In September there were also dark designs against Abdullah Khan, who wrote to his brother to come back to Delhi as quickly as possible.[1] (September 29, 1718).

Soon after his brother's letter reached Sayyid Husain he made ready to leave the Deccan. About November 1718 he started from Aurangabad at the head of 8,000 or 9,000 of his own troops and about sixteen thousand Marathas under the command of Khanderao Dabhade accompanied by Balaji Vishwanath and Santaji Bhonsle.[2] The Maratha leaders ' received horses and elephants, robes of honour, ' and money for expenses, with many promises of future reward in ' addition to the release of Rajah Sambha's wife and son. These ' promises included ratification of the treaty for a grant of the Chauth ; ' grant of the Sardeshmukhi, ... and a confirmation of the ' hereditary Maratha territory or Swaraj. Each Maratha trooper was ' to receive from the Viceroy's treasure chest half a rupee, or, as some ' say, a rupee a day.'[3] Thus reinforced by the Marathas, and his heart easy with regard to his government of the Deccan on account of the recent treaty with them, he reported to the court that the Dakhin climate did not agree with him, and that he wanted to present to the

[1] Iradat Khan, *Scott's Deccan*, part iv, pp. 152–54 ; Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, pp. 469–71 ; Irvine, vol. i, pp. 339–53.

[2] Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, p. 472.

[3] Irvine, vol. i, pp. 359–60.

Emperor a son of the rebel prince Akbar (Aurangzib's son) by name Muinuddin who had been captured by Rajah Shahu. Farrukhsiyar ordered him to Ahmedabad for a charge and to send Muinuddin to Delhi. Without paying any heed to these orders Husain Ali started for Delhi, left Burhanpur on December 14, and Ujjain on December 26, 1718.

As he approached, consternation seized the imperial court and Farrukhsiyar's schemes one by one fell through. The Emperor sent his messenger Ikhlas Khan who was supposed to have great influence with the Sayyid, to persuade him to return.[1] By the end of December 1718 he met the Sayyid at Mandu, and instead of persuading him to return filled his ears with all sorts of alarming news. Ikhlas Khan had carried a Farman from the Emperor signifying the acceptance of all the conditions of the Viceroy's treaty with the Marathas. The Emperor had further appended a message to it that though he desired much to see his Mir Bakhshi, yet it would be unwise to advise him to come to Delhi, for the Marathas might trouble his government in his absence. The clever Sayyid wrote back to say that, 'when on reaching 'Malwa, Ikhlas Khan had delivered to him the Farman, he had at once 'made ready to return. But the officers of the Mahratta Rajah, who 'were in his company at the head of a large force, swore that unless 'he remained, they could never secure the release of the Rajah's 'mother and brother.[2] Now if they were to suspect him of treachery, the consequences might be dreadful.' On these pretexts he disregarded the order to return to Dakhin. His way was made clear on account of the withdrawal of Mahammad Amin Khan Chin from Malwa without orders. He had been posted there with the specific order to prevent the Viceroy from coming to Delhi. His withdrawal enraged the Emperor, but there was no help.[3]

At length Delhi was entered on February 16, 1719 'with sovereign state, kettle-drums beating and clarions sounding' in entire disregard of the prevalent custom. Fear seized all men great and small, and there were wild rumours afloat throughout the city. Raja Jai Singh advised Farrukhsiyar at this crisis 'to take the field and fall upon the Sayyids' and promised his whole-hearted support to him. But 'the 'infatuated Emperor persisted in his attempt to buy off the Sayyids by 'concession after concession; and a few days afterwards,[4] yielding to 'the insistence of Qutab-ul-Mulk, he, by a note written with his own 'hand, ordered Rajah Jai Singh and Rao Budh Singh to march from 'Delhi to their own country.' Thus he sent away his staunch adherents from his side, and now his fall was inevitable. On February 27, hot words and undesirable expressions were exchanged between the Emperor and the Sayyids in consequence of which the latter posted a strong guard round the palace, and thus had the Emperor in their custody.

'At last the fateful morning dawned on February 28, 1719. Only 'an hour or an hour-and-a-half after daybreak, a great disturbance 'arose in the city. Muhammad Amin Khan Chin Bahadur and Zakariya 'Khan, at the desire apparently of Husain Ali Khan, were on their way at the head of their Mughals to attend the Sayyid's darbar. As the

[1] Iradat Khan *Scott's Deccan*, part iv, p. 155. [2] Irvine, vol. i, pp. 361–2.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 373. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 376.

'crowd of Mahrattas in the streets and lanes near the fort impeded their 'progress, the Mughals began to push them forcibly on one side and 'open, a route for the two Nawabs and their retinue.' Upon this there ensued a scuffle, in which the Marathas suffered terribly. Taken on all sides, by the Mughal troops and the city rabble, they lost about 1,500 to 2,000 men on that day along with two or three leaders of repute, Santaji Bhonsle being the chief among them.[1] Late on that day the Sayyids entered the palace, declared Farrukhsiyar deposed and set up Prince Rafiud Darajat on the throne. Then followed a scene the like of which had never been enacted in the palace of the Imperial Mughals. It came as a rude shock to the sense of loyalty of the people of Delhi, and to the Marathas who though not loyal, yet retained a great respect for the power and prestige of the House of Taimur. Poor Farrukhsiyar a prisoner in his palace was 'dragged out with great indignity' to the presence of Kutab-ul-Mulk Abdullah Khan and was ordered to be blinded in that Diwan-i-Khas where he was wont to sit in state, and at whose entrance Shah Jahan has inscribed those memorable lines :—

'Agair Fidaus Bar Ruhe Zamin Ast,
Hamin Ast, O Hamin Ast, O Hamin Ast.'

i.e., if there is a heaven on earth, it is this, it is this, it is this. But even worse fate awaited the occupant of the Peacock throne. After he was blinded he was confined in a room above the Tirpoliya gate 'a bare, dark, unfurnished hole containing nothing but a bowl for food, a pot of water for ablutions, and a vessel with some drinking water'. Fitting paraphernalia for a descendant of the Grand Mughal indeed! He lived there, in that lonely cell for a few weeks till at last he was strangled to death on April 28, with marks of dishonour on the body. Thus ended one of the saddest episodes of the Delhi Court.

Balaji's return to Maharastra

A few days after the accession of the new Sovereign, Rafiud Darajat, Balaji Vishwanath received in confirmation of each of the main provisions of the treaty, a Farman from the Emperor. One, dated March 13, granted the Marathas the Chauth of the six Subahs of the Deccan including the tributary states of Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Maisur. Another, dated March 24, granted them the Sardeshmukhi over the Deccan, and the third confirmed Shahu, in the possession of the Swarajya of Shivaji at the time of his death in 1681.[2] Besides these grants, the mother and family of Shahu, along with Madan Singh were released and were given over to Balaji Vishwanath.

Consequences of the Journey of the Marathas to Delhi.

This journey of the Marathas to Delhi produced far-reaching consequences in their history. Besides its immediate advantages it deeply coloured the later policy of the Marathas, and came as an eye-opener to them in many respects. For long the Marathas, who had

[1] Iradat Khan, *Scott's Deccan*, part iv, p. 161.

[2] Irvine, vol. i, p. 407. थो: शा: च: p. 55.

looked upon the imperial power and prestige with awe, witnessed at Delhi what that power actually meant. The halo of glory that surrounded the name of the descendants of Babar and Akbar, to whom the President of Fort William addressed as 'the Absolute Monarch and Prop of the Universe,' vanished into the lurid light of utter contempt when the Marathas found them reduced to mere tools at the hands of the unscrupulous courtiers, and dragged to dishonour and ignominous death. Delhi reeking with blood, courtiers thriving in machination, the Emperor an instrument of the ambitious nobles, the central authority levelled to the dust—all these revealed the realities about the Mughal Empire. Long before their great king Shivaji had proved to his people that the Mughal army was not invincible, and the Mughal territory not inviolable. Further they had been sufficiently disillusioned with regard to the real strength of the Mughals during their war of independence (1690--1707). Now they realized full well that the Mughal Empire was rotten to the core, that it could never sustain its pristine glory and perhaps, who knows, it might fall to the powerful blows of the Marathas: Balaji Vishwanath a shrewd man of affairs as he was, must have seen with the eyes of a statesman that now the splendid structure of the Mughal Empire was tottering to its fall, and was a prize worth attempting, and worth fighting for. His other Maratha leaders must have conceived similar idea. They must have conjured up to their minds a glorious picture of Hindusthan, the home-land of Hinduism and the treasure-house of Asia—a land consecrated by a thousand memories of Shri Ram and Shri Krishna so dear to the Hindu heart. This holy land, this rich country they must have thought, would be theirs, if they could but overthrow the Mughals. And then what a difference it would make to Maharastra! Maharastra, sterile and rugged, where 'nature enforces a spartan simplicity', would flow in riches, milk and honey! The gorgeous paraphernalia of the nobles; the polished luxury of the inhabitants, their manners and customs, health and beauty, bearing and speech all testifying to a cultured society; the verdant plains of the Ganges and the Jumna, the flower and foliage, the delightful sun and shade,—all these must have captivated the eyes and imagination, of the rough, crude but intelligent Chitpavan Brahmin, Balaji Vishwanath.

And was this all? No. The prestige of their presence at the imperial capital, not as mercenaries, but as the allies and supporters of the *King makers*, held out to them a promise that they might some day make and un-make Emperors. Indeed it was the surest basis on which Balaji Vishwanath could confidently build his policy of founding a Maratha empire on the ruins of the Mughal empire. Actuated by this ambition, he took the preliminary steps when he passed through the Rajput states in order to form friendship with them. He knew that the Mughals and the Rajputs were gradually drifting away from each other. Ten years back the premier chiefs of Rajputana—of Jaipur, Jodhpur and Udaipur—had 'openly shewed their designs to fight for independence in close alliance with each other'.[1] They had failed to co-operate, and therefore they had suffered in their struggles with the Mughals. But now the disorderly condition of the empire

[1] Iradat Khan, *Scott's Deccan*, part iv, p. 58.

was very favourable to their designs. And Balaji deliberately marched through their country, in order to 'help in their designs', thus paving the way for the work of Baji Rao. Jai Singh of Jaipur, as is well known, was a great friend of Baji Rao. In 1719, Baji Rao was about twenty and Jai Singh thirty. It is possible that Baji Rao who accompanied his father might have met Jai Singh at this time, and might have won his friendship. Whatever it might be it is important to bear in mind that the Peshwa rightly foresaw the utility of Rajput friendship for the foundation of a Maratha Empire and therefore made a move in that direction.

Besides these far-reaching consequences, the journey brought immediate gain to Shahu and his government. Balaji used to get fifty thousand rupees every day from the Sayyids, and when he returned, he brought with him an amount of thirty-two lacs for Shahu's treasury. So long as he lived there was no financial stress in the government. These gains further strengthened the position of Shahu, and surrounded the name of the first Peshwa with a halo of glory. Balaji also received Sardeshmukhi of five mahals as his reward in addition to what he possessed already. Here was another step towards the rise of the Peshwas.

Thus this journey of the Marathas to Delhi is a momentous episode in their history.

(*To be continued.*)

The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai (1736-1761)

BY

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IV

I. MAHFUZ KHAN'S ADVANCE ON MADRAS AND DEFEAT

DUPLEIX received frequent communications regarding the distribution of Mahfuz Khan's forces. According to a letter which reached Pondicherry on November 4, 1746, Mahfuz Khan was encamped on the foreshore of the Nungambakkam Tank ; and his army lay at the Governor's Garden[1] (the present General Hospital and Medical College grounds, to the north-west of the Fort). Some of the Muhammadans in order to facilitate their approach to the walls of the Fort and of the Black Town in a general assault, made an effort to cut away the bar of surf-driven sand at the mouth of the Cooum and the North River, in order to drain their waters, particularly of the latter stream which formed a wet ditch to the west side of the Fort by which it passed. At the same time they took possession of a spring (The Seven Wells in the north of Peddunaickenpetta) lying to the north of the Black Town which was the only source of supply of good water to the inhabitants. M. Barthēlemy who was in charge of Madras in the absence M. d' Esprēmēnil, rearmed the walls of Black Town ; but he had orders from Pondicherry to remain strictly on the defensive. However when his water-supply was cut off, he was forced to sally out on an attack.[2] On November 2, M. de la Tour with a body

[1] M. Barthēlemy's *Letter* to Dupleix (p. 75 of vol. iii of the *Diary*).

[2] Orme says that the operations of the Nawab's troops showed 'a degree of intelligence very uncommon in the military operations of the Moors.' On finding their communication with the spring interrupted, the French opened fire from the bastions of the Black and White Towns on the enemy troops who had spread round to the northward, thus completely investing Madras. The fire produced their quick retreat from the river-bar and other places which were exposed to it ; but they still kept possession of the ground near the spring which was out of the reach of cannon-shot from the bastions. The Muhammadans were also joined by the Pedda Naick with his peons and a body of Poligars (Orme ; *History of Indostan*, 4th. ed., vol. i, p. 74).

of 400 men and two field-pieces marched out of the town, attacked the troops in the Governor's Garden and to the west of it and put them to a total rout.[1] "Before a shot could reach his camp, Mahfuz Khan had mounted his elephant and escaped. After pursuing the fugitives for upwards of five Indian hours, the French troops returned to the camp from which the Muhammadans had fled, and plundered the valuables found there.' Dupleix was overjoyed at this news and imagined that after this repulse Mahfuz Khan would come to his senses, and sue for peace, giving out that he would be going back to Arcot on account of the Nawab's illness. He even expressed a desire to proceed to Madras in order to settle matters personally.

Mahfuz Khan collected all his troops into one camp about two miles to the west of the town, but hearing that Dupleix had despatched a fresh detachment from Pondicherry, he quitted his post the next day (November 3) and took possession of San Thomé, which the French reinforcement under M. Paradis expected to reach on the morning of the 6th and where it would be joined by a body of equal strength issuing out from Madras under the command of M. de la Tour, the hero of the previous encounter. Mahfuz Khan took up a position on the northern bank of the Adyar River and planted his artillery on the bank, thus preparing to prevent the crossing of Paradis. The detachment under de la Tour which was to issue from Madras failed to arrive in time to attack the enemy from the northern side. On the morning of November 4, Paradis's detachment forded the river in the face of the enemy's fire which 'as usual was very ill served'. As soon as they gained the northern bank, they fell on the enemy with their bayonets; the Nawab's line broke and retreated into the town of San Thomé, 'where they again made a show

[1] The work of the two French field-pieces was so much superior to the awkward management of the enemy's clumsy artillery which could fire only once in a quarter of an hour. The first discharge of the field-pieces threw the whole body of the enemy into confusion; 'however they kept their ground some time, as if waiting for an intermission of the fire; but finding that it continued with vivacity, they took to flight with great precipitation.' The French did not lose a man in the attack. (See Orme, vol. i., p. 75; *Malleson's History of the French in India* (1893), p. 193; and the letter of Barthēlemy to Dupleix quoted above). Ranga Pillai got a similar account of the battle from Guruvappa Chetty and caused a copy of it to be made in his correspondence-register for the purpose of reference (Entry in the *Diary* for November 4.)

of resistance from behind some pallisades which they had planted in different parts of the south side.' After a brief resistance the whole army of Mahfuz Khan fled to the westward and soon afterwards retired to Arcot. [1]

Paradis had no guns during the action ; but he was a most capable officer and resolved to face the enemy though the promised co-operation from the Madras garrison did not come. To retreat would have but too surely invited the cavalry charge of the enemy eager to avenge their defeat of two days previously. Thus he plunged without hesitation into the river, and led his infantry and his raw Indian troops, to attack the three arms of the enemy, ten times their superior in numbers. Paradis had made himself very acceptable to Dupleix by his violent opposition to La Bourdonnais and was now raised to be the Governor of Madras after the victory. Of course Dupleix would not

[1] The French fire was so hot and quick for the Muhammadans that their horse and foot fell back promiscuously on each other in the narrow streets of San Thomé. ' The confusion of the throng was so great that they remained for some time exposed to the fire of the French, without being able to make resistance, or to retreat. Many were killed before the whole army could get out of the town and gain the plain to the westward.' Mahfuz Khan was one of the first to escape Scarcely had the Muhammadans fled out of the town when the detachment of de la Tour arrived and assisted in the pillaging of the enemy's baggage. The French troops were reported to have murdered some of the Moors whom they found concealed in the houses they were plundering. Dupleix informed the Diarist that de la Tour only joined Paradis after San Thomé had been pillaged, only at Triplicane. Orme, Love and Malleson say otherwise. According to the Diarist Dupleix was very angry that de la Tour should not have effected his junction with Paradis a little earlier in which case the Muhammadans would have been completely crushed. ' Want of promptitude on his part spoiled the undertaking.' (Diarist's entry for November 7). Only two Mahē sepoys were wounded on the French side, while 200 to 300 men fell on the enemy's side.

This battle is regarded by Malleson as one of the most memorable of Indian battles, ' being the first of its kind, that it proved to the surprise of both parties, the absolute and overwhelming superiority of the disciplined European soldier to his Asiatic rival.' It reversed the positions of the Nawab and the French Governor and was ' the first decided step to the conquest of Hindustan by an European power.' (*History of the French in India*, pp. 195-196 ; and *Decisive Battles of India*, 4th ed., pp. 14-17). The prestige and the *morale* were transferred henceforth from the Muhammadans to the European settlers. In consequence of this transfer, every subsequent battle of the European with the Indian was half-won, before it had been fought. The contemporary Orme says that the French by this battle broke through the charm of the timorous opinion about the courage and bravery of the Muhammadan troops, ' by defeating a whole army with a single battalion '. The same opinion of the significance of the battle is expressed by Dupleix himself in his own *Memoires* (See Mill's *History of British India* (1858), vol. iii, p. 52).

think of giving Madras into the Nawab's hands [1] and declared thus: 'We cannot give Madras up without orders from our King. The restoration of the fort does not rest with us. So long as we have life left we will not surrender it.' Mahfuz Khan asked that his younger brother, Muhammad Ali, should join him with reinforcements at Conjeevaram where he was staying. Muhammad Ali had but lately returned from a campaign against the Marathas under the order of the Nizam ; and conflicting rumours were received from Arcot, some of them condeming the action of Mahfuz Khan and others threatening an attack on Madras to be undertaken by Nawab Anwar-ud-din himself, if the French should not hand the place over to him immediately.

II. The French Occupation of Madras

Dupleix now resolved to annul openly the treaty of ransom which had been made by M. de la Bourdonnais of the exact terms of which our Diarist was ignorant. Paradis who had been notoriously hostile to La Bourdonnais and all his works was now in sole charge of Madras ; and was, according to the Diarist, 'living on plunder and

[1] Dupleix wrote letters to the Nizam informing him of the doings of Mahfuz Khan in (supposed) defiance of his father's orders, the defeats sustained by him in the two battles of Madras, the taking of Madras by the French under the (pretended) authority of Anwar-ud-din, the capture of French vessels by the English and their tricks and the seizure of a ship bearing the Emperor's flag. A like letter was written to Imam Sahib requesting him to explain the situation to the Nizam. (substance of letters written from Pondicherry as entered by the Diarist for November 12).

To a conciliatory letter written by the rather friendly Hussain Sahib from Arcot requesting the delivering of Madras into the hands of Mahfuz Khan, with a veiled threat that a refusal would bring about a united attack on Madras both by land and sea—on land by the combined forces of the Subhadars of Cuddapah and other places, Yachama Nayak and other poligars ; and on sea by the English with thirty ships—the Governor sent a reply of adamant refusal (pp. 104–5 of vol. iii of the *Diary*). The Diarist also sent, by direction of Dupleix a circular letter to the Poligars of Karunguzhi, Kaverippak, Arni, Gingee and other places complaining of the unjustifiable conduct of Mahfuz Khan in having provoked the French to war and having imprisoned their envoys and put them in chains. The elder brother of Chanda Sahib was glad at the turn of events, characterized the defeat of Mahfuz Khan as a judgment inflicted on him by Providence and entreated Dupleix to take steps for the liberation of Chanda Sahib and to inflict other measures of punishment on Anwar-ud-din Khan's sons. Dupleix had always clearly perceived the necessity of winning over the good will of the Poligar chiefs who formed the feudal backbone of the Carnatic administration.

taking his ease.'[1] The English at Madras were paroled, according to the custom obtaining in Europe; and it was further intimated that they were preparing to leave the place. Not a vestige of the Muhammadans was to be seen in Mylapore from which even the Gujaratis, Tamils and Telugus had fled to the Chingleput Pāḷaiyam. Inducements were offered to the merchants of Madras to settle at Pondicherry; and the goods of the English Company which had been seized were now transferred to Pondicherry. On November 11, Paradis formally proclaimed that the treaty was annulled[2] and that Madras was the property of the French East India Company for the King of France. Morse, the ex-Governor of Madras, Monson, the Deputy-Governor and several other Englishmen were sent over to Pondicherry. Paradis put his manifesto into execution with great rigour. Dupleix under pretence of doing honour to Morse caused him to enter the town in an ostentatious procession which exposed him to the view of the crowd; and Ranga Pillai well remarks: 'It may be imagined, then, how much Mr. Morse must have felt his position, when the eyes of all the people in the town were thus concentrated on him. To picture the grief which he must have experienced and the measure of it is not in my power.'[3] The fortunes of many of the English inhabitants of Madras were ruined; and several of its military officers refused to give their parole alleging that the breach of the treaty of ransom released them from their obligation; they escaped from the settlement by night and reached Fort St. David which had

[1] Paradis plundered Mylapore both on the day of his victory and later in a methodical manner and completely gutted it. Many of the Madras merchants were ruined by the sack of Mylapore. 'That (the plunder) of Madras when it was seized by the French was nothing compared with it.' (Diarist's entry for November 25, p. 134 of vol. iii.) The Diarist puts down five lakhs of pagodas as a modest estimate of the value of the spoil taken by the French at Mylapore. The plunder of Mylapore was a sore grievance in the eyes of the Nawab and his officials and was obviously a target of attack on the French for long.

[2] The proclamation allowed those who took an oath of fidelity to the French King, the liberty of continuing in Madras and carrying on their trade as formerly. Those who refused to take the oath, but were inclined to go to Pondicherry, were permitted to do so; others could have passports to go where they pleased upon their parole, within two days; they should not however reside at St. Thomas' Mount or at Cattiwak by Ennore. (Letter of Mr. Godwin, Senior Merchant of Madras, to Mr. Hinde at Fort St. David, detailing the conditions forced on the English at Madras—*Factory Records*, Fort St. David, vol. v, November 5, 1746—quoted by H. D. Love—vol. ii, pp. 375–76).

[3] Entry for November 24 (p. 131 of vol. iii of the *Diary*), Malleson's view is different, but not authoritative.

recovered from its alarm and to which merchants were now slowly returning. The young Clive was one of those who escaped from Madras to Fort St. David.[1]. It was only in August 1747 that Governor Morse who had been exchanged for M. Le Ris, Governor of Mahē, was allowed to go to Fort St. David, where he remained till he was summoned to go to England to give an account of his conduct at Madras from the time that the French took possession of the place.

About the middle of November, 1746, Paradis took measures to safeguard the White Town, and blew up the Governor's Garden House lying to its west. He made a survey[2] of the Fort (White Town) which served as the basis of a map published in La Bourdonnais' *Memoire*. Later, in the course of 1747, the Black Town was repopulated its fortifications were completely levelled to the ground; and all its houses lying within one hundred and twenty yards of the north wall of the Fort were razed to the ground ; while certain additions on the west were made to the fortifications of the White Town. Paradis was succeeded by D' Esprēmēnil as the Governor of Madras early in 1747 ; and the latter tried to induce many of the Tamil merchants who had abandoned the town to come back to it. The English Company when they heard of the loss of Madras raised Fort St. David to be their chief settlement on the coast and appointed John Hinde, its chief, to be the President and Governor, with Major Stringer Lawrence as the commandant of the garrison. The Company forbade the Council of Fort St. David to enter into any treaty with the country government or any other power regarding the payment of any ransom for the redelivery of Madras; and even in case the Nawab should restore the settlement to them, it should only be kept very bare, and all effects in it ought to be removed to Fort St. David,[3] which henceforward came to be the target for Dupleix's attacks.

[1] Sir John Malcolm says in his *Life of Clive* (vol. i, p. 46) that he escaped disguised as 'a native'. He took part in all the fighting at Fort St. David and got his commission there in 1747 and was present at the siege of Pondicherry in 1748 and became the Deputy-Governor of Fort St. David (1756).

[2] In this plan, a copy of which has been prepared for Love's work, the environs of the town are incorporated, which are admittedly drawn from memory and therefore not correctly depicted. 'The map was afterwards reproduced with all its errors by many publishers both French and English.' (See Love, vol. ii, note 1, on p. 377 ; and map opposite to p. 356.)

[3] Proceedings from England, dated July 24, 1747—quoted in full by Love. (*Public Despatches from England*, vol. 51, pp. 47–49) ; *Vide* pp. 53–54 of H. Dodwell's *Calendar of the Madras Despatches* (*1744–1755*).

III. DUPLEIX AND THE NAWAB—FIRST FRENCH ATTACKS ON FORT ST. DAVID

The *killedars* of the neighbourhood, so far as the ideas expressed by them in their replies to Dupleix's messages are reflected by the Diarist, were not annoyed at the defeat of Mahfuz Khan or at the sentiments expressed by the French Governor. The *killedar* of Timiri condemned the action of the Muhammadans in having imprisoned the three French envoys and declared that their proper course was to be friendly with the French as far as possible. Muhammad Miyan of Chidambaram expressed similar sentiments; the chief of Karunguzhi wrote of his condemnation of the attitude of Mahfuz Khan. Dupleix wrote to Anwar-ud-din, on the one hand, saying that he was willing to restore Madras if the latter would grant territory including Villianallur and the surrounding taluk yielding an annual revenue of 20,000 pagodas; and on the other he ordered that letters should be sent to Raghuji Bhonsle, the Peishwa and Raja Shahu complaining of the misgovernment of the country by Anwar-ud-din, bewailing the disappearance of the Navayat family (of Sadat-allah Khan) from rule and indirectly urging the release of Chanda Sahib from captivity,[1] so that trouble might be fomented for the old Nawab. He secretly planned the capture of Fort St. David and the surrounding villages from the English and in his own tortuous way

[1] In the first draft of the letter to be sent to the Marathas, it was written: 'If you send Chanda Sahib, I (Dupleix) will be responsible for the money payable by him.' The Diarist suggested that his master should not commit himself to the obligation of ransom in that explicit way; and consequently the following words were substituted: 'As regards the amount for which Chanda Sahib holds himself liable, I (Dupleix) will endeavour to collect it, as your agent.' I will use all my influence to ensure that this money reaches you. Without my help he would not be able to collect a cash.' It appears from Ranga Pillai's *Diary* that Nawab Safdar Ali, shortly before his assassination, had promised his mother to ransom Abid Sahib, the son of Chanda Sahib, by paying five lakhs of rupees, and that his agent, Kasi Das Bukkanji, had been actually given that amount. These letters of Dupleix were sent on December 5, along with a letter to Muhammad Ali Khan, the elder brother of Chanda Sahib at Satara and another to the latter from the wife of Chanda Sahib, imploring him that this was the proper time for him to advance against Arcot and imprison Anwar-ud-din with the help of French guns and sepoys and the support of Murtaza Ali Khan of Vellore. (See pp. 141–3 and pp. 149–50 of the *Diary*, vol. iii.)

attempted through his agent at Arcot to get the sanction of the Nawab for his intended expedition.[1]

Muhammad Ali, the younger son of Anwar-ud-din, who had written a letter of expostulation to Dupleix, expressing a desire therein to preserve the French alliance on condition of Dupleix showing his loyalty to the old Nawab, received nothing but a complimentary reply to the effect that the sole desire of the French was to retain his friendship. When it was known at Pondicherry that the old Nawab was suffering from acute diarrhœa and that written instructions had been despatched both to Mahfuz Khan and Muhammad Ali not to move from their stations, Dupleix became more open. Mahfuz Khan's advance from Sriperumbudur further east and Husain Sahib's continued detention of the French prisoners at Arcot gave him further justification. He schemed boldly for the release of Chanda Sahib from Maratha captivity and for the deposition of Anwar-ud-din and his two sons from rule. Paradis had been recalled from Madras in order to lead the projected attack on Fort St. David; he was harrassed on his way near Tirupporur by Mahfuz Khan's troops and had to fight his way through to Sadras where a reinforcement of 200 soldiers and 150 sepoys was ordered to join him from Pondicherry.[2]

Dupleix took measures to make it appear that he had a large number of soldiers and sepoys in Pondicherry. His men marched

[1] The French *vakil* at Arcot reported that the Nawab could not be approached on this matter and the idea of capturing Fort St. David should be entirely abandoned. Both Sampati Rao, the Dewan, and Husain Sahib, a powerful chief at the Nawab's court, were against such a matter being even broached to the Nawab. Husain Sahib even tried to persuade the wife of Chanda Sahib who was living at Pondicherry to leave the place and take her abode in some strong fort in the Nawab's territory; and he would not release the three French prisoners, even though his master had definitely ordered their freedom.

[2] The fight was much more serious than what Dupleix made it appear to the Diarist (pp. 163-65 of vol. iii). Orme says that Paradis set out from Madras with a detachment of 300 Europeans to guard the booty which he had collected and was now carrying off, one portion of the detachment marching before the baggage and the other behind it. Mahfuz Khan's cavalry, about 3,000 horse, continually harrassed the rear, retreating as soon as the French prepared to fire, while his infantry fired from the shelter of thickets. Paradis, apprehensive of being overtaken by the night in the plain and anxious to reach Sadras, marched away with the first portion of the detachment and the baggage, leaving the rear to continue the skirmish as best they could. Twelve French soldiers were taken prisoners by the enemy; and Paradis would not venture to proceed from Sadras till he should be reinforced by a large detachment from Pondicherry—probably for the greater security of his own booty. Mahfuz Khan was satisfied with the advantage he had gained and proceeded to join his brother. (vol. i. pp. 79 and 80),

frequently to and fro in the neighbourhood which was consequently deserted by the people and left uncultivated. Muhammad Ali marched from Gingee towards Fort St. David, but made a detour of three leagues to the westward, skirting Tiruvadi and Panruti, avoiding any conflict with the French troops. He was accompanied by 1,500 horse and a number of rocket and match-lock men and elephants. He marched to Fort St. David and encamped in its suburbs,[1] afraid of pitching his camp elsewhere lest he should be set upon by the French in a sudden attack. Small reconnoitring parties were sent out from Pondicherry; an expedition followed on December 19, which[2]

[1] The early history of the Fort and its acquisition are best told in Garstin's *South Arcot Manual*, (1878) (pp. '18-60) and in Francis' *South Arcot Gazetteer* (1906), vol. i (pp. 33–50). The Fort was garrisoned by about 300 to 400 English soldiers and 200 East Indians and equipped with about one hundred guns. The Indian troops posted round the Fort numbered about one thousand; and all the houses situated on the north-western side of the Fort were being demolished and levelled. 'The Fort was small, but better fortified than any of its size in India and served as a citadel to the Company's territory.' The town of Cuddalore (the Old Town) was about a mile to the south of the Fort, separated by a river from it. It was 1,200 yards from north to south and 900 from east to west; three sides of it were defended by walls flanked with bastions. The sea-side was open, but was partially skirted by the river just before it reaches the sea. To the westward of the Fort and situated in the Company's territory were two or three populous villages.

Mr. Hinde, when he was Deputy-Governor of Fort St. David, had, prior to October 1746, made extensive improvements to the Fort; and in announcing the capture of Madras to the Directors, he was able to tell them that the Fort had been rendered 'infinitely more secure than it was'. It was however only after the French had threatened the place two or three times, that the western ditch was widened to a breadth of 100 feet, by the diversion of the river. 'Bomb-proof barracks were erected; a horn-work on the north and two lunettes on the east and west,' besides some other works were commenced in 1747; and all houses including the hospital and the whole village of Devanampatnam (Tegnapatam) within 800 yards of the Fort were pulled down and cleared away, except the Dutch Factory to the north. (Garstin, *Manual of the South Arcot District*, pp. 63 and 64). The town of Cuddalore was, as already noted, surrounded on three sides by a wall and with a small redoubt at the north-east corner, which was further protected by a spit of sand which the surf has thrown upon the shore to the north-east and was divided by a backwater from the town. (Refer to map showing plan of the Fort and Town at the time of the French attack in May, 1758, given in Orme, vol. iii (1862). Also refer to the copy of the map reproduced in pp. 62–63 of Francis' *South Arcot District Gazetteer*.)

[2] This is the so-called first French expedition against Fort St. David which consisted of 900 Europeans, 600 sepoys, 100 Africans and a few field-pieces and mortars. The English garrison was very small. The French appeared to be masters of the coast and had the inspiration of recent victory. But de Bury who superseded Paradis as the commander, in spite of the best efforts of Dupleix, did not take proper precautions to station guards and to picket his camp at the

IV Treaty with the Nawab

Dupleix heard early in January of the arrival of the three ships under M. Dordelin (which had arrived from Europe in the previous October and had proceeded to Achin when La Bourdonnais returned to Port Louis) and of another belonging to La Bourdonnais' squadron at the Madras roads ; he was elated at the news, since it might persuade the Nawab to withdraw his troops immediately.[1] Surely enough news quickly followed that the Nawab had released the French prisoners he had with him and had sent them to Pondicherry with a letter from himself and Muhammad Tavakkal, the resident agent of the Nawab

[1] ' Rangappa, we have good news ; our four ships with a Dutch sloop which they have captured, have reached Madras. When the English, Mahfuz Khan Muhammad Ali Khan and their troops hear of this, how will they like it ?' Thus Dupleix asked the Diarist who replied that this would produce a serious misunderstanding between the Moors and the English ; and Dupleix said he was also of the same opinion, adding, ' when the English ships which were in the roads at Pulicat, saw ours arriving at Madras, they made off, but there was a Dutch sloop which our squadron seized.' (Entry for January 13 and 14, 1747, pp. 254 and 256 of vol. iii. of the *Diary*.)

Dupleix informed the Nawab duly of the arrival of these ships at Pondicherry on January 20, exaggerated the augmentation of his own forces thereby and represented that the English at Fort St. David had been abandoned by the rest of their countrymen. It now seemed to lie easily within the power of Dupleix to launch an attack on Fort St. David both by sea and land. He did not make the attempt ; he daily expected the arrival of the hostile English squadron ; he was too far advanced in negotiating with the Nawab's government for a withdrawal of his troops ; and above all, as Malleson says, ' he was hampered by the character of his naval and military commanders. Dordelin was feeble and unenterprizing ; de Bury as we have seen, worn out and incapable' (*History of the French in India*, p. 205.). And two of the ships had been dismasted and all of them had to be fitted out with the necessary munitions and stores. The ships were later sent to the Malabar Coast to engage the English ships which were said to be cruising off Anjengo and Tellicherry and to capture these places if possible. The Angria chief was reported to have offered the services of 6,000 men; and the Rajah of Travancore was also written to negotiate for the assistance of the Angrias ; and the squadron sailed from Pondicherry on February 8, 1747, with the letter addressed to the Travancore ruler.

Toolajee Angria who had succeeded Sambhaji in the headship of his family's piratical power (the famous Kanhoji's) took advantage of the capture of Madras by La Bourdonnais and began stopping and plundering small native craft belonging to Bombay. ' Considerable anxiety was caused in Bombay, at this time, by the appearance of three French men-of-war cruising on the coast, with the evident intention of waylaying the Company's ships from Europe.' Toolajee's energies were mainly directed at this time against Canara where he sacked Mangalore and Honore carrying off on each occasion a large booty. (J. Biddulph, *The Pirates of Malabar* (1907), pp. 220–222.)

at Pondicherry, who seemed willing to arrange for a satisfactory settlement provided he was given a large douceur.[1] A letter was written to Muhammad Ali to the effect that the French were prepared to give him the villages attached to Cuddalore and Fort St. David, reserving the latter place alone for a while longer and then to make it over also to the Muhammadans if required, provided he withdrew with his troops and did not give up these places to the English. Dupleix was inclined to ignore Mahfuz Khan altogether in these transactions, evidently because he was too irreconcilably alienated from the French and to have the negotiations settled through his younger brother alone, if possible.

When news reached Fort St. David that some English ships had reached Anjengo and Tellicherry, Dupleix tried to counteract its effect by the report that about 6,000 of Tulaji Angria's men had offered to help M. de Leyrit, the Chief of Mahē if he would take possession of Tellicherry, Anjengo and other English factories on that coast and that the ships under M. Dordelin which had recently arrived, together with two others were being sent to Mahē for that purpose.

[1] According to information gained from Muhammad Tavakkal, the Nawab was overwhelmed with debts and thoroughly wearied ; he wished to make peace with the French and with draw his troops ; and apparently the Nizam had ordered the Nawab to withdraw from the struggle. The Nawab had appointed a new person to collect the tribute of the Carnatic, 'Sadasiva Rao, a Mahratta, who is the son of Simanaji Rao, the younger brother of Baji Rao '—the same, apparently as Sadhashiv Bhao, son of Chimnaji Appa (The accuracy of this statement is open to doubt ; or the Diarist apparently made a mistake regarding the person so appointed). Muhammad Tavakkal wrote letters to Husain Tahir and to Sampati Rao that the French Governor was not willing to pay anything to the Nawab, unless the latter asked for it, and that he was aware of the latter's difficulties with the Marathas and with the Nizam. To add to the complications of the situation, a letter arrived from Chanda Sahib, in which he said that the Nizam was angry with Anwar-ud-din for having suffered a shameful defeat at French hands and intended appointing his (Chanda Sahib's) son as Nawab; and in case 'Nawab Asaf Jah (the Nizam) objects to this, Sau Bhaji Rao is determined to take command of an army of 30,000 horsemen, with the view of expelling Anwar-ud-din Khan and installing Chanda Sahib in his place' (Diarist's entry for January 24). Another letter from Arcot stated that the Nizam had issued a circular letter to all the chiefs of the southern country, directing them to proceed to the banks of the Krishna, that the troops at Arcot were preparing to do so, and that Anwar-ud-din had communicated the Nizam's command to his sons. A series of factors had thus contributed to weaken the resolution of the Nawab and his sons, if there was any, to continue firm against the French and to incline him more and more towards accommodation with the French.

Negotiations with the Nawab's representatives continued, till Muhammad Tavakkal definitely declared that he received a communication from Arcot that the Nawab would definitely recall Mahfuz Khan and Muhammad Ali and would expect that the French in return would put a stop to the depredations of their soldiers in the country round Madras and would but fly the Mughal Emperor's flag over Fort St. George for a period of eight days. The Muhammadan troops would retire from the vicinity of Fort St. David as soon as Dupleix would withdraw the French soldiers encamped at Ariyankuppam.[1]

In the meantime when negotiations were going on, messengers came to Pondicherry from Nasir Jang with a letter and presents who were received with great ceremony. Unfortunately the Diary of Ranga Pillai who describes in great detail the splendid procession of reception, is blank in the portion where the contents of the letter should be. The rumour was that Nasir Jang was actually on the march against the Marathas and the Nizam had given strict orders that the Nawab and his sons should hasten to join him with their forces on the Krishna. Mahfuz Khan was unwilling to depart ; and it was even rumoured, that he was inclined to advance against Pondicherry itself. Dupleix and the Diarist attributed this delay to a desire to cover the disgrace of their previous defeats and to get a larger *douceur* if possible. A party of Muhammadan troopers actually tried to advance on Ariyankuppam but were beaten off (February 13). It was followed by the further reinforcement of the enemy whose camp

[1] Diarist's entry for January 27 and 28 (pp. 276–278 of vol. iii). Dupleix gave immediate orders for the withdrawal of the soldiers from the Ariyankuppam camp and even agreed to keep the flag flying over Madras ; he denied any liability to give presents to the Nawab, but consented to make large gifts. After flying the Mughal flag, he would write to the Nawab asking him for the cession of Madras ; and after getting a written order from the Nawab to that effect, he would then hoist the French flag over the citadel. Anwar-ud-din seemed to demand a present of several lakhs, to which Dupleix sent a reply message as it were, to the following effect : 'you have taken the part of the English, and dishonour, in addition to expenditure of money for the support of your soldiers, has hitherto been your only portion. You have never obtained any credit or gained any advantage. Now side with us, and we will save you all trouble. We will, at our own expense, maintain your troops. Keep your proper place and we will bring you renown and show you the road to fortune. Give us but a trial.' Except for this message Dupleix was not inclined to give more presents than to the value of 30,000 or 40,000 rupees. (Diarist's entry for January 31, pp. 287–8 of vol. iii).

was moved to the immediate neighbourhood of Babur and who plundered a few adjoining villages.[1] Muhammad Tavakkal now conveyed the orders of his master, Husain Sahib, that Dupleix should give a guarantee that he would not attack Fort St. David and should pay five lakhs of rupees and then alone would the negotiation for the withdrawal of troops be considered; he repaired to Muhammad Ali's camp, remonstrated with him for having raided French villages when negotiations were in progress; and the latter attempted to transfer the blame on to his brother. Thereupon Tavakkal transferred himself to Mahfuz Khan's camp, explained away the circumstances under which the French captured Madras and fought the battle of the Adyar and finally induced him to promise to withdraw his troops, and make friends with the French.

As a result of all this Dupleix decided to invite Mahfuz Khan to Pondicherry in order to settle the differences finally. Both the brothers agreed to come to Pondicherry. Mahfuz Khan was invited by Muhammad Tavakkal, M. Delarche and the Diarist on February 18; he came to Pondicherry on the next day in great state and settled with the Governor the terms of the proposed convention. Muhammad Ali excused himself from a personal visit to Pondicherry on ground of illness, but agreed to abide by the conditions agreed to by his brother.[2] There was the usual haggling over the presents to be

[1] Mention is made by the Diarist of the depredations of *Pindarees* and *Kābās* in this connection. They set fire to the houses in the villages; and several of them were captured and very severely punished by the French. The *Kābās* (according to H. H. Wilson, *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms, etc.* (1855), p. 243) were a 'people to the north of the Maratha provinces, said to be a piratical tribe in the Gulf of Kach.' The Kābādis who might have been a connected tribe were conveyers of articles in wooden panniers. The Pindaris are mentioned in the south, for the first time as having participated in the last wars of Aurangzib against the Marathas. (Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson* (new ed.), p. 712). The words *Pindarees and Kābhas* are definitely mentioned in the letter written from Mahfuz Khan's camp to Muhammad Tavakkal. throwing the blame of incendiarism on them. (P. 317 of the *Diary*, vol. iii.)

[2] Muhammad Tavakkal who was the main instrument of these negotiations was granted a title of honour, 'Salik Daud Khan', gold bangles to wear on the wrists, and a medal having the same inscription as that on a like decoration worn by the late *courtier*, Kanakaraya Mudali. The Diarist felt that he had also shared prominently in these negotiations; but Madame Dupleix, from whom everything had been kept back and who imagined that he was reaping a rich harvest and she had been kept from her own share, would have easily blackened him had the negotiations failed (pp. 349–354 of vol. iii of the Diary—entry for February 23). The entry for February 26 contains a long record of reflections with regard

given to the various parties;[1] but finally the Muhammadan camp struck its tents and both Muhammad Ali and Mahfuz Khan marched away in the direction of Arcot, and the occasion was publicly celebrated both at Pondicherry and at Madras. At the latter place an English ship which anchored in the roads in ignorance of recent events was captured, and a portion of her cargo containing silver confiscated, to the tune of £600,000 at which more rejoicings were displayed than if their own ships had arrived from Europe. Attempts were also made, though not very successfully, to induce again the Madras merchants to come and settle at Pondicherry; and brisk preparations went on for a fresh attack on Fort St. David;[2] and Paradis was chosen to head the expedition in spite of the disapproval of the other officers; and the resolution to launch the expedition immediately was taken as the approach of the English squadron was almost daily expected. This was the third projected attack on the English settlement.

to his own skill in diplomacy, with the reputation that he thought he enjoyed in the opinions of other men and with similar extravagant fancies of his own services. A peculiar account is given of the struggle between the English and the French, of the subsequent events and of how he was mainly responsible for the thwarting of the enemy's designs and the triumph of Dupleix's plans. While writing these extravagant self-laudations, the Diarist is sober enough to add; 'all this (high reputation) came to me by the grace of God alone, and not through any talent on my part;' but he is also foolish enough to supplement it with the following:—'I could record, at still greater length, all the credit that I acquired in this business, but as self-laudation is a most unwise thing, I have written as above, giving only hints with regard to it.' (P. 381 of vol. iii).

[1] Orme says that Mahfuz Khan was paid 50,000 rupees and also given a present of European trinkets to the value of 100,000 rupees more. These amounts should be regarded, from what the Diarist says in great detail of presents, as inclusive of the value of all the presents given to the various personages on the Nawab's side.

[2] Besides the capture of the English ship at Madras, another English ship which touched at Fort St. David set sail for Bengal without landing the soldiers or any part of the cargo, though these were consigned to the Governor and Council of Madras. It was only on the last day of February that the ship which had escaped from the Madras roads in the previous November and escaped to Ceylon, returned to the coast and landed at Fort St. David £60,000 in silver and twenty recruits from the garrison (Orme, vol. i, p. 86.).

A Note on the Jodhapur Inscription of Pratihara Bauka, V.S. 894

BY

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THIS inscription was first edited by Munshi Deviprasad in the *J.R.A.S.*, 1894, pp. 1 ff. and was re-edited with a translation and facsimile by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xviii, pp. 87 ff. As certain statements of Dr. Majumdar require in my opinion to be modified I write the following note :

Dr. Majumdar identifies Devarāja, who was defeated by Śiluka, with Devarāja, father of Vatsarāja of the imperial Pratihāra line. He writes on page 93 of his article—'Vatsarāja, the son of Devarāja became a very powerful king and wrested the empire from the famous Bhaṇḍi clan. Now our inscription tells us that Śiluka who was the protector of Vallamaṇḍala defeated Bhaṭṭika Devarāja (*v.* 19). As Devarāja of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty was the father of Vatsarāja whose known date is A.D. 783-4, he probably flourished about the middle of the eighth century A.D. Śiluka according to our scheme of chronology must also have been ruling about the same time and the identity of the two kings called Devarāja may be at once presumed'. But Dr. Majumdar is certainly wrong in doing this. For Devarāja, the enemy of the Pratihāra king Śiluka is explicitly said in the Jodhapur inscription to belong to the Bhaṭṭi clan.[1] The same inscription states again in *v.* 26 that Kakka, a descendant of Śiluka, had married Padmiṇī of the Bhaṭṭi family evidently when the latter had become feudatories of the Pratihāras. Now Devarāja the father of Vasarāja of the Gwalior

[1] It may also be noted that *vv.* 18 and 19 of the Jodhapur inscription are wrongly construed by Dr. Majumdar. The expression येन सीमा कृता नित्या स्रवणीवल्लदेशयः is translated by him as 'who fixed a perpetual boundary between the provinces of Sravaṇi and Valla [*maṇḍala*]'. I think it is better to translate it as 'who established his permanent boundary', i.e., 'who permanently annexed to his kingdom the /Sravani and Valla countries'. Secondly in *v.* 19 I prefer to take Bhaṭṭaka Devarāja as ruler of Vallamaṇḍala.

inscription of Bhoja belonged to another Pratihāra family which was probably an offshoot of the Pratihāra family to which Śiluka belonged as has been accepted by Dr. Majumdar himself (p. 90). It follows therefore that the identity of the two Devarājas is impossible.[1]

The Pratihāra king Vatsarāja, as the Gwalior inscription states also claims to have defeated (*v.* 7) the Bhaṇḍi clan. This shows that the Bhaṭṭi or Bhaṇḍi family was a common enemy of both the Pratihāra families. Not only so but I think that Śiluka and Vatsarāja unitedly, the former serving as a subordinate of the latter, waged war against the Bhaṭṭi king Devarāja and seized his kingdom. Vatsarāja is definitely known from the Harivaṁśa to have been ruling in A.D. 783. Śiluka also can be shown to be his contemporary. For Kakkuka, the younger son of Kakka, the date A.D. 861 is known from the Ghaṭiyāl inscription. Taking twenty years as the generally accepted average for each generation—which is also taken by Dr. Hoernle, we see that Śiluka was living about A.D. 781 and was therefore a contemporary of Vatsarāja.

There is another reason for taking the fight of Vatsarāja with the Bhaṇḍi clan and of Śiluka with the Bhaṭṭi king Devarāja as referring to the same incident. Both Vatsarāja and Śiluka claim to have slain and seized the kingdom of the Bhaṭṭi or Bhaṇḍi king. *V.* 19 of the Jodhapur inscription states that Śiluka having knocked down Bhaṭṭika Devarāja on the ground at once obtained from him the ensign of the umbrella. *V.* 7 of the Gwalior inscription states that Vatsarāja forcibly wrested the empire in battle from the famous Bhaṇḍi clan, hard to be overcome by reason of the rampart made of infuriated elephants. If Śiluka whom Dr. Majumdar supposes to have lived long before Vatsarāja had so much worsted the Bhaṭṭika Devarāja, it is impossible to think that the Bhaṇḍi or Bhaṭṭi king who must have been his descendant had recovered himself so much as to offer a strong resistance to a more powerful king like Vatsarāja.

An objection may be raised against this supposition that Vatsarāja and Śiluka were contemporaries of each other. Kakka, the great grandson of Śiluka, claims in *v.* 24 of the Jodhapur inscription to have gained reputation by fighting with the Gauḍas at Mudgagiri. This sattement, as Dr. Majumdar also thinks, shows that Kakka fought as a

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xviii, pp. 99 ff.

feudatory of the Pratihāra sovereign Nāgabhaṭa II, who is said in the Gwalior inscription to have defeated the king of Vaṇga and who is known to have been ruling at least from A.D. 815–843. Śiluka we have supposed was a contemporary of Vatsarāja and Śiluka's great grandson Kakka becomes thus a contemporary of Vatsarāja's son Nāgabhaṭa, which on the face of it seems to be impossible. But we know of cases where two generations of a family are contemporaries of four generations of another family and the objection therefore can easily be removed.

In *vv.* 27 and 29 of this inscription reference is made to a king named Mayūra who was defeated by the Pratihāra king Bauk. Mayūra is said to have formed a confederacy and taking advantage of the absence of Bauk to have severely attacked the Gurjara capital. But Bauk returned in time, mustered his forces and defeated the confederacy and killed Mayūra. Dr. Majumdar suggests that Mayūra may refer to a king of the city called Mo-yu-lo (Mayūra) by Hiuen Tsiang and situated near Gangadvāra, i. e., Haridvāra. But it is better to identify the king Mayūra with a king of the Maurya family of Rajaputana, a descendant of the Maurya sovereign Dhavala mentioned in the Kaṇasvā inscription of V. S. 795.[1]

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xii, p. 11.

De Imperio Magni Mogolis

BY

DE LAET.

IT is now nearly three hundred years since the *De Imperio Magni Mogolis* was first printed at Leyden and to judge from the writings of several European travellers in India—Herbert, Mandelslo, Mundy and Valentyn—it would appear to have been regarded in its day as a handbook of authentic information in regard to the history of this country and even as a sort of Guide to the India of the seventeenth century. But when the European knowledge of the topography of this country grew fuller and more accurate and the brightly-written works of Bernier and Tavernier became available, it seems to have fallen into neglect and obscurity. From this obscurity, if not oblivion, it was rescued about sixty years ago by Sir Roper Lethbridge who published a translation of some chapters in the *Calcutta Review*. Quotations from and references to it are then found in the writings of Blochmann, Von Noer, Thomas and Keene, but for its more recent resuscitation in our own day, the undertaking by an Indian publishing firm of a complete translation, De Laet is really indebted to the late Mr. Vincent Smith who has repeatedly 'blessed' him and lost no opportunity of appealing to his authority.

I am not sure that the meticulous perusal of the entire work in its English garb and of the by no means severe or hostile scrutiny to which it has been subjected in the footnotes will raise De Laet in the estimation of those who are out in search of a more exact knowledge of the Mughal period or lead even the general reader to see eye to eye with Mr. Smith. It is abundantly clear even from Prof. Banerjee's Commentary that he is often inaccurate, that the names of persons and places are not unfrequently mixed up or transmogrified beyond recognition in his pages, that those of his statements which are new are untrue or exaggerated and that several others betray a lack of real knowledge or an imperfect apprehension of the meaning of the author from whom he had borrowed them.

It should be remembered that De Laet himself never visited India and his work is naturally wanting in those touches or proofs of inside knowledge which mark the writings of his sources—Finch and Terry and Pelsaert. He is at best a compiler, a retailer at second hand in the language of the learned of the information purveyed by others in the vernacular—English, Portuguese and Dutch. He has merely given a condensed paraphrase of some of the Journals and Itineraries industriously collected by Purchas and he is indebted almost entirely to the latter for the so-called Description of the 'Real India' (*India Vera*) which constitutes the first half of his work.

The fact is that this Description is merely made up by dovetailing together scattered extracts of varying degrees of verity and value, and there should be no cause for surprise if the matter conveyed to us in this manner has in some sort not improved by filtering through two indifferent translations.

De Laet would have done well if he had not placed in the forefront of his book Sir Thomas Roe's account of the thirty-seven Provinces of the Mughal Empire which must strike the modern reader as crude and confused. The names of towns, districts and principalities are so mixed up in this account and the boundaries are so ill-defined that several of these 'provinces' remain unidentified notwithstanding the learning and elucidatory skill of Lethbridge, Blochmann and Foster. The more detailed description of towns and cities which is transferred from the Journal of William Finch is undoubtedly fuller as well as more accurate, but the discrepancies between statements drawn from two or three different sources are sometimes glaring and the unity of the picture is also not preserved by the compiler's attempt to foist into the main body of the narrative of one author, odds and ends of information from the observations of others. The result is that there are no less than three utterly discordant lists of the 'Provinces of the Mughal Empire' within the boards of this book.[1] The kingdom of Golconda is wedged in as *a part of the Mughal Empire* between Bengal and Multan, and several historical statements, e.g., about Pratāpshāh of Baglāna, Bahādur the son of Muzaffar III, the 'Pathan chieftain' of Bhāti and others which were in some sort of accordance with fact in Finch's day (1610) are copied word for word although they had ceased to be true when De Laet wrote in 1631.

[1] Pp. 4-14, 16-78 and 172.

lines are vitiated by almost as many errors—errors so gross as to throw serious doubts on the authenticity and credibility of the entire statement.

In the first place, we are told that the weight of one variety of these enormous gold pieces was 100 *tolas* or 1,150 *māshas* and that the total weight of the 'gigantic coins' of all the three varieties enumerated (100, 50 and 25 *tolas*) was 6,970,000 *māshas*.[1] And we are likewise informed with an ostentatious display of arithmetical rectitude that the aggregate value of these 6,970,000 *māshas* weight of gold was just 9,75,80,000¾ rupees at the rate of 14 rupees to a *māsha*! Fourteen rupees for one *māsha* of gold is a manifest absurdity and it is clear that here De Laet is confounding the *tola* with the *māsha*, its twelfth part, just as in other places he commits the equally egregious blunder of reckoning the lac as equivalent to a million.[2]

In a word, the calculation founded on this obviously impossible valuation of a *māsha* must be pronounced untrustworthy.

Secondly we are told that each of the heaviest pieces weighed 100 *tolas* or 1,150 *māshas*. This equation also is open to doubt and cannot be allowed to pass unchallenged. In the first place, one hundred *tolas* would be equal to 1,200 *māshas*, not 1,150. We also know on the best authority that *muhrs* of three different weights, viz., of 14 *māshas*, 4¾ *ratis*, of 12 *māshas* 1¾ *ratis* and of 11 *māshas* were introduced by Akbar and specimens of the last two varieties are to be found in fairly large numbers in our public and private cabinets of coins.[3] But a gold *muhr* of 11½ *māshas* does not appear to have been ever struck by the great Emperor. It was Akbar's *rupee* which turned the scale at 11½ *māshas* and our author would seem to have ignorantly imagined that the Akbari *muhr* also weighed 11½ *māshas* because the rupee had that weight. Thirdly, we know that there were two types of the one-hundred *muhr* piece, one weighing 1,222 and the other 1,100 *māshas*.[4] Abul Fazl explicitly says so, and his testimony completely invalidates the

[1] The whole question of these gigantic coins struck by Akbar and other Mughal Emperors is more fully examined in my 'Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics.'

[2] Pp. 27, 41, 74.

[3] *Āin Akbari*, Blochmann's, Tr. i. 28; Lane Poole *British Museum Catalogue*, *passim*.

[4] *Ibid*.

calculation based on the supposition that a piece containing 1,150 *māshas* had been stamped.

Then, again, if this official and trustworthy inventory was copied *directly* from registers or documents *of the time of Akbar*, it is difficult to understand why the price of a *tola* of gold is reckoned in it *i.e.*, in 1605, at the high figure of Rs. 14. The ratio of silver to gold was perhaps 14 to 1 in the time of Shah Jahān, but then it would be easy to bring a cloud of witnesses to prove the price of a *tola* of gold was, *at the most*, ten rupees only *in the time of Akbar* and the 'prince of Indian numismatologists' Thomas has, after examining all the evidence, pronounced the opinion that the relative value of the two metals was only 9·4 to 1 in the last decade of the sixteenth century.[1]

Lastly, we know that a rupee was equivalent to forty *dāms* or twenty *tankās*, i.e., double *dāms*. At p. 176, De Laet himself says that there were twenty *tangaes* in the rupee. But here and at p. 104, he reckons the rupee as equivalent to *thirty*. Similarly he uses the word *peysa* sometimes for the half-*dām* and at others for the full *dām*. When he says (p. 104) that the *peysa* weighed twelve drams (avoirdupois) he has in mind the *whole dām*; when he says in the same breath that three *peysas* were equivalent to an English penny and that there were thirty of them in a Gujarat *mahmudi*, he means the *half-dām*. When again he reckons twenty *tangas* to the rupee, he is thinking of the book-rate, theoretical or money-of-account value of the *tanka* or *double dām*, as it had been fixed by Akbar. When again, as here, he takes the *tanka* as the thirtieth part of the rupee, he is confusing it with the *single dām* of which the book-rate value in Akbar's time was $\frac{1}{40}$th of a rupee, but which, on account of the rise in the price of copper, had about 1630 A.C. soared up to such an extent that only thirty (whole) *dāms* exchanged for a rupee. This, confusion between the *dām*, the *peysa* and the *tanka* vitiates his chapter on 'Money and Weights' also, and only shows that he was talking only by rote and merely repeating statements which he did not understand.

In summing up this discussion, it may be said that the errors which pervade this precious 'inventory' are so vital that they cannot be explained away. It is not necessary to say that the list is *entirely* faked or

[1] *Āin*, Tr. i. 30; *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli*, 424–5.

spurious, but it seems difficult to escape the conclusion that the contemporary registers or documents from which the details are said to have been drawn have been so grossly misunderstood and their true meaning so seriously misrepresented by the ill-informed exegesis of the paraphrast that it is rendered all but useless for historical purposes.

A few remarks may be now offered in regard to the *Fragment of the History of India gathered from Dutch Sources* which fills the last hundred and odd pages of the volume. To say that we have discovered here a new and original source for the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir which deserves to be critically studied is, I am afraid, to go far beyond the bounds of discriminate eulogy. To declare that it is 'based on an unknown but genuine Persain chronicle' is to do great injustice to that class of writings, which with all their defects, are rarely guilty of such gross lapses from historical verity as disfigure almost every one of the first forty or fifty pages of this 'early authority'.

The truth is that this 'original source' is made up of three or rather four different pieces of writing which are very unequal and which have to be clearly distinguished from one another. The introductory matter relating to the reigns of Babur, Humayun and the Sūris is a marvel in the way of error and *absolutely worthless*. The comical story of Babur going out in disguise with thirty calenders to conquer all India, the ignorance of any difference between Shir Shah and Islam Shah, the jumbling up of the details of the battles of Chaunsa and Kanauj and the rigmarole about 'the kings of Deccan' is not sober history but stupid fiction.

The account of the first thirty years of Akbar's reign is *comparatively* better, but there is not a date anywhere in it and not a single event of importance is related without some capital error or even in the true chronological order. The details of the last invasion of Mirza Muhammad Hakim are mixed up with those of the first. The two expeditions to Gujarat which were conducted by Akbar in person are rolled up into one. The story of Muhibb Ali Khan's capture of Rhotas is a myth and the ascription to him of the Doli trick shows only that the compiler was unable to tell even a folktale correctly. The execution of Daud Khan Kararāni and the suicide of Sultan Muzaffar of Gujarat are both antedated by several years and the facts relating to those events are hopelessly 'mixed up'. The capture and imprisonment of

Todarmal by the Bengal rebels is a fable and the story of the conquest of Kashmir is told without any regard for the true sequence of events. In view of these and other blunders, we are obliged to conclude that for this part of the fragment the writer had neither 'Persain chronicle' nor any other authority than hearsay or the rambling accounts of persons who had a dim recollection of the facts, which were distorted in the telling, as such folk's talk always is.

The state of things is somewhat altered considerably when we come to the latter period of Akbar's reign and the first fifteen years of that of his son. The Jesuits had now arrived on the scene and there can be little doubt that this part of the narrative is mainly founded on the Annual Letters or Reports of the Jesuits which are extracted or summarized in the works of DuJarric and others. One has only to compare De Laet's account with the extracts translated by Maclagan,[1] Mr. Payne and Dr. Hosten's article on Khusrū's rebellion in the *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society* to see that the former is a mere rechauffé of the latter and that it can consequently claim no independent authority. But even this part is not free from error and even Mr. Banerjee admits that there is some *confusion* in the dates of the Embassies to Persia and the names of the ambassadors.'[2] The fact of the matter is, that here as elsewhere, the statements of the European writers of the day in regard to the history of the country rarely possess much value. Their descriptions of cities, towns and the condition of the people or of things which they saw with their own eyes are often instructive, but as Prof. Beni Prasad has justly said, 'They often go hopelessly astray whenever they treat of matters beyond their immediate purview. Their unfamiliarity with the country and its politics, their ignorance of Persian, their prejudices and their credulity made it impossible for them rightly to interpret what they saw.'[3]

The fourth part which covers the last seven or eight years of the reign of Jahangir stands on a still more different footing. The fulness of detail, and the almost embarrassing profusion of names of persons and places which mark the narrative of Shah Jahan's rebellion and the *coup d'etat* of Mahābat Khān indicate that we have here the work of a contemporary eyewitness—the narrative of a person recording the events of his own day.

[1] *J. A. S. B.*, 1896. [2] P. 191.

[3] *History of Jahangir*, p. 464.

The authorship of the fragment has been generally attributed to Van den Broecke, but Mr. Moreland has given good reasons for believing that it was primarily the work of Pelsaert, who is said to have learnt Persian and tried to acquire a knowledge of the history of the country. Now both of them arrived in India about 1620 and Pelsaert was sent forthwith to Agra, Van den Broecke remaining at Surat.[1]

If there is *anything in this book which deserves to be critically studied*, it is the narrative of the events of the seven years (1621--1627) in which Pelsaert resided at the capital. These forty and odd pages are undoubtedly of considerable value but they are also in glaring contrast with the seventy or eighty which precede them. It cannot perhaps be claimed for them that they tell us any thing important which we did not know already from the Autobiography of the Emperor himself and the *Iqbālnāma* written by his Secretary, but they are certainly deserving of unprejudiced critical examination. And that is because they are founded, not on oral tradition, the flotsam and jetsam of rumour and hearsay, or the not always intelligent reports of the missionaries of an alien faith, but on the *Waq'ia* or Court and Official Gazettes. We know that a day-to-day record of all events was kept not only at the capital but in all the principal towns. We are also told by Manucci and others that this Court Register was for a small fee open to public inspection and it is not unlikely that the foundation of this fourth part was not a regular 'Persian chronicle' but the Public Diaries of the *waqi'a nairs* or *Siwānih nigār* of Ahmadabad and Agra. It would, of course, be easy to prove from the manner in which the proper names have been bungled that the original *author* was a foreigner and a tyro in the art of deciphering the Persian script. However, this does not really matter, and any one who reads Muatamad Khan's History and this part of Pelsaert's narrative side by side may easily perceive and correct the errors; but, at the same time, he cannot fail to be struck by the close resemblance between the two narratives even in small matters. It is almost self-evident that each of them is paraphrasing or translating into his own tongue the contents of the *Wāqi'a*, or Public Register of Events, but it can scarcely be claimed that the Dutch version is in any way superior to the Persian and the similarity only

[1] *Remonstrantie*, English Trans., p. 9.

furnishes a convincing proof of the accuracy and fidelity to truth of the indigenous chronicle.

The older Anglo-Indian writers:—Dow and Briggs, Elphinstone, Jonathan Scott, Elliot and Dowson justly and wisely laid stress on the history of India as told by its own historians. But about fifty years ago, Talboys Wheeler introduced the fashion of decrying the indigenous Musalman Chronicles and asserting that they were the bombastic and lying effusions of flatterers and hirelings, which were to be rejected and treated as naught whenever they differed from or lent no support to the scandalous tales and rumours repeated by Catrow, Mandelslo, Tavernier and other European travellers. Very lately Mr. Vincent Smith has taken up the same parable and followed closely in Wheeler's footsteps. His favourite sources are the Annual Letters of the Jesuits, Montserrat's *Commentaries* and De Laet. He would have us believe that Akbar was a drunkard, a sot, and a murderer, that he acquired the fortress of Asirgarh by an act of perfidious treachery, that he pretended to have seen God and even laid claim to Divinity in his own person. He has even declared that Abul Fazl was deliberately guilty of perjury and forgery and that he would be certainly convicted of both those offences in any Court of Law. His praises of De Laet have hitherto rested on two or three extracts and he has enlarged with considerable skill on their supposed merits. But the reader who has now in his hands a complete translation and can see the *Descriptio* in all its beauty, will find in it very small warrant for his eulogy.

Whatever the informative value of this book may have been in its own day, it can possess but little in ours. For us its contents can have only that interest which belongs to its marking a stage, or being a sort of milestone in the history of the European knowledge of India—to its furnishing an illustration and example of the meagreness and inexactitude of that knowledge.

The majority of the learned in De Laet's day were unable to read English and Dutch and he might be justly credited with having rendered a sevice to *them* by disseminating the knowledge he had himself acquired in a language which they could understand. But the modern Indian reader can have no use for this tinned and potted version of Purchas and Pelsaert and Van den Broucki. He may surely and safely refuse to fall down before or worship the

resurrected simulacrum of his second-hand stuff. He can read all that De Laet says, and much more in the fourth volume of Mac Lehose's Reprint of the *Pilgrims* and Mr. Moreland's version of the *Remonstrantie.* Nay, he may even do without either, for he can find almost everything that is valuable in De Laet's First Part in Sir William Foster's cheap but beautifully-edited *Early Travels in India.* As regards the Second Part, it does not appear to be generally known, but it is true that a very fair paraphrase of the *Fragmentum* was made available to English readers more than three centuries ago. This old rendering is about as useful as Mr. Hoyland's and in some respects, even superior to it. At any rate, a careful comparison indicates that the proper names are not so atrociously mangled and mutilated by Sir Thomas Herbert as by De Laet.

And the reason is that Herbert had acquired some knowledge of Persian, of which De Laet as well as his Editors appear to have been absolutely innocent. It may be also noted that several discrepancies between Herbert and De Laet, indicate that the recension of the text of the *Fragmentum* used and followed by the English was different from that which was in the hands of De Laet.

Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture

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Continned from page 92 of volume VII. Part I.

Kings

The institution of kingship was an ancient one among the Tamils, for several old words exist which mean a king: e.g., *Kōn*,[1] *Ēndal*,[2] *Vēndan*,[3] *Mannan*,[4] *Kuriśil*,[5] *Iṛaivan*;[6] besides, the words *Vaḷḷal*,[7] and *Aṇṇal*,[8] restricted in later usage to nobles or petty chiefs, rulers of small territories, *Kuṛunilamannar*,[9] but applied to kings also. The government of a people by a king was called *Āṭchi*,[10] an abstract noun from the verb *Āḷ*,[11] to rule over, from the noun *Āḷ*,[12] a subject, originally a person. Government was conceived as being similar to a herdsman ruling a herd, helping it to feed and protecting it from enemies. The name *Ēndal*,[13] (and *Vēndan*,[14] which perhaps is etymologically the same word) is derived from *Ēndu*,[15] to support, and refers to the chief function of a king, that of protecting his subjects from harm. But the oldest Tamil word for a king is *Kō*,[16] or *Kōn*,[17] which also means a cowherd. This implies that kingship arose first in the pastoral stage of the evolution of human life. It is in this stage that men began to acquire wealth, cattle, *paśu*,[18] *pecu*, being the earliest form of wealth that man could acquire. Pastoral life required that a tribe should settle with its wealth of cattle on a patch of grass-land. Unlike other forms of wealth, cattle and sheep constantly reproduce their kind, and herds always grow in size. The sons of a herdsman may partition the herd belonging to the family among themselves, but the pasture-land cannot thus be partitioned, for, where a small holding of a rice-field may well be cultivated by its owner and arable land may continue to be sub-divided into little plots for generations, pasture-land cannot thus be subdivided, for grass-fields below a minimum size are unfit for pasturing a herd. Hence the joint-family system became a necessity. The patriarch of a tribe thus acquired great influence and became its king. Hence the word *Kō*, cowherd, came to be applied to a king when kingship evolved.

The house where the king resided was the *Kōṭṭai*.[19] As the royal power increased, as the science of warfare developed, the royal residence, *Kōṭṭai*, became a fort. The fort was surrounded by strong

[1] கோன். [2] ஏந்தல். [3] வேந்தன். [4] மன்னன். [5] குரிசில். [6] இறைவன். [7] வள்ளல். [8] அண்ணல். [9] குறுநிலமன்னர். [10] ஆட்சி. [11] ஆள். [12] ஆள். [13] ஏந்தல். [14] வேந்தன். [15] ஏந்து. [16] கோ. [17] கோன். [18] பசு.

[19] கோட்டை. Another early word for a palace was *Kōil*, (கோயில்) which, after the rise of the grand modern temples, became restricted to Gods' houses.

walls, *araṇ* ;[1] hence the fort was called *araṇmanai* ;[2] *araṇ*[3] originally meant both beauty and defence, and hence came to be applied to the walls of a fortress, also called *madil.*[4] These walls were made of mud, mixed with boiled ragi flour and were so strong and elastic that they could resist battering very much better than inelastic brick or stone walls. In the Tinnevelly district there exists even to-day many a *madil* made after the ancient recipe, which are very difficult to pull down. The fort was surrounded by an *agaḻ*,[5] *agappā*,[6] or *agaḻi*,[7] a moat, (from *ag*[8], to dig, whence the following Tamil words are derived, *Agam*,[9] home, inside, mind, the inner life, love, etc., *Agakkāḻ*,[10] heart-wood, *agaḍu*,[11] inside, *agaṇi*,[12] interior, heart-wood, also a rice-field dug out of the soil, *agappu*,[13] depth, *agalam*,[14] breadth, *agal*,[15] a bowl, *agavai*,[16] internal quality, *agal*,[17] to dig), *agappai*,[17a] a ladle scooped out. The *agaḻ* was also called *uḍu*,[18] *ōḍai*,[19] *kayam*,[20] *kēṇi*,[21] *parigam*,[22] *parigai*,[23] *puriśai*[24] and *pāmburi*,[25] (that which surrounds a fort as closely as the skin round a snake). The wealth of names for the moat shows that it was a very familiar object to the ancient Tamils. The entrance to the fort was called *Koṭṭi*[26] and the batter, i.e., receding slope from the ground upwards behind a wall, topped by a flat platform, *Kottaḷam.*[27] *Ñāvil*[28] is the name of another part of a fortification : what it means is not known clearly. Within the royal residence there were many rooms, each called *aṟai*,[29] (from *aṟu*,[30] to cut off), a portion of the house walled off from other portions for special purposes. One of these rooms was the store-room, *Koṭṭaṟai*,[31] or *Koṭṭaḍi*,[32] (whence perhaps was derived the Sanskrit word *Koshṭa*). The state-room was the *Koluvaṟai*[33] or *Koluchchāvaḍi*,[34] where the king sat in state on occasions of ceremonial. This was called *koluviruttal*,[35] or *Vīṟṟiruttal.*[36] The *Koluchchāvaḍi* was no doubt decorated with flags[37] (*koḍi*,[38] *tugil*,[39] *togai*,[40] *śatti*,[41] *kattigai*,[42] *kadali*,[43] on these occasions, as well as with flowers and bunting, flowers and leaves playing a large part in South Indian life as will be shown later. On such formal occasions, the king wore a crown. As the crown was called *muḍi*,[44] band, we may be sure that it was a band of gold tied around the forehead, like the gold bands found at Ādichchanallūr. Indian crowns of recent ages were tall conical caps of solid gold, imbedded with gems such as now adorn gods when going out on processions ; these are so heavy that gods alone can wear them for any length of time, and could not have been worn by the ancient Tamil kings, all the more so as kings, like all other men of the ancient Tamil country, grew a whole head of hair. Shaving was unknown in South India and was introduced by the Āryas ; this is proved by the fact that there is no proper, ancient Tamil name for the barber, and there are only words derived from the Sanskrit, like *pariyāri*,[45] *ambaṭṭan*,[46] *nāvidan*,[47] *maṅgali*[48] or descriptive compounds

[1] அரண். [2] அரண்மனை. [3] அரண் [4] மதில். [5] அகல். [6] அகப்பா. [7] அகழி. [8] அக். [9] அகம். [10] அகக்காழ். [11] அகடு. [12] அகணி. [13] அகப்பு. [14] அகலம். [15] அகல். [16] அகவை. [17] அகல். [17a] அகப்பை. [18] உடு. [19] ஓடை. [20] கயம். [21] கேணி. [22] பரிகம். [23] பரிகை. [24] புரிசை. [25] பாம்புரி. [26] கொட்டி. [27] கொத்தளம். [28] ஞாயில். [29] அறை. [30] அறு. [31] கொட்டறை. [32] கொட்டடி. [33] கொலுவறை. [34] கொலுச்சாவடி. [35] கொலுவிருத்தல். [36] வீற்றிருத்தல். [37] Flags used to decorate a street were called *viḍaṅgam* (விடங்கம்). [38] கொடி. [39] துகில். [40] தோகை. [41] சத்தி. [42] கத்திகை. [43] கதலி. [44] முடி. [45] பரியாரி. [46] அம்பட்டன். [47] நாவிதன். [48] மங்கலி.

like *mayirvinaiyāḷan*[1] (hair-dresser), *māśutīrppōn*,[2] (one who puts an end to a hairy check). Moreover, throughout the interior of South India, people who have not taken to Aryan or European customs do not even now patronize barbers.

Wearing a crown and gold bracelets round the wrist, above the elbow and the ankles, (*Kaḻal*)[3] furnished with tinkling bells, (*śadaṅgai*),[4] garlands of pearls, *muttu*,[5] coral, *pavaḻam*,[6] and rings, *Kaṇaiyāḻi*,[7] the king, during darbar, *Kolu*,[8] was seated on a throne; this was called *Kaṭṭil*,[9] and, as this name implies, was a construction of boards tied together to form a seat. Pillows, *ariaṇai*,[10] supported his back. Surrounded by his personal servants, *aḍiyār*,[11] *ūḻiyar*,[12] by heralds who proclaimed his greatness, *agavar*,[13] and by *vaḷḷuvar*,[14] publishers of royal orders, and *pāṇar*,[15] poets who sang the praises of the king, with nobles, *vaḷḷal*,[16] *aṇṇal*,[17] seated in front of him, and the common people, *āṭkaḷ*,[18] standing respectfully at a distance, the king heard complaints, dispensed justice and conducted state affairs of all kinds. The king often went out on processions, seated in a chariot, *tēr*.[19] Other names for it were *ari*,[20] *kavari*,[21] *kuyavu*,[22] *kūviram*,[23] *tigiri*,[24] *vaiyam*.[25] The royal charriot was certainly well-decorated with wood carving, for this art was practised from lithic times: the conical top of a chariot, carved to look like a lotus was called *kūmbu*,[26] *kūviram*,[27] *koḍiñji*.[28] The middle of a chariot was called *taṭṭu*,[29] or *nāppaṇ*;[30] its floor, *pār*,[31] the boards around its body, *kiḍugu*,[32] its spoke, *ār*;[33] the raised platform with steps near the car, from the top of which it is possible to step into the car, *muṭṭi*, [34]or *pirambu*.[35] The existence of so many names shows what an important institution the royal car was, as the temple car is now, for all the appurtenances of temple-idols are but adaptations of royal paraphernalia. The only difference between the royal car and the temple car is that the latter is drawn by human beings who desire to participate in the virtue of dragging it, but the former was drawn by bulls (*kāḷai*,[36] *erudu*,[37] *viḍai*,[38] *iṛāl*[39], *ēṛu*[40], *kuṇḍai*,[41] *kūḷi*,[42] *koṭṭiyam*,[43] *kō*,[44] *chē*,[45] *pagaḍu*,[46] *pāṇḍil*,[47] *pāral*,[48] *pullam*,[49] *pūṇi*,[50] *peṛṛam*[51] *pōttu*,[52] *mūri*),[53] or by the elephant (*yāṉai*,[54] *kaḷiṛu*)[55]. There are about twenty[56] other names for this favourite animal, belonging to Tamil alone, besides several others for the male animal and several more for the female. The cars were decorated with flags and trappings, (*tērchchīlai*).[57]

The royal revenue, besides the proceeds from the royal lands, were derived from taxes (*vari*),[58] tolls, (*suṅgam*,[59] *ulgu*,[60] *iṛai*),[61] and tributes (*kappam*,[62] *pariśu*,[63] *tiṛai*).[64]

[1]மயிர்வினையாளன். [2]மாசுதீர்ப்போன். [3]கழல். [4]சதங்கை. [5]முத்து. [6]பவழம்.
[7]கணையாழி. [8]கொலு. [9]கட்டில். [10]அரியணை. [11]அடியார். [12]ஊழியர். [13]அகவர்
[14]வள்ளுவர். [15]பாணர். [16]வள்ளல். [17]அண்ணல். [18]ஆட்கள். [19]தேர். [20]அரி.
[21]கவரி. [22]குயவு. [23]கூவிரம். [24]திகிரி. [25]வையம். [26]கூம்பு. [27]கூவிரம்.
[28]கொடிஞ்சி. [29]தட்டு. [30]நாப்பண். [31]பார். [32]கிடுகு. [33]ஆர். [34]முட்டி.
[35]பிரம்பு. [36]காளை. [37]எருது. [38]விடை. [39]இறால். [40]ஏறு. [41]குண்டை.
[42]கூளி. [43]கொட்டியம். [44]கோ. [45]சே. [46]பகடு. [47]பாண்டில். [48]பாரல்.
[49]புல்லம். [50]பூணி. [51]பெற்றம். [52]போத்து. [53]மூரி. [54]யானை. [55]களிறு.
[56]Such as அரசு, ஆம்பல், இம்மடி, உம்பல், உவா, எறும்பு, ஒருத்தல், ஓங்கல், கடிவை, கள்வன், கறையடி, கைப்புலி, கைம்மலை, கைம்மா, கோட்டுமா, சுண்டாலி, குஞ்சரம், திண்டி, தும்பி, தூங்கல், தெள்ளி, தோல், நால்வாய், நூழில், பகடு, புகர்முகம், புழைக்கை, பூட்கை, பெருமா, பொங்கடி, மருண்மா. மறமலி, மொய், வயமா, வல்விலங்கு, வழுவை, வேழம். [57]தேர்ச்சீலை. [58]வரி. [59]சுங்கம்
[60]உல்கு. [61]இறை. [62]கப்பம். [63]பரிசு. [64]திறை.

Love

The chief royal occupations or amusements, (for in the case of kings, it is difficult to distinguish amusements from occupations) were love and war, both of which formed the subject of innumerable odes sung by the early bards. Love and war were respectively called *agam*[1] and *puṟam*,[2] the inner life which one cannot share with other men and the outer life of action which other men can appreciate and admire. The love of kings and other men was of two kinds. (1) Love at first sight, so impetuous as to lead to immediate consummation, called *kaḷavu*,[3] to be leisurely legitimatized by a formal marriage, (*maṇam*,[4] *manṟal*,[5] *varaivu*,[6] *vēṭṭal*)[7]. (2) Post-nuptial love, called *kaṟpu*.[8] The course of love, pre-nuptial or post-nuptial, furnished the bards with innumerable incidents fit for poetic treatment and this is the subject of three chapters of the grammar of poetry, called *Poruḷadigāram*,[9] of *Tolkāppiyam*, viz., *Agattiṇaiyiyal*,[10] (referring to both),[11] *Kaḷaviyal*,[12] *Kaṟpiyal*.[13] The chief incidents of the course of both forms of love, viz., the first catastrophic meeting of the lovers called *iyaṟkaippuṇarchchi*,[14] their waiting in expectation of meeting each other, *iruttal*,[15] lamentations for temporary separation *iraṅgal*,[16] brief and long quarrels and reconciliations, *pulavi*,[17] *ūḍal*[18] and *kūḍal*,[19] and the parting of lovers, *piridal*,[20] were respectively correlated to the five natural regions, *Kuṟiñji*, *Mullai*, *Neydal*, *Marudam* and *Pālai*. The fact that Tamil literary conventions arose absolutely independent of the literary conventions of the Vedic and other early Sanskrit literature, shows that the correlations of the incidents of love with natural regions, peculiar to Tamil poetry, were based on actual customs which prevailed among the Tamil people in the third millennium B.C., and earlier. We can understand how these customs, i.e., social conventions, on which the literary conventions were based, first arose. The romantic scenery of Kuriñji land is the greatest stimulus of love and the opportunities it affords for immediate consummation fans the flame of impetuosity which is the special characteristic of Kuṟiñji love. Pre-nuptial love must have been the norm in the mountainous region, and the life of the hunter. In the Mullai region, the herdsman-lover had to be separated all day long from the mistress of his heart and hence the waiting of lovers for each other was associated with this region. In the Neydal, the woman has to sit desolate for days together, when her lover has gone on a voyage attended with risks to far off lands, and hence Neydal symbolizes the lamentations of lovers. So Pālai, the desert region, where the lovers have necessarily to part company, aptly symbolizes the separation of lovers. In Marudam, people led a settled agricultural and industrial life and they could enjoy longer periods of lazy leisure than the people of other regions. Hence the formal Tamil marriage-rite was evolved in Marudam.

[1] அகம். [2] புறம். [3] களவு. [4] மணம். [5] மன்றல். [6] வரைவு. [7] வேட்டல். [8] கற்பு. [9] பொருளதிகாரம் [10] அகத்திணையியல். [11] புறத்திணையியல். [12] களவியல். [13] கற்பியல். [14] இயற்கைப்புணர்ச்சி. [15] இருத்தல். [16] இரங்கல். [17] புலவி. [18] ஊடல். [19] கூடல். [20] பிரிதல்.

Marriage

The ancient wedding-rite is described in the following two odes from *Agam*. 'There was a huge heap of rice cooked with pulse (even after many guests were fed). On the floor of a pandal built on long rows of wooden columns was spread freshly brought sand. House-lamps were lighted. Flower-garlands were hanging. It was the morning of the day of the bright bent (crescent) moon, when the stars shed no evil influence. Then women bearing pots on the head, others carrying new broad begging bowls handed them over one after another, fair elderly dames making much noise the while. Then four women, mothers of sons, with their pudenda marked with natural beauty-spots, wearing beautiful ornaments, poured water on the bride, so that her black hair shone bright with cool petals of flowers and rice-grains (which had been mixed with the water) and at the same time blessed her, saying, 'Do not swerve from the path of chastity, be serviceable in various ways to your husband who loves you'. On the night of the day after that of the celebration of the marriage, the neighbouring ladies assembled and said to the bride, 'Become the mistress of a great house', and she went in trepidation to the bed-room dressed in new clothes.'[1]

'Having boiled the rice free from all impurities and mixed *ghi* with it, they served it to the elders. The auspicious birds flew in the bright, beautiful, broad sky. The asterism Rohiṇi was in conjunction with the moon. They decorated the house which was free from dirt, and worshipped God. The big drum sounded, the marriage-volley was beaten. The women who desired to witness the marriage assembled in haste. The flower-eyed goddesses witnessed the marriage and disappeared. They strung on white thread the double leaf of the *agatti* which has soft flowers, many blades of the *aṟugai*-grass which the calf eats, and the young flowers of the blue water-lily which are like clean gems when the sounding rain-drops fall from the sky and adorned the bride with these garlands. Underneath a pandal strewn with sand which was cool as if rain had fallen on it, the relatives of the bride

[1] உழுந்துதலைப் பெய்த கொழுங்களி மிதவை
பெருஞ்சோற் றமலை நிற்ப நிரைகாற்
றண்பெரும் பந்தர்த் தருமணன் ஞெமிரி
மனைவிளக் குறுத்து மாலை தொடரிக்
கனையிரு ளகன்ற கவின்பெறு காலைக்
கோள்கா ணீங்கிய கொடுவெண் டிங்கட்
கேடில் விழுப்புகழ் நாடலை வந்தென
வுச்சிக் குடத்தர் புத்தகன் மண்டையர்
பொதுசெய் கம்பலை முதுசெம் பெண்டிர்
முன்னவும் பின்னவு முறைமுறை தரத்தரப்
புதல்வற் பயந்த திதலையவ் வயிற்று
வாலிழை மகளிர் நால்வர் கூடிக்
கற்பினின் வழாஅ நற்பல வுதவிப்
பெற்றோற் பெட்கும் பிணையை யாகென
நீரொடு சொரிந்த வீரித ழலரி
பல்லிருங் கதுப்பி னெல்லொடு தயங்க
வதுவை நன்மணங் கழிந்த பின்றைக்
கல்லென் சும்மையர் ஞெரேரெனப் புகுதந்து
பேரிற் கிழத்தி யாகெனத் தமர்தர
வோரிற் கூடிய வுடன்புணர் கங்குற்
கொடும்புறம் வளைஇக் கோடிக் கலிங்கத்
தொடுங்கினள்.
Agam 86.

gave her away.'[1] In the ancient marriage-rite there was no circumambulation of fire, *tivalam śeydal*,[2] which Brāhmaṇa purohitas of later ages invented in imitation of the wedding-rite of the higher varṇas and introduced into the marriage-ritual of the Tamils.

In the agricultural region, there also arose *kūttiyar*[3] and *viṛaliyar*,[4] dancing-women and singing women, who were ladies of easy virtue and lived the life of *hetairae*, the *parattaiyar*,[5] who brought to a premature end the course of wedded love. Hence *ūḍal* and *kūḍal*, estrangement and reunion between husband and wife, was correlated to Marudam.

Besides these five incidents of normal love, there also existed, among the ancient Tamils, two forms of abnormal love, viz., *Kaikkiḷai*,[6] love of a man for an immature girl incapable of feeling the gentle passion, and *Perundiṇai*,[7] love of a man for a woman who does not reciprocate his love; in such a case, the man maddened with passion, made a horse of the sharp-edged stem of the palmyra, provided it with wheels and rode through the streets, bleeding, till the lady relented, or committed suicide if she did not, a proceeding technically called *Maḍalēṛudal*[8] ; these are also described in many odes.

' They make, of the stem of a palmyra leaf, a horse which does not require fodder, and attach to it reins adorned with small bells ; the hero, wearing a garland of the short flowers of the *erukku*,[9] *calotropis gigantea*, mounts it. We drag the horse along the streets and boys gather behind and follow the procession.'[10]

' Wearing a garland in which the fresh flowers of the *āvirai*,[11] *cassia auriculata*, which resemble gold in colour, are strung on many threads,

[1] மைப்புறப் புழுக்கி னெய்க்கனி வெண்சோறு
வரையா வண்மையொடு புரையோர்ப் பேணிப்
புள்ளுப் புணர்ந்தினிய வாகத் தெள்ளொளி
யங்க ணிருவிசும்பு விளங்கத் திங்கட்
சகடம் வேண்டிய துகடீர் கூட்டத்துக்
கடிநகர் புனைந்து கடவுட் பேணிப்
படுமண முழவொடு பரூஉப்பணை யிமிழ
வதுவை மண்ணிய மகளிர் விதுப்புற்றுப்
பூக்கணு மிமையார் நோக்குபு மறைய
மென்பூ வாகைப் புன்புறக் கவட்டிலை
பழங்கன்று கறிக்கும் பயம்பம லறுகைத்
தழங்குரல் வானின் றலைபெயற் கீன்ற
மண்ணுமணி யன்ன மாயிதழ்ப் பாவைத்
தண்ணறு முகையொடு வெண்ணூல் சூட்டித்
தூவுடைப் பொலிந்து மேவரத் துவன்றி
மழைபட் டன்ன மணல்மலி பந்த
ரிழையணி சிறப்பிற் பெயர்வியர்ப் பாற்றித்
தமர்நமக் கீந்த தலைநாள். *Agam 136.*

[2] மாமுது பார்ப்பான் மறைவழி காட்டிடத்
தீவலஞ் செய்வது. *Śilappaadigāram* i.

[3] கூத்தியர். [4] விறலியர். [5] பரத்தையர். [6] கைக்கிளை. [7] பெருந்திணை. [8] மடலேறுதல். [9] எருக்கு.

[10] சிறுமணி தொடர்ந்து பெருங்கச்சு நிறீஇக்
குறுமுகி லெருக்கங் கண்ணி சூடி
யுண்ணா நன்மாப் பண்ணி யெம்முடன்
மறுகுடன் றிரிதருஞ் சிறுகுறு மாக்கள்
Naṟṟinai 220.

[11] ஆவிரை.

he rides the horse made of (the stem of the leaf of) the palmyra, shame torturing his mind.'[1]

'Should I one day wearing a garland of gems on my breast and decorated with bones, go along the streets, without shame and ridiculed by others ?'[2]

These seven *tiṇais* constitute the *Agattiṇai*, the class of poems celebrating love.

War

The other subject of ancient poetry was war. The wars of ancient Tamil kings were not inspired by earth-hunger, for we find, throughout the ages, the boundaries of the Śēra, Śōḷa, and Pāṇḍya kingdoms were intact. Wars were undertaken either as affording exercise for the development of martial virtues or for the purpose of achieving, by personal prowess, supremacy in rank and the title of the liege lord of the Tamil country and for the privilege of wearing the triple crown, *Mummuḍi*.[3] Wars were undertaken in the season which followed the harvest, when the king and the subjects had no more agricultural work to do before the next rainfall. Warlike operations were divided into five, namely, *veṭchi*,[4] *vañji*,[5] *uḻiñai*,[6] *tumbai*,[7] *vāgai*,[8] respectively corresponding to *kuṟinji*, *mullai*, *marudam*, *neydal* and *pālai*. It will be noticed that all these ten are the names of flowers and each flower symbolizes the incident which is named after it. Each of these incidents, called *tiṇai*,[9] subdivided into *tuṟai*,[10] were celebrated by people wearing garlands of flowers appropriate to it. Thus we find that the Tamils noted and named hundreds of flowers and dedicated each of them with their leaves and twigs to some separate life-situation, which they celebrated by decorating their persons with garlands of those leaves and flowers, by singing measures and dancing dances specially appropriate to each of them. The passion the Tamils had for wearing garlands, symbolic or otherwise, is further indicated by the fact that there are several words meaning garland, *kaṇṇi*,[11] *tār*,[12] *toḍaiyal*,[13] *alaṅgal*,[14] *kōdai*,[15] *teriyal*.[16] This ancient love of flowers is

[1] பொன்னே ராவிரைப் புதுமலர் மிடைந்த
பன்னூன் மாலைப் பனைபடு கலிமாப்
பூண்மணி கறங்க வேறி நாணடப்
பழிபட ருண்ணோய் வழிவழி சிறப்ப
Kuṟundogai 173.

[2] விழுத்தலைப் பெண்ணை விளையன் மாமடன்
மணியணி பெருந்தார் மார்பிற் பூட்டி
வெள்ளென் பணிந்துபிற ரெள்ளத் தோன்றி
யொருநாண் மருங்கிற் பெருநாணீக்கித்
தெருவினியலவுந் தருவது கொல்லோ?
Ib. 182.

[3] மும்முடி. [4] வெட்சி. [5] வஞ்சி. [6] உழிஞை. [7] தும்பை. [8] வாகை. [9] திணை. [10] துறை. [11] கண்ணி. [12] தார். [13] தொடையல். [14] அலங்கல். [15] கோதை. [16] தெரியல்.

There are sixteen other names for garlands, which shows what great love the Tamils have for personal decoration with flowers. This is further indicated by the fact that garlands had differentiated names ; thus, a garland for the face was *ilambagam*,[1] *śūṭṭu*,[2] for the hair-knot, *karōḍigai*[3] ; a garland where the flowers were tied together, *śigaḻigai*,[4] *toḍaiyal*,[5] *mālai*,[6] *vāśigai*,[7] a plaited garland, *piṇaiyal* ;[8] a strung garland, *kōvai*,[9] *paḍalai*,[10] *vāśigai*.[11]

[1] இலம்பகம். [2] சூட்டு. [3] கரோடிகை. [4] சிகழிகை [5] தொடையல். [6] மாலை. [7] வாசிகை. [8] பிணையல். [9] கோவை. [10] படலை. [11] வாசிகை.

being slowly choked out, especially in towns, by the pressure of the drab civilization of Europe, which is robbing us of many simple joys coming down from ancient times, when the love of flowers was so strong as to lead the Tamils to adopt flowers and leaves even as the distinctive uniforms of soldiers. In the battle-fields, the soldiers of each of the three great Tamil dynasties of kings could be distinguished from each other only by the garlands they wore. Thus the Pāṇḍya soldiers were decorated with the leaves and flowers of the *Vēmbu*,[1] Margosa, the Śoḷa soldiers, with those of the *Ātti*[2] or *Ār*[3], *Bauhinea racemosa*, and the Śera soldiers, of the *Panai*,[4] the palmyra. The early literature, and especially the Tolkāppiyam, contains frequent references to the symbolic use of leaves and flowers, and these prove that the ancient Tamils led a happy life of constant merry-making unoppressed by a too pessimistic view of the world and of man's destiny and that they were inspired by a love of nature superior in strength to that of other peoples, ancient or modern.

Of the five subdivisions of *Puṟam*, *Veṭchi*, the first, refers to the preliminary lifting of the enemy's cattle, and confining them in a pen in one's own country, which was the ancient method of the declaration of war. This proves that kingship, like formal war, began in the pastoral stage of life. As large herds of cattle are kept in the hilly region, *Veṭchi*, corresponds to *Kuṟinji*. *Vañji* corresponds to *Mullai*; it deals with the expedition into the enemy's country, which has necessarily to pass through the wooded country surrounding the lower river valleys, where forts were built for storing in safety the accumulated agricultural and metallic wealth.

Uḻiñai has for its subject the siege of the forts, and especially the capital, of the enemy king, situated in the heart of the *Marudam* region. *Tumbai* refers to the fierce fighting which succeeds the mastery of the fort-walls, and *Vāgai*, the final victory. As *Agattinai* has on the whole seven subdivisions, so two more have been added to *Puṟattiṉai*, viz., *Kāñji*,[5] which generally deals with the transitoriness of earthly pleasures in general and the vanity of military glory in particular, the first touch of asceticism which was destined to overwhelm Indian life from the middle of the first millenium before Christ, and *Pāḍāṉ*,[6] the last of the *Puṟattiṉai*, which contains poems praising the munificence of kings and nobles towards the poets who sought their patronage.

As it was love of display of prowess and of glory that drove the ancient Tamils to war, there is no doubt that fighting was an annual institution, undertaken in the season between the gathering of the harvest and the starting of the tillage for the next year. War was called *pōr*,[7] *śaṇḍai*,[8] *śeru*,[9] *muraṇ*,[10] *tevvu*,[11] and by about twenty other words.[12] This wealth of words meaning war indicates that it was a favourite amusement with the ancient Tamils, amusement because the object of ancient war, like that of wrestling, *maṟpōr*,[13] which was thus a variety of *por*, was not for satisfying the lust for bloodshed, but for proving strength and skill. The field of battle was called *kaḷam*,[14]

[1] வேம்பு. [2] ஆத்தி. [3] ஆர். [4] பனை. [5] காஞ்சி. [6] பாடாண். [7] போர். [8] சண்டை. [9] செரு. [10] முரண். [11] தெவ்வு. [12] அமர், ஆர்ப்பு, இகல், உறழ்வு, கணையம், கதனம், கலி, குரம்பு, கூட்டம், சமர், ஞாட்பு, தாக்கு, திறல், தும்மை, நிகம், நிகர்ப்பு, பண்டனம், மலைப்பு, மலைவு. மறல், முயல், மொய், விறப்பு, வினை. [13] மற்போர். [14] களம்.

kaḷari,[1] *paṟandalai*,[2] *mudunilam*;[3] these words also indicate waste uncultivated land, on which contests of all kinds took place and show that war did not imply the ruination of crop-bearing land. The army, *paḍai*,[4] *tānai*,[5] was divided into various groups, *aṇi*,[6] *uṇḍai*,[7] *oṭṭu*;[8] the front ranks were *ākkam*,[9] *koḍippaḍai*,[10] *tār*,[11] *tūśi*,[12] *nirai*,[13] and the back ranks, *kūḻai*.[14] This shows that military science was not unknown to the Tamils.[15] In later times the army was divided into four sections, chariot-warriors, elephant-warriors, horse-warriors, and foot-soldiers. Of these all but the horse-arm came down from ancient times. South India was not the home of the horse and has always imported horses from the valley of the Sindhu, from Persia and other countries. But there is no doubt that the elephant was used from early times both for royal ostentation and military purposes. 'The warrior sits on an elephant, which looked like the god of death (*maṟali*). He has a broad and high breast, covered with a coat made of the tiger's skin, which the volley of arrows cannot pierce. The elephant resembles the ship that passes on the sea, the moon which moves among the stars; it is surrounded by armed *maṟavar* like sharks, and is so excited as not to recognize its mahout.'[16] The elephants were skilfully trained and carefully looked after by the *pāgan*,[17] tied to posts, *kandu*,[18] *taṟi*,[19] in the *ālai*,[20] elephant-house, and fed with palmyrah trunks, rice and jaggery; they were bathed in tanks or rivers, their face painted with vermilion and decorated and armoured with face-plates, *ōḍai*,[21] *suḻi*.[22] Chariots heavily decorated with wood-carving, in the profusion of which Indians revelled, and brilliantly coloured, *śāyam tōytta*,[23] trappings in various patterns and elephant warriors and foot-soldiers decked with garlands of the leaves and flowers which were the badge of each royal house, formed the serried ranks assembled on the battle-field. Of the implements of war, some came down unaltered from the Stone Age, such as the club, *taḍi*,[24] *eṟuḻ*,[25] *taṇḍu*,[26] the shorter one being *kuṇil*,[27] the bow, *vil*,[28] *kokkarai*,[29] *śilai*,[30] *taḍi*,[31] *tavar*,[32] *muni*,[33] besides the compound noun *koḍumaram*, bent-wood. Other implements were made of stone at first, and iron was substituted for stone in the early Iron Age: such as the sword, *vāḷ*,[34] *uvaṇi*,[35] *ēdi*,[36] *kaḍuttalai*,[37] *tuvaṭṭi*,[38] *navir*,[39] *nāttam*,[40] *vañjam*,[41] *vaḷ*,[42] short swords being called *kuṟumbiḍi*,[43] *śurigai*,[44] *katti*,[45] and bent ones

[1] களரி. [2] பறந்தலை. [3] முதுநிலம். [4] படை. [5] தானை. [6] அணி. [7] உண்டை. [8] ஒட்டு. [9] ஆக்கம். [10] கொடிப்படை. [11] தார். [12] தூசி. [13] நிரை. [14] கூழை.

: [15] Murugan, the Tamil war-god, who was assimilated by the northerners with the non-Vedic god Subrahmaṇya, also called Shaṇmukha, Kārttikeya, is said to have invented different forms of military formations and written a treatise on the subject in Sanskrit.

[16] புலிநிறக் கவசம் பூம்பொறி சிதைய
வெய்கணை இழித்த பகட்டெழில் மார்பின்
மறலி யன்ன களிற்று மிசையோனே
களிறே முந்நீர் வழங்கு நாவாய் போலவும்
பன்மீ னாப்பட் டிங்கள் போலவுஞ்
சுறவினத் தன்ன வாளோர் மொய்ப்ப
மரீஇயோ ரறியாது மைந்துபட் டன்றே.

Puṟan 13.

[17] பாகன். [18] கந்து. [19] தறி. [20] ஆலை. [21] ஓடை. [22] சுழி. [23] சாயம் தோய்த்த. [24] தடி. [25] எறுழ். [26] தண்டு. [27] குணில். [28] வில். [29] கொக்கரை. [30] சிலை. [31] தடி. [32] தவர். [33] முனி. [34] வாள். [35] உவணி. [36] ஏதி. [37] கடுத்தலை. [38] துவட்டி. [39] நவிர். [40] நாட்டம். [41] வஞ்சம். [42] வள். [43] குறும்பிடி. [44] சுரிகை. [45] கத்தி.

kōṇam,[1] the spear, *īṭṭi*,[2] *iṭṭi*,[3] *kaḻukkaḍai*,[4] *kaḻumuḷ*,[5] the lance and the javelin, *vēl*,[6] the implement of Murugan, *eyil*,[7] *araṇam*,[8] *ehkam*,[9] [from *ehku*,[10] (1) sharp, (2) steel], *kundam*,[11] *ñāṅgar*,[12] the shorter ones being *uḍambiḍi*,[13] *viṭṭēṟu*,[14] etc. ; the trident, *kaḻu*,[15] *kāḻ*,[16] the battle-axe, *maḻu*,[17] *kaṇichchi*,[18] *kundāli*,[19] *kuḷir*,[20] *taṇṇam* ;[21] the arrow, *ambu*,[22] *kaṇai*,[23] *kadiram*,[24] (allied to *kadir*,[25] ray, spike), *kō*,[26] *kōl*,[27] *toḍai*,[28] *tōṇi*,[29] *pagaḻi*,[30] *paḷḷam*,[31] *puḍai*,[32] *vaṇḍu*,[33] *vāḷi* ;[34] the arrow being one of the earliest implements used by the Tamils in fighting with animals and men, has so many names ; so too the string of the bow, *nāṇ*,[35] *nāṇi*,[36] *pūram*,[37] *āvam*,[38] *toḍai*,[39] *nāri*,[40] *narambu*,[41] *pūṭṭu*,[42] the particular point where the arrow was placed being called *uḍu*.[43] The defensive weapons were the shield, *kēḍagam*,[44] *kiḍugu*,[45] *kaḍagam*,[46] *taṭṭu*,[47] *pariśai*,[48] *palagai*,[49] *maṟai*,[50] *vaṭṭaṇam*,[51] *vaṭṭam* ;[52] those made of hide were distinguished as *tōl*,[53] *tōṟparam*,[54] and of cane as *taṇḍai*,[55] *vaḷḷi*.[56] A coat of armour was *mēḻagam*,[57] *araṇi*,[58] *āśu*,[59] *kandaḷam*,[60] gauntlets for protecting the hands, being called *kaippuḍai*.[61]

Musical Instruments

Drums and other musical instruments were used in warfare to inspire men and elephants (and later, horses) with martial enthusiasm. Musical instruments generally were called *iyam*,[62] *vāttiyam*,[63] *vāchchiyam*,[64] *isaikkaruvi*,[65] *iśai*,[66] being the general term for music. Musical instruments were divided into four kinds, *tōṟkaruvi*,[67] those covered with leather, *tuḷaikkaruvi*,[68] those provided with holes, *narambukkaruvi*,[69] stringed instruments, and *miḍaṟṟukkaruvi*,[70] throat-instruments. Seven names of notes belonging to Tamil are *kural*,[71] *tuttam*,[72] *kaikkiḷai*,[73] *uḻai*,[74] *iḷi*,[75] *viḷari*,[76] and *tāram*,[77] said to be produced respectively in the throat, the tongue, the palate, the head, the forehead, the pharynx, and the nose. Perhaps these are the seven notes of the scale. The chief wind-instrument was the *kuḻal*,[78] the flute, of which there were many kinds, *paṇai*,[79] made of the bamboo, *āmbal*,[80] of reed, *konṟai*,[81] of the fruit of the Cassia perforated and *mullai*, of the creeper *jasminum trichotomum* twisted to serve as a flute. There were also different forms of the trumpet, *tārai*,[82] *kāḷam*,[83] *kākaḷam*,[84] *ammiyam*,[85] *śinnam*,[86] the cornet or horn, *kombu*,[87] *kōḍu*,[88] *iralai*,[89] *vayir*.[90]

The chief stringed instrument was the *yāḻ*.[91] There were many varieties of it, one for each of the five regions. The number of strings in the *yāḻ* varied from four to seven, sixteen, seventeen, twenty-one.

A *yāḻ* was composed of various parts : 'its *pattal*[92] (probably sounding-board) had its edges depressed and its middle raised, like the

[1] கோணம். [2] ஈட்டி. [3] இட்டி. [4] கழுக்கடை. [5] கழுமுள். [6] வேல். [7] எயில். [8] அரணம். [9] எஃகம். [10] எஃகு. [11] குந்தம். [12] ஞாங்கர். [13] உடம்பிடி. [14] விட்டேறு. [15] கழு. [16] காழ். [17] மழு. [18] கணிச்சி. [19] குந்தாலி. [20] குளிர். [21] தண்ணம். [22] அம்பு [23] கணை. [24] கதிரம். [25] கதிர் [26] கோ. [27] கோல். [28] தொடை. [29] தோணி. [30] பகழி. [31] பள்ளம். [32] புடை. [33] வண்டு. [34] வாளி. [35] நாண். [36] நாணி. [37] பூரம். [38] ஆவம். [39] தொடை. [40] நாரி. [41] நரம்பு. [42] பூட்டு. [43] உடு. [44] கேடகம். [45] கிடுகு. [46] கடகம். [47] தட்டு. [48] பரிசை. [49] பலகை [50] மறை. [51] வட்டணம். [52] வட்டம். [53] தோல். [54] தோற்பரம். [55] தண்டை. [56] வள்ளி. [57] மேழகம். [58] அரணி. [59] ஆசு. [60] கந்தளம். [61] கைப்புடை. [62] இயம். [63] வாத்தியம். [64] வாச்சியம். [65] இசைக்கருவி. [66] இசை. [67] தோற்கருவி. [68] துளைகருவி. [69] நரம்புக்கருவி. [70] மிடற்றுக்கருவி. [71] குரல். [72] துத்தம். [73] கைக்கிளை. [74] உழை. [75] இளி. [76] விளரி. [77] தாரம். [78] குழல். [79] பணை. [80] ஆம்பல். [81] கொன்றை. [82] தாரை. [83] காளம். [84] காகளம். [85] அம்மியம். [86] சின்னம். [87] கொம்பு. [88] கோடு. [89] இரலை. [90] வயிர். [91] யாழ். [92] பத்தல்.

impression on the earth of an antelope's foot ; this was covered by a skin of the colour of a flame and it was stitched in the middle and the stitches resembled the row of thin hair on the belly of a fair girl in the early stages of pregnancy ; the skin was fixed to the wood by means of nails which looked like the eyes of the crab which lives in a mountain-cave ; its mouth without a palate was of the shape of the moon on the eighth day after the new moon ; its beam was like a serpent with its head upraised ; its straps were like bracelets on the forearm of a black woman ; its strings were taut and, struck by fingers looking like husked *tinai*, resounded.'[1]

In another poem it is described as having a *tol*,[2] hide of the colour of the core of the *pādiri*,[3] the trumpet flower, *Bignonia. Chelonoides*, a *tuḷai*,[4] a hole with two eyes like the bud of the *kamugu*,[5] areca-palm, a green *pōrvai*,[6] looking homogeneous as if made of melted metal, a *vāy*,[7] mouth dark like a dried up spring, a *kaḍai*,[8] extremity of the shape of the crescent, a *tivavu*,[9] bands with strips of leather, moving like the bangles at the wrists of a lady, a *maruppu*,[10] or *taṇḍu*,[11] trunk, dark like sapphire, and *narambu*,[12] strings, as if of gold.[13]

The drum, *paṟai*,[14] *muraśu*,[15] *pērigai*,[16] *āguḷi*,[17] *ellari*,[18] *śalligai*,[19] *śallari*,[20] *kiṇai*,[21] was also of various kinds and differed from region to region and also according to the purposes for which it was used. *Taḍāri*[22] or *uḍukkai*,[23] was a small double drum shaped like a sand-glass and carried by minstrels, *pāṇar*.[24] The *taṭṭai*,[25] or *karaḍigai*[26] uttered a sound like the grunt of a bear. 'Pure Tamil' names of various tunes, *paṇ*,[27] viz., *pālai*,[28] *kuṟiñji*,[29] *marudam*,[30] *śevvaḻi*,[31] occur; moreover the names of a few rāgams now sung are old Tamil names, but nothing definite about old Tamil music can be ascertained unless ancient books like the *Iśainuṇukkam*,[32] of the *Iḍaichchaṅgam*,[33] the *Śirriśai*,[34] and the *Pēriśai*,[35] of the *Kaḍaichchaṅgam*[36] are discovered.

The arms, offensive and defensive, and the drums, referred to above, were also used in hunting, *vēṭṭai*,[37] *āgēḍagam*,[38] *pābatti*.[39] which was another favourite occupation of kings and nobles. The professional shikari had numerous names, *āviyar*,[40] *kānavar*,[41] *kuṟavar*,[42]

[1] குளப்புவழி யன்ன கவடுபடு பத்தல்
விளக்கழ லுருவின் விசியுறு பச்சை
யெய்யா விளஞ்சூற் செய்யோ ளவ்வயிற்
றைதுமயி ரொழுகிய தோற்றம் போலப்
பொல்லம் பொத்திய பொதியுறு போர்வை
யளைவா ழலவன் கண்கண் டன்ன
துளைவாய் தூர்ந்த துரப்பமை யாணி
யெண்ணாட் டிங்கள் வடிவிற் றாகி
யண்ணா வில்லா வமைவரு வறுவாய்ப்
பாம்பணந் தன்ன வோங்கிரு மருப்பின்
மாயோள் முன்கை யாய்தொடி கடுக்குங்
கண்கூ டிருக்கைத் திண்வணித் திவவி
னாய்தினை யரிசி யவைய லன்ன
வேய்வை போகிய விரலுளர் நரம்பிற்
கேள்வி போகிய நீள்விசித் தொடையல்.

Porunarāṟṟuppaḍai, 4-18.

[2] தோல். [3] பாதிரி. [4] துளை. [5] கமுகு. [6] போர்வை. [7] வாய். [8] கடை. [9] திவவு. [10] மருப்பு. [11] தண்டு. [12] நரம்பு. [13] *Perumbāṇaṟṟuppaḍai*, 4-16. [14] பறை. [15] முரசு. [16] பேரிகை. [17] ஆகுளி. [18] எல்லரி. [19] சல்லிகை. [20] சல்லரி. [21] கிணை. [22] தடாரி. [23] உடுக்கை. [24] பாணர். [25] தட்டை. [26] கரடிகை. [27] பண். [28] பாலை. [29] குறிஞ்சி. [30] மருதம். [31] செவ்வழி. [32] இசைநுணுக்கம். [33] இடைச்சங்கம். [34] சிற்றிசை. [35] பேரிசை. [36] கடைச்சங்கம். [37] வேட்டை. [38] ஆகேடகம். [39] பாபத்தி. [40] ஆவியர். [41] கானவர். [42] குறவர்.

kunṟavar,[1] *kūḷiyar*,[2] *kolaiñar*,[3] *śavarar*,[4] *śilavar*,[5] *śillar*,[6] *tīyar*,[7] *pullar*,[8] *pulaiñar*,[9] *maṟavar*,[10] *marudar*,[11] *vēḍar*,[12] showing how widespread that profession was. They were also employed as policemen, armed with the bow and the sharp arrow.[13]

TOWNS AND VILLAGES: HOUSES

Round the *Kōṭṭai* where the king resided, grew the *pēṭṭai*,[14] (from *pē*,[15] vulgar, whence is derived *pēdai*,[16] common people, the poor, *pēy*,[17] the wild plant, also goblin). Naturally the followers of each trade gravitated towards each other and each principal profession was confined to a single pēṭṭai; there were thus many suburbs around a town, separated from each other. These pēṭṭais were each surrounded by rice-fields or gardens. There are many words to indicate a house, such as *vīḍu*,[18] *agam*,[19] *il*,[20] *illam*,[21] *śērbu*,[22] *pātti*,[23] *manai*,[24] *vayin*,[25] besides the compound words *uṟaiyuḷ*[26] and *pukkil*.[27] The houses of richer men were called *māḍam*[28] (whence perhaps *māḍi*,[29] upper story) or *māḷigai*[30] from the root *māḷ*,[31] great. They were built almost entirely of timber upto about twelve centuries ago. The following words relating to parts of a house may be noted: *iṟappu*,[32] *iṟai*,[33] *valavu*,[34] *tāḻvāram*,[35] sloping roof; *munṟil*,[36] *muṟṟam*,[37] courtyard, inside or outside a house; the compound word *nilāmuṟṟam*,[38] a flat roof on which one can walk up and down; *uttiram*,[39] *tūlam*,[40] beam *śuṟṟuvāri*,[41] *tāḻ*,[42] *tuḍai*,[43] *mugaḍu*,[44] *viḍaṅgam*,[45] beam projecting beyond a wall. In front of the houses was the *tiṇṇai*[46] a raised and covered platform, which served the purposes of a drawing-room and bed-room for the day and even for the night. Before the *tiṇṇai*, was the *kuṟaḍu*,[47] open platform, flanked by the *oṭṭuttiṇṇai*.[48] The walls, the *tiṇṇai* and the floor of the house were no doubt polished like a mirror or black-marble, the cement being compounded of clay, charcoal and cattle-dung, *maṇ*,[49] *kari*,[50] and *śāṇi*,[51] and applied to the surface wet and rubbed over for hours with a bit of flattened quartz, an art which is fast dying out. The entrance to the house was not flush with street, as there was a *vāyilpaḍi*,[52] door-step. It was provided with a wooden frame work, *nilai*,[53] and a door, *kadavu*,[54] also called *araṇam*,[55] *aravam*,[56] *kāppu*,[57] *tōṭṭi*,[58] *pudavu*,[59] *vāri*,[60] secured by a wooden bolt and heavily carved outside, as they are even today in houses not ruined by modern civilization. The houses were provided with windows, *śāḷaram*,[61] *śannal*,[62] *palagaṇi*,[63] being, as the name implied, a many-eyed lattice window. Behind the door ran a narrow passage, *iḍaikaḻi*,[64] or *naḍai*,[65] which led into the house. The houses were provided with

[1] குன்றவர். [2] கூளியர். [3] கொலைஞர். [4] சவரர். [5] சிலவர். [6] சில்லர். [7] தீயர். [8] புல்லர். [9] புலைஞர். [10] மறவர். [11] மருதர். [12] வேடர்.

[13] கூர்நல் அம்பின் கொடுவில் கூளியர்.

Malaipaḍukaḍām, 422.

[14] பேட்டை. [15] பே [16] பேதை. [17] பேய். [18] வீடு. [19] அகம். [20] இல். [21] இல்லம். [22] சேர்ப்பு. [23] பாத்தி. [24] மனை. [25] வயின். [26] உறையுள். [27] புக்கில். The houses of Brāhmaṇas were given the Sanskrit name of *Āharam*, (ஆகரம்.) and the street where they lived *akkirāhāram*. (அக்கிரகாரம்.)

[28] மாடம். [29] மாடி. [30] மாளிகை. [31] மாள். [32] இறப்பு. [33] இறை. [34] வளவு. [35] தாழ்வாரம். [36] முன்றில். [37] முற்றம். [38] நிலாமுற்றம். [39] உத்திரம். [40] தூலம். [41] சுற்றுவாரி. [42] தாழ். [43] துடை. [44] முகடு. [45] விடங்கம். [46] திண்ணை. [47] குறடு. [48] ஒட்டுத்திண்ணை. [49] மண். [50] கரி. [51] சாணி. [52] வாயில்படி. [53] நிலை. [54] கதவு. [55] அரணம். [56] அரவம். [57] காப்பு. [58] தோட்டி. [59] புதவு. [60] வாரி. [61] சாளரம். [62] சன்னல். [63] பலகணி. [64] இடைகழி. [65] நடை.

drains, *śākkaḍai*,[1] or *śālagam*,[2] as were the houses of Mohenjo-daro, recently unearthed. The spout of the drain was *tūmbu*,[3] *puḻal*,[4] *śuruṅgu*.[5] The inside walls were provided with niches, *purai*,[6] in which were placed, among other things, the lamps to light the house by night. These lamps were little bowls of stone or earthern-ware, or metal, *agal*,[7] *tagaḷi*,[8] *tagaḻi*,[9] *iḍiñjil*,[10] *pāṇḍil*,[11] in which castor oil or other oils were burnt with a cotton wick.[12] Behind the house was another *kuṟaḍu*,[13] which was a lumber room. Behind this the house-well, *kiṇaṟu*,[14] *aśumbu*,[15] *uṟavi*,[16] *kuḻi*,[17] *kūval*,[18] *kūḍam*,[19] *tuṟavu*,[20] *kēṇi*.[21] *pūval*,[22] the latter three being water pits without a protecting structure of wood around them. Behind the well stretched a garden, either a kitchen garden or a fruit tope, *kollai*,[23] *tōppu*,[24] *tōṭṭam*,[25] *āvalam*,[26] *tuḍavai*,[27] *toḍuvu*,[28] *paḍappai*,[29] *pāvagam*,[30] *punam*.[31] In the *kollai* behind the house was the *koṭṭil*,[32] cattle-shed, *koṭṭu*,[33] from probably the same word as Telugu *goḍḍu*, cattle, and *il*, meaning house. Behind the garden stretched the corn fields, *vayal*.[34]

The furniture of houses was utensils for polishing and grinding rice and for cooking it in various ways. *Ural*[35] and *ullakkai*[36] morter and pestle, of both wood and stone, pounding stones of several shapes, sometimes the shape of the tortoise or other animals, *ammi*,[37] *tiruvai*[38] *āṭṭukkal*,[39] *kuḻavi*,[40] mealers of stone, *puṭṭil*,[41] *vaṭṭigai*,[42] basket, *muṟam*,[43] *śinnam*,[44] *suḷagu*,[45] *taṭṭu*,[46] *muṟṟil*,[47] winnowing fan, *śallaḍai*,[48] sieve; different forms of pots of earthenware or soft stone, *pānai*,[49] *śaṭṭi*,[50] *śāl*,[51] *kuḍam*,[52] *miḍā*,[53] *pānā*,[54] *mallāy*,[55] lid for the same, *maḍakku*;[56] spoons, at first made of wood, and then of iron or other metal, *agappai*,[57] (of three kinds, *taṭṭagappai*,[58] *śandagappai*,[59] *śiṟṟagappai*,[60]) *śaṭṭuvam*,[61] *karaṇḍi*,[62] *muṭṭai*, *tuḍuppu*,[63] *maravai*,[64] *marakkāl*,[65] or *ambaṇam*,[66] *toṭṭi*,[67] *kiṇṇam*,[68] *vaṭṭi*,[69] *vaṭṭil*,[70] flat spoon, all of wood or stone coming down from the stone age and a few of metal since the commencement of the iron age; other household furniture were *maṇai*,[71] planks for sitting on or shaped logs used as pillows, *peṭṭi*,[72] *pēḻai*,[73] *mañjikai*,[74] box, the stone-age form of which was the *kaṭṭuppeṭṭi*,[75] a box of wicker work without any metal parts and bound together by means of cocoanut coir, and hence absolutely unpollutable by touch and fit for storing eatables and the Lares and Penates; *kaṭṭil*,[76] literally bound place, a cot made of bamboos fitted together into an oblong framework bound together with ropes, also called *pāṇḍil*;[77] literature mentions richer forms of

[1]சாக்கடை. [2]சாலகம். [3]தூம்பு. [4]புழல். [5]சுருங்கு. [6]புரை. [7]அகல். [8]தகளி. [9]தகழி. [10]இடிஞ்சில். [11]பாண்டில். [12]பஞ்சி வெண்டிரிச் செஞ்சுடர் நல்லில், *Kuṟundogai*, 353. A good house with red flames issuing from white wicks of cotton wool. [13]குறடு. [14]கிணறு. [15]அசும்பு. [16]உறவி. [17]குழி. [18]கூவல். [19]கூடம். [20]துறவு. [21]கேணி. [22]பூவல். [23]கொல்லை. [24]தோப்பு. [25]தோட்டம். [26]ஆவலம். [27]துடவை [28]தொடுவு. [29]படப்பை. [30]பாவகம். [31]புனம். A new *kollai* was *vidaippunam*, (விதைப்புனம்.) and an old one, or one made by cutting and burning down a forest, *mudaippunam* (முதைப்புனம்.) [32]கொட்டில். [33]கொட்டு. [34]வாயில். [35]உரல். [36]உலக்கை [37]அம்மி. [38]திருவை. [39]ஆட்டுக்கல். [40]குழவி. [41]புட்டில். [42]வட்டிகை. [43]முறம். [44]சின்னம். [45]சுளகு. [46]தட்டு. [47]முற்றில். [48]சல்லடை. [49]பானை. [50]சட்டி. [51]சால். [52]குடம். [53]மிடா. [54]பானா. [55]மல்லாய். [56]மடக்கு. [57]அகப்பை. [58]தட்டகப்பை. [59]சந்தகப்பை. [60]சிற்றகப்பை. [61]சட்டுவம். [62]கரண்டி. [63]துடுப்பு. [64]மரவை. [65]மரக்கால். [66]அம்பணம். [67]தொட்டி. [68]கிண்ணம். [69]வட்டி. [70]வட்டில். [71]மணை. [72]பெட்டி. *Tapalai*, *tavalai*, and *śaruvam* are now used for metal pots and are perhaps loan-words of a later age. [73]பேழை. [74]மஞ்சிகை. [75]கட்டுப்பெட்டி. [76]கட்டில். [77]பாண்டில்.

the *pāṇḍil*, which will be described later on, tied with tape, *taṭṭam*,[1] or *kachchu*,[2] woven with decorative lines, like the stripes of a tiger; this kind of cot was called *kachchukkaṭṭil*,[3] the former being *kayiṛṛukkaṭṭil*.[4]

Besides the cot there was the *toṭṭil*,[5] cradle, literally, hanging place, (from *to*,[6] whose intensive is *toṅgu*,[7] to hang,) *tūḷi*,[8] hammock, *ūñjal*[9] or *vīśupalagai*,[10] swinging plank, *kuḍalai*[11] plaited basket for gathering flowers, *śimiḻ*,[12] small casket, *uṛi*,[13] or *śimili*,[14] a loop of string suspended from the roof of a house or from the end of a pole called *kāvaḍi*,[15] by means of which one man can carry two men's loads; *kaṇappu*,[16] or *kumbaṭṭi*[17] for warming the hands and the breast during cold nights, *paṭṭaḍai*,[18] *śumuḍu*,[19] *śummāḍu*,[20] contrivances on which to stand pots *kūḍu*,[21] coop, *kudir*,[22] granary, *paraṅ*,[23] *idaṇam*,[24] *kaḻudu*,[25] *paḍagam*,[26] *paṇavai*,[27] loft for storing articles, also raised platform for watching birds and other enemies of the growing crops, *taḍavu*,[28] *indaḷam*,[29] censer, *ñelikōl*,[30] stick for churning fire, *tūkku*,[31] *kā*,[32] *niṛaikol*,[33] steelyard introduced into Europe by the Dutch and hence called Dutch steel-yard, *kavaṇ*,[34] *taḻal*,[35] sling, also bull-roarer; *pāy*,[36] mat, and *mettai*,[37] *aṇai*,[38] *amaḷi*,[39] *kāguḷi*,[40] *taviśu*,[41] *taḷimam*,[42] bed stuffed with cotton. These constitute, even now, the complete furniture of Tamil homes such as have not come under the seductive influence of European foreign trade.

The poorer people lived in huts, *kuḍiśai*,[43] *kuḍil*,[44] *kuchchu*,[45] *kuchchil*,[46] *kurambai*.[47] Their walls were made of wattle and clay, and they were generally circular, rarely rectangular, in shape; the roof was rarely aspidal, but mostly domical and topped by a pot, *kuḍam*,[48] through a hole in which were passed the bamboos constituting the framework of the roof; and from the early days when such huts were built, temples were built in similar fashion, and when later they were built of brick or stone, over the shrines was built a domical roof, furnished with a metal pot, now called *kalaśam*[49] and serving an ornamental, not useful, purpose.

The following is a description of a hunter's hut of old times:—

'In the huts of the hunters were leaning, on the planks decorated with bells, lances whose ends were blunted and smelling of flesh from the bodies of enemies whom the hunters killed and left lying on the ground, a prey for kites. Bows with the string tied in knots were also leaning on the walls on which there was a thatch of *ūga*[50] grass. Bundles of arrows with notches like honeycombs on hills were hanging from the thick legs of the pandal. The huts were guarded by dogs chained to posts. The compound was surrounded by a living hedge of thorns. The door was fastened by a strong beam. In front were

1 தட்டம். 2 கச்சு. 3 கச்சுக்கட்டில். 4 கயிற்றுக்கட்டில். 5 தொட்டில்.
6 தொ. 7 தொங்கு 8 தூளி. 9 ஊஞ்சல். 10 வீசுபலகை. 11 குடலை.
12 சிமிழ். 13 உறி. 14 சிமிலி: 15 காவடி. 16 கணப்பு. 17 கும்பட்டி.
18 பட்டடை. 19 சுமுடு. 20 சும்மாடு. 21 கூடு. 22 குதிர். 23 பரண்.
24 இதணம். 25 கழுது. 26 படகம். 27 பணவை. 28 தடவு. 29 இந்தளம்.
30 ஞெலிகோல். 31 தூக்கு. 32 கா. 33 நிறைகோல். 34 கவண். 35 தழல்.
36 பாய். 37 மெத்தை. 38 அணை. 39 அமளி. 40 காகுளி. 41 தவிசு. 42 தளிமம்.
43 குடிசை. 44 குடில். 45 குச்சு. 46 குச்சில். 47 குரம்பை.
48 குடம். 49 கலசம். 50 ஊகம்.

fixed rows of stiff-standing, cruel-pointed stakes. Such were the houses of the hunters who were armed with the bent bow.'[1]

More or less irregular rows or groups of *kuḍiśais*,[2] huts, sparsely interspersed with *māḷigais*,[3] constituted the street, *teru*,[4] *āvaṇam*,[5] *kōśam*,[6] *ñellal*,[7] *maṟugu*;[8] a long street was called *manṟam*,[9] a short one, *kōṇam*,[10] and the place where many streets meet, *śadukkam*,[11] or *śandu*.[12] Towns and villages were named variously according to the regions, *tiṇai*,[13] they belonged to. Thus in Kuṟiñji, they were called *śiṟukuḍi*,[14] *kuṟichchi*;[15] in Mullai, *pāḍi*,[16] *śeri*,[17] *paḷḷi*;[18] in Marudam, *ūr*;[19] in Neydal, *pākkam*;[20] and in Pālai, *paṟandalai*.[21] In the towns dwelt, side by side, *mēlōr*[22] or *uyarndōr*[23] and *kīḻor*[24] or *tāḻndōr*,[25] the higher and the lower classes. The later literature of the early Christian centuries speak of two assemblies of men who were the recipients of royal confidence—*aimberukuḻu*[26] and *eṇpērāyam*.[27] *kuḻu*[28] and *āyam*[29] meant assemblies; the five assemblies have been explained by commentators as those of ministers, priests, army leaders, ambassadors and intelligence officers, but the names of these, viz., *amaichchar*,[30] *purōhitar*,[31] *śēnāpadiyar*,[32] *tūduvar*[33] and *śāraṇar*[34], are all *tadbhavas* from Sanskrit and hence it is difficult to decide that the five groups of officers existed from old times. The group of eight are said to consist of ministers, executive officers, treasury officers, door-keepers, citizens, generals, elephant-warriors, horse-soldiers.[35] This enumeration, mixing men of high and low degree, does not strike one as referring to very ancient times. An early commentator of *Śilappadigāram* gives a less improbable enumeration of these five and eight assemblies; the five are made up of sages, Brahmans, physicians, soothsayers and ministers; even this cannot be a classification of the Pre-Aryan Epoch because Brāhmaṇas occurs in the list. The eight are those who apply sandal paste to the person of the king, those that decorate him with flowers, those that

[1]பருந்துபட
வொன்னாத் தெவ்வர் நடுங்க வோச்சி
வைந்நுதி மழுங்கிய புலவுவா யெஃகம்
வடிமணிப் பல்லையொடு நிறைஇ முடிநாட்
சாபஞ் சாத்திய கணைதுஞ்சு வியனக
ரூகம் வேய்ந்த வுயர்நிலை வரைப்பின்
வரைத்தேன் புரையுங் கவைக்கடைப் புதையொடு
கடுந்துடி தூங்குங் கணைக்காற் பந்தர்த்
தொடர்நா யாத்த துன்னருங் கடிநகர்
வாழ்முள் வேலிச் சூழ்மிளைப் படப்பைக்
கொடுநுகந் தழீஇப் புதவிற் செந்நிலை
நெடுநுதி வயக்கழு நிறைத்த வாயிற்
கொடுவில் லெயினர் குறும்பு.

Perumbāṇāṟṟuppaḍai. 117—129.

[2]குடிசை. [3]மாளிகை. [4]தெரு. [5]ஆவணம். [6]கோசம். [7]ஞெல்லல். [8]மறுகு. [9]மன்றம். [10]கோணம். [11]சதுக்கம். [12]சந்து. [13]திணை. [14]சிறுகுடி. [15]குறிச்சி. [16]பாடி. [17]சேரி. [18]பள்ளி. [19]ஊர். [20]பாக்கம். [21]பறந்தலை. [22]மேலோர். [23]உயர்ந்தோர். [24]கீழோர். [25]தாழ்ந்தோர். [26]ஐம்பெருங்குழு. [27]எண்பேராயம். [28]குழு. [29]ஆயம். [30]அமைச்சர். [31]புரோகிதர். [32]சேனாபதியர். [33]தூதுவர். [34]சாரணர் அமைச்சர் புரோகிதர் சேனாபதியர் தவாத்தொழிற் றூதுவர் சாரணரென்றிவர் பார்த்திபர்க் கைம்பெருங் குழுவெனப்படுமே. *Divākaram* 163.

[35]காரணத்தியலவர் கருமவிதிகள், கனகச்சுற்றங்கடை காப்பாளர், நகரமாந்தர் நளிபடைத்தலைவர், யானைவீரர் இவுளிமற வரினையரெண்பே ராயமென்ப. *Ib.* quoted in the commentaries on *Śilappadigāram*, v. 157, p. 144.

fasten his belt, those that clothe him, those that supply arecanut and betel leaves and those that put on his armour.[1] This looks like a genuine list of the persons immediately round the king.

DRESS.

The cotton plant is a native of India and the Indians of the later stone age learnt to spin the cotton fibre into thread, *nūl*,[2] *iḻai*,[3] *saraḍu*,[4] *toḍar*,[5] *nuvaṇam*,[6] *panuval*,[7] *piśin*,[8] and to weave cotton yarn into long pieces of cloth. The idea of cloth was no doubt suggested by *pannāḍai*[9], also called *neyyari*[10] which the people wore, besides hides, before the invention of cotton-weaving. *Pannāḍai* is the web at the bottom of a young palmyra or cocoanut leaf and was used as cloth in very ancient times, for *maravuri*,[11] tree-flay, also called *āśini*, [12] *iṟaiñji*, [13] *śīram*, [14] *śīrai*, [15] is one of the forms of dress which possesses the holiness of hoary antiquity and is patronized by sacred ascetics and pilgrims. The supply of cotton was abundant and weavers wore endless lengths of cotton cloth, *tugil*, [16] which they cut into short pieces, *aṟuvai*, [17] *tuṇi*, [18] *tuṇḍu* [19] before winding round their persons. The number of words meaning dress is very great: *āśāram*, [20] *āśiḍai*,[21] *āḍai*, [22] *iḍaidal*, [23] *ilakkāram*, [24] *uḍukkai* [25] *uḍai*,[26] *eḍagam*, [27] *oliyal*, [28] (specially used for *mēlāḍai*, cloth worn over the shoulder), *kandai*, [29] *kattiyam*, [30] *kappaḍam*, [31] *kalai*, [32] *kāḍagam*, [33] *kāṇḍam*, [34] *kāḻagam*,[35] *kūṟai*,[36] (now used for cloth, presented to the bride during marriage), *kōḍi* [37] (now used for cloth, unwashed, straight from the hands of the weaver or the vendor), *śambaran*, [38] *śāḍi*, [39] *siṟṟil*,[40] *śirai*, [41] *śūḍi*, [42] *śēlai*, [43] *tānai* [44] (also *mēlaḍai*), *tūśu*, [45] *tūṭṭi*, [46] *tūriyam*, [47] *tōkkai*, [48] *miḍiyal*,[49] *puḍavai*,[50] (now restricted to the long piece of cloth worn by women), *paḍām*,[51] *paṭṭam*;[52] and many others. All these words meant cloth woven of the fibre of cotton. Those woven of silk werecalled *karambu*,[53] *paṇi*.[54] *paraṇam*, [55]*pāḷidam*,[56] andwoollen cloth, *mayiragam*, [57] *vayiriyam*.[58] The fewness of the names of silk and woollen cloth shows that weaving in these was scarce. Cloth dyedin various colours, *śāyam toyita*, [59] was freely used. Indeed decoration being the chief aim of Indian art, as will be explained later, plain white cloth was considered as fit for occasions of mourning and for being worn by women in permanent mourning, i.e., widows. Hence dyed cloth and that decorated with flowers on the borders and throughout the body of the cloth was the usual wear. A much decorated cloth,

[1] சாந்துபூக் கச்சாடை பாக்கிலை கஞ்சுகநெ
யாய்ந்த விவரெண்ம ராயத்தோர்—வேந்தர்க்கு
மாசனம் பார்ப்பார் மருத்தர் வாழ்நிமித்த ரோடமைச்ச
ராசிலவைக் களத்தாரைந்து. *op. cit.* p. 144.

[2] நூல். [3] இழை. [4] சரடு. [5] தொடர். [6] நுவணம். [7] பனுவல். [8] பிசின். [9] பன்னாடை. [10] நெய்யரி. [11] மரவுரி. [12] ஆசினி. [13] இறைஞ்சி. [14] சீரம். [15] சீரை. [16] துகில். [17] அறுவை, from root அறு to cut. [18] துணி. [19] துண்டு, both from root துண் to cut. [20] ஆசாரம். [21] ஆசிடை. [22] ஆடை. [23] இடைதல். [24] இலக்காரம். [25] உடுக்கை. [26] உடை. [27] எடகம். [28] ஒலியல். [29] கந்தை. [30] கத்தியம். [31] கப்படம். [32] கலை. [33] காடகம். [34] காண்டம். [35] காழகம். [36] கூறை. [37] கோடி. [38] சம்பரம். [39] சாடி. [40] சிற்றில். [41] சிரை. [42] சூடி. [43] சேலை. [44] தானை. [45] தூசு. [46] தூட்டி. [47] தூரியம். [48] தோக்கை. [49] மிடியல். [50] புடவை. [51] படாம். [52] பட்டம். [53] கரம்பு. [54] பணி. [55] பரணம். [56] பாளிதம். [57] மயிரகம், [58] வயிரியம். [59] சாயம்தோய்த்த.

woven so finely that the yarn could not be distinguished by sight and adorned with woven flowers so that it looked like the skin of the serpent, is refered to in literature.[1] The sentiment against plain, white. undecorated cloth was so strong even two generations ago, when machine-made cloth began to compete vigorously with hard-woven cloth, that the more conservative of the men, who were tempted to use Manchester mull on account of its cheapness, stitched across its borders and along its edges, lines of red thread to make it look respectable. Even to-day the old instincts assert themselves on occasions of festive celebrations, when undecorated cloth is taboo. This objection to undecorated cloth, yards of unrelieved whiteness, this sentiment springing from age-long association of plain, undyed, undecorated cloth with mourning and the offensiveness of its monotony to eyes trained to a sense of beauty and to the æsthetic instincts common to all Indians, has in the last two generations been vanquished by the glamour of machine-made cloth, woven of yarn spun evenly by spinning machines and polished by chemical appliances, ever-new forms of which are being invented day after day. Tamil ladies alone have presented a solid front of opposition to this destruction of the æsthetic sense of South Indians by soul-less, machine-made cloth.

Weaving in wool is as ancient as weaving in cotton ; it was essentially an industry, not of *marudam*, but of *mullai*, in the less fertile parts of which lived the *Kurumbar*,[2] the class of herdsmen who tended the *kurumbādu*,[3] and wove from its fleece the *kambaḷam*,[4] ten thousands years ago as they do to-day. Wool weaving did not go beyond its crude stage in Southern India ; but in Northern India, and especially in Kashmir, where the supply of soft wool from the necks of Himalayan goats was unlimited and where vegetation on the banks of hill-streams and beds of flowers on mountain-sides, presented ever varying patterns to be incorporated by the weaver in wool, was developed the splendid industry of shawl-weaving, which will never be killed by the greatest growth of machine-weaving, so long as man has eyes to see beautiful forms and sense to appreciate beautiful designs.

Silk was used chiefly for decorating the edges of cotton cloth, since the silk fibre was not abundant ; but from the earliest times cloth was also wholly woven of silk thread ; silk cloth and woollen cloth are less susceptible of the pollution of touch than cotton cloth, showing that they were older manufactures than the latter. A cloth woven from rat's hair is also mentioned.[5] But cotton cloth was peculiarly sensitive to touch, in the sense that it could be easily polluted. Every piece of cotton cloth, doffed, *viḻutta*,[6] after wear even for a second became *viḻuppu*,[7] polluted, and the pollution could be got rid of only after being washed with water, dried in air and folded, when it became *maḍi*.[8] This last word meaning fold, came to mean a cloth

[1] நோக்கு நுழைகல்லா நுண்மைப் பூக்கனிந் தரவுரியன்ன வறுவை. *Porunarāṟṟuppaḍai*, 82.83.
[2] குறும்பர். [3] குறும்பாடு. [4] கம்பளம்.

[5] *Śilappadigāram* xiv, 205–7 speaks of the streets where were sold, cloth folded a hundred-fold, woven of fine cotton yarn, hair and silk thread ; here the commentator explains hair to be rats' hair.

"நூலினு மயிரினு நுழைநூற் பட்டினும், பால்வகை தெரியாப் பன்னூறடுக்கத்து நறுமடி, செறிந்த வறுவை வீதியும்"

[6] விழுத்த. [7] விழுப்பு. [8] மடி.

sacramentally pure, when folded after being washed and dried. Such cloth was unfolded and worn, a long piece around the waist and another, round the trunk, loose and graceful, beautiful to look at and allowing the air and the sun to kiss the skin and destroy the innumerable germs that get lodged in it and destroy its health. The supply of cotton being unlimited and the patience of the weavers being inexhaustible, there was no temptation, such as existed in wool-wearing countries, to cut up cloth so as to make small bits go a long way, and to prepare stitched clothes. Not that the needle (*ūsi*,[1] *iḻai-vāṅgi*,[2]) or its use in stitching, *tunnal*,[3] *taiyal*,[4] was unknown,[5] but in addition to the objection that stitched clothes reveal too much the human anatomy, there was no necessity to use them when cloth was plentiful. Indeed whole cloth, without a tear, mended or unmended, became in popular estimation sacramentally pure, and stitches of any kind rendered cloth unfit for use on ceremonial occasions. Ladies who in all respects preserve ancient orthodoxy intact, do not wear stitched cloth on such occasions. The jacket, the only form of stitched clothes ladies wear, has got the non-Tamil name of *ravikkai*;[6] it was possibly introduced into the country by Yavana (Greek and Roman) ladies that formed the body-guard of Indian kings two thousand years ago, or later by the Muhammadans. Whatever its origin, it is worn only on secular occasions and even then only by young women, who are allowed greater lapses into heterodoxy of conduct than elderly ladies. Serving men and soldiers wore coats, *śaṭṭai*,[7] *kuppāyam*,[8] *taippai*,[9] *meyppai*,[10] the latter two *kāraṇappeyar*, indicating that a coat was a late introduction in the lives of the Tamils. The absence of stitched clothes among the Indians struck that accurate foreign student of Indian manners, Al Bērūni, as so peculiar, that he remarks that the Indians 'wore turbans for trousers,' a long piece of unstitched cloth appealing to the Muslim imagination as being fit only for turbans. The Tamils did not wear turbans as a rule, their unshaved head serving as sufficient protection against the sun; but in the cotton districts where the summer sun is so fierce, men wore huge turbans and tight fore-lap cloth. This latter, *kachchu*,[11] *kachchai*,[12] *kōvaṇam*,[13] is the only absolutely indispensable garment for the Tamil people, and is woven with decorative lines, athwart and along, even to-day in parts of South India. Apparently the turban was not universal; only one name for it is traceable—*pāgai*,[14] or *pāgu*,[15] often with *talai*,[16] prefixed to it, it is not possible to guess why. There remain *kuḍai*,[17] umbrella, made of palm leaves and fixed to a stick or clapped on the head like a hat, and *śeruppu*,[18] leather sandals and *kuṛaḍu*,[19] wooden sandals, for the feet, both also being referred to by the compound word *midiyaḍi*.[20]

[1] ஊசி. [2] இழைவாங்கி. [3] துன்னல். [4] தையல்.

[5] A poor man's rags are described in *Porunarāṟṟuppaḍai*, 80-81, as cloth stitched, full of threads other than those with which it was woven and wet with sweat.

வேரொடு நனைந்து வேற்றிழை நுழைந்த, துன்னற் சிதாஅர்.

[6] ரவிக்கை. [7] சட்டை. [8] குப்பாயம். [9] தைப்பை. [10] மெய்ப்பை. [11] கச்சு.
[12] கச்சை. [13] கோவணம். [14] பாகை. [15] பாகு. [16] தலை. [17] குடை.
[18] செருப்பு. [19] குறடு. [20] மிதியடி.

DECORATION

The artistic instincts of the Indian people expressed themselves in the form of personal decoration by means of dress and ornaments. Love of decorating not only the person but of every article, has been the inspiring motive of Indian art throughout the ages. Their dwellings were decorated with colour drawings, as is proved by the fact that palettes, and pencils have been found in Stone Age settlements and that even to-day painting on walls and covering the floor daily inside and outside houses with most elaborate designs in coloured powders is practiced. The custom is so old that only on occasions of a death in the house, is it temporarily suspended. Such adornment of the floor is called *kōlam*,[1] which word means beauty, ornaments, embellishments, costumes, trappings, and *kōlam buṉaippeṉ*,[2] or *vaṉṉa-magaḷ*,[3] is the girl who is expert in embellishment, also a lady's dressing maid. This is one of many ancient Indian customs that is dying out on account of the impact of Western civilization; our ladies are struggling to keep up the custom, but our young girls are being no more apprenticed to our matrons for being trained as *kōlam buṉaippeṉ*. As the soul-less 'type-design' buildings constructed by the D.P.W., are destroying taste in architecture, so the education that is given in our girls' schools is killing out the ancient Indian art of house decoration, which now exists only in the villages round celebrated temples and which can be witnessed only on occasions when the temple God is brought out in procession.

Every article of domestic furniture was decorated with art work. Stone articles were made in the shape of tortoises, fishes, heads of cows, etc. and their surface decorated with lines. All articles of wood were filled with wood-carving in various designs. Most of these designs were based on the parts of the lotus plant. The lotus is a plant, every part of which is useful to man; its flower, its seed, its root and its stem are edible and also used in Indian medicine. Its stem and flowers and leaves are used for purposes of decoration. Hence the shape of its leaf and flower and of its stem and seed were combined in various ways to make designs for carving in wood or metal. Every part of the house was ornamented with such carvings: the door-frame, the doors, beam-ends, every part of a pillar, its base, its body, its cornice, was filled with beautiful carvings. When stone was substituted for wood as material for all this work, designs for wood-carving were transferred to stone, though it is very difficult to copy on stone the kind of carving suited to wood.

Not only fixtures but also all moveable articles were filled with decorative carving. Sitting and other planks had many designs cut on them; lotus flowers, cut in metal, were used to make them look pleasing to the eye. All household utensils of wood or metal were works of art. Drinking vessels and water-pots were not only made of the most artistic shapes but were decorated with line-drawing and carving; this continues to be so except in towns where the ugly machine-made products of modern European factories are slowly displacing the products of ancient Indian art-work and the artistic sense of the Indian people being slowly choked out.

[1] கோலம். [2] கோலம் புனைப்பெண். [3] வண்ணமகள்.

The humblest tool used by the ancient Indian was made of a beautiful shape and was besides decorated; the humble bill-book, *arivāl*,[1] which is hooked on to the waist-string of the labourer, is not only of a beautiful shape, but is provided with leaf shaped notches and the brass ferule which binds it to its handle is decorated with art work. The vegetable knife, used in every house, *arivālmaṇai*,[2] has its iron part shaped to resemble a bird and its wooden part covered with line-design. No Indian workman will finish any work of his hands, small or big, humble or otherwise, without putting on it some bit of art work. The country cart, cumbrous as it looks to the careless observer, has every part of it, including the beam, *achchu*,[3] on which the frame-work rests and which holds or does duty for the axle-tree is filled with carvings of the lotus flower or the lotus leaves or stems. The rich carvings on temple-cars which are but copies of ancient wood temples, are too well known to require description here.

The extraordinary development of wood-carving (succeeded by stone-carving) in preference to other forms of art in India was due to two causes. Hard woods that lent themselves to most minute carving grew in abundance. But the more important cause is that the aim of Indian art is decorative and not imitative. Ancient Greek art had for its aim the imitation of the forms of men and of natural objects; the nearer the copy was to the original, the more successful was the art product claimed to be. The art work was executed for its own sake, because as Keats said, 'a thing of beauty is a joy for ever'. Hence art was an end in itself and art-objects were not considered decorations of the drawing room or of something other than themselves. Thus the famous frescoes which exist in various parts of the country are but decorations of cave temples and cave-monasteries, just as carving and group-statuary in stone, in stucco, or in wood, are but decorations of the *vimānam*,[4] *gōpuram*,[5] or the car of the temple. Hence whereas pictures or statues which belong to Greek art are individual objects, those belonging to Indian art are extensive compositions, stories in paint, or stone or wood. Greek art aims at perfection of form, because each art-product exists by itself: Indian art aims at representation of life and moving objects and not still life, because each figure is but the part of an extensive composition. Self-restraint is the chief characteristic of the Greek art, but the Indian artist lets himself go without any restriction on the outflow of his genius. As a singer when performing *ālāpanam*[6] of a *rāgam*,[7] takes a theme and rings endless changes on it, as many as his throat is capable of producing, as a poet, started on a description, seems never to be able to exhaust his subject, so the painter and the carver is never tired of multiplying details in the exposition of the central idea. Foreigners do the greatest injustice possible to Indian art when they take away from their proper place pieces of the stone work of Bharhut or Amarāvati, bits of paintings from Ajanta or Ellora, and judge them divorced from their environment, and in conditions of light different from those where they were originally placed. It looks like judging Shakespeare's plays from a dictionary of quotations.

[1] அரிவாள். [2] அரிவாள் மணை. [3] அச்சு. [4] விமானம்.
[5] கோபுரம். [6] ஆலாபனம். [7] ராகம்.

Indian art did not aim at producing specimens for the drawing room, but the æsthetic sense was correlated with other senses, so that every object, big or small, was decorated with art work, the only undecorated objects being the head and neck of a widow who wants to observe life-long mourning. Hence our ladies love to decorate their persons with jewels and silks and it will be an unhappy day for India if their æsthetic sense is blunted by the modern virtue of possessing a bank-balance and they should sell their personal decorations, their ' barbaric pearl and gold ' for developing the habit of depositing their wealth in banks. The Tamil ladies of ancient times were decorated in various ways. Their *kūndal*[1] was dressed in various artistic ways, one of which was in imitation of *suṛavu vāy*,[2] shark's mouth. Other ways of *mayirmudi*[3] or binding the hair into knots were *uchchi*,[4] *koṇḍai*,[5] *koppu*,[6] *sigaḷigai*,[7] *tammilam*,[8] and *muchchi*.[9] The different kinds of garlands with which the head and neck were adorned have already been referred to. The body was painted with pastes and powders of various kinds. The chief of the pastes were *manjal*,[10] turmeric or saffron made into a paste, *śandaṇakkuḷambu*[11] also called *tēyvai*,[12] *śāndu*,[13] *toyil*,[14] *toyyil*,[15] sandal paste mixed with various scents. The latter was spread on the chest, the mammæ and the abdomen and beautiful designs in line-drawing drawn thereon. A variety of paste for the hair was called *tagaram*.[16] On the paste was strewn powders of several kinds. One such was *poṛchuṇṇam*,[17] powdered gems, gold, sandal wood, and camphor.

The Tamils were exceedingly fond of decoration; so there are many words meaning to decorate, *e.g.*, *aṇi*,[18] *ār*,[19] *śūḍu*,[20] *puṇai*,[21] *pūṇ*,[22] *malai*,[23] *miḷai*,[24] *vēy*,[25] *milai*,[26] *ey*, *vari*.[27]

So, too, there are numerous words which mean an ornament, of which some are *aṇi*,[28] *aṇikalam*,[29] *āram*,[30] *iḷai*,[31] *nagai*,[32] *paṇi*,[33] *pūṇ*,[34] *mañju*,[35] *madāṇi*,[36] *vaḷḷi*.[37] The lobes of the ears were pierced to receive the *tōḍu*[38] or *kūḷai*;[39] poorer people wore the *ōlai*,[40] which was at first a bit of tender palmyra leaf, sometime coloured, rolled into a circle; then the same was made of gold plate rolled into various shapes, including the shapes of mythological monsters; the same, set with gems, became the ear-ornament of the rich, *tāḷuruvi*,[41] *kaḍukkan*,[42] *kaḍippam*,[43] *kuṇukku*,[44] *koṭṭai*,[45] *tūkkam*,[46] *toṅgal*,[47] *veḍam*,[48] were other ear-ornaments The jewel symbolic of a married woman was the *tāli*[49] now made of gold and of a peculiar shape. Probably the original *tāli* was made of the teeth or claws of the bear or the tiger[50] killed by the husband in the chase. It may be noted that

[1]Other names for the hair that adorns the head of ladies were *aḷagam*, *aimbāl*, *ōdi*, *kural*, *kuruḷ*, *kuḷal*, *kūral*, *kūḷai*, *kōdai*, *śuriyal*, *śuruḷ*, *neḍumai*, *marāṭṭam*; that which grew equally plentifully on men's heads sometimes halfshorn, *ilai*, *ōri*, *kuñji*, *kuḍumi*, *taḷai*, *toṅgal*, *navir*, *pittai*; besides *kaduppu*, *kōli*, which meant both. கூந்தல், அளகம், ஐம்பால், ஓதி, குரல், குருள், குழல், கூரல், கூழல், கோதை, சுரியல், சுருள், நெடுமை, மாராட்டம், இலை, ஓரி, குஞ்சி, குடுமி, தலை, தொங்கல், நவிர், பித்தை. கதுப்பு, கோலி.

[2]சுறவுவாய். [3]மயிர்முடி. [4]உச்சி. [5]கொண்டை. [6]கொப்பு. [7]சிகலிகை. [8]தம்மிலம். [9]முச்சி. [10]மஞ்சள். [11]சந்தனக்குழம்பு. [12]தேய்வை. [13]சாந்து. [14]தோயில். [15]தொய்யில். [16]தகரம். [17]பொற்சுண்ணம். [18]அணி. [19]ஆர். [20]சூடு. [21]புனை. [22]பூண். [23]மலை. [24]மிளை. [25]வேய். [26]மிலை. [27]வரி. [28]அணி. [29]அணிகலம். [30]ஆரம். [31]இழை. [32]நகை. [33]பணி. [34]பூண். [35]மஞ்சு. [36]மதாணி. [37]வள்ளி. [38]தோடு. [39]குழை. [40]ஓலை. [41]தாளுருவி. [42]கடுக்கன். [43]கடிப்பம். [44]குணுக்கு. [45]கொட்டை. [46]தூக்கம். [47]தொங்கல். [48]வேடம், [49]தாலி. [50]புலிப்பற்றாலி. *Kuṛundogai I61.*

South Indian women of all castes regard the *tāli* as the most sacred symbol of marriage, so much so that they will rather die than be without it for a second. But the tying of a *tāli* is not according to the Arya canon-law or North Indian practice an essential part of the wedding rite. According to the Arya law taking seven steps (*saptapati*) with the taking of the bride's hand (*pāṇigrahaṇam*) constitutes the act of marriage and if the bridegroom should die before the *saptapati* is completed, the woman does not become a widow and is fit for marrying another man. But this is not the belief of the women. What can be inferred from this? Either the first Brāhmaṇas of South India were Tamil men affiliated to the Brāhmaṇa priesthood or, if they were all emigrants from North India, they took unto themselves Tamil women as their wives; women being noted for their conservatism, the Tamil custom of tying a *tāli* as a symbol of marriage had to be given a premier place in the Brāhmaṇa wedding-rite. It is difficult to believe that, if the first Brāhmaṇa men and women were both foreign emigrants, they borrowed a Tamil custom and made it more important than their Ārya ones. Other important ornaments were strings of gold-thread, pearls, coral, etc., provided with pendants set with gems. They were called *kāḻ*,[1] *tāmam*,[2] *śavi*,[3] *saraḍu*,[4] *koḍi*,[5] *nāṇ*,[6] *śaṅgili*,[7] *kayil*,[8] *kaḍai*,[9] *kōvai*,[10] *toḍar*,[11] *kokkuvām*.[12] The pendants besides the *tāli*, were *kavaḍi*,[13] *sarappaḷi*,[14] etc. At the waist were also worn strings of gold or silver, *kuṟaṅguśeri*,[15] *kavāṇaṇi*,[16] *paṭṭigai*,[17] on which were strung little tinkling bells, *sadaṅgai*,[18] *kiṇkiṇi*.[19] Ornaments for the ankles were *śilambu*,[20] *kaḻal*,[21] *pāḍagam*.[22] They were also furnished with tinkling bells. At the wrists and above the elbows were worn *vaḷai*,[23] literally a circle, *kāppu*,[24] a guard, *kanṟu*,[25] *kurugu*,[26] *saṅgu*,[27] *śari*,[28] *śūḍagam*,[29] *toḍi*,[30] *vaṇḍu*,[31] *vaḷḷi*,[32] *piḍigam*.[33] Several forms of wristlets, bracelets and anklets were given by kings as a reward for feats of strength or skill. The fingers and toes were ornamented with rings, *mōdiram*,[34] *āḻipīli*.[35] Women wore a cap of pearls for the mammæ,[36] which were tied by means of a belt, *mulaikkachchu*[37]. Besides human beings, elephants, horses, bulls and even vehicles were heavily decorated.

Here is a description of a highly-decorated cot. 'They take the tusks of the fiercely-fighting elephant, which have dropped of their own accord, and cut the sides till they are of uniform shape and colour, fix between them leaves carved by the sharp chisels of the skilled carpenter. They place all round panels carved with scenes of lion-hunting and lined with many-coloured hairs of tigers; they decorate it with twigs, jasmin and other flowers; they furnish the cot with windows. Then they hang all around the broad cot, curtains made of pearls strung on thread. They tie tapes woven with coloured lines so as to look like the stripes of a tiger. The ends of the legs of the cot are rounded like bowls which look like the breasts of a pregnant woman; above the bowls, the legs are made to look like roots of

[1] காழ். [2] தாமம். [3] சவி. [4] சரடு. [5] கொடி. [6] நாண். [7] சங்கிலி. [8] கயில். [9] கடை. [10] கோவை. [11] தொடர். [12] கொக்குவாம். [13] கவடி. [14] சரப்பளி. [15] குறங்குசெறி. [16] கவானணி. [17] பட்டிகை. [18] சதங்கை. [19] கிண்கிணி. [20] சிலம்பு. [21] கழல். [22] பாடகம். [23] வளை. [24] காப்பு [25] கன்று. [26] குருகு. [27] சங்கு. [28] சரி. [29] சூடகம். [30] தொடி. [31] வண்டு. [32] வள்ளி. [33] பிடிகம். [34] மோதிரம். [35] ஆழிப்பீலி. [36] முத்தணி கொங்கை *Tiruvāśagam* ix. 10–1. [37] முலைக்கச்சு ஆர்த்தாங்கிய வலர்முலை யாகத்து. *Neḍunelvāḍai 136.*

garlic. The bed, stitched thin and broad, was filled with the pure-coloured down of a swan in love; on it were placed pillows; on it was spread a sheet, woven with figures of the water-lily and well-starched.[1]

AMUSEMENTS

The ancient Tamils were a mirth loving people; they gave themselves up to merry-making frequently. Till Aryan religious ideas took firm root in their minds in the post-Christian centuries pessimism did not pull them down. They did not indulge in dark cogitations about the evils of earthly existence and seek for means to abolish the present joys of life for securing a future state of unchanging bliss. Their religious rites, *viḻavu*[2] were accompanied by drinking, singing, dancing and dumb show. Their secular amusements were the chase, *vēṭṭai*,[3] *āgēḍagam*[4], *pābatti*[5], wrestling, *marpor*[6], sword play, single stick, *śilambam*[7], racing with chariots, elephants, bulls, etc. *pandayam*,[8] playing with balls, *ammānai*[9], *pandu*[10], gambling and playing with shells, *kavaḍi*[11], *palagaṟai*[12], *alagu*[13], *sōḻi*[14]. Music was called *iśai*[15] or *pāṭṭu*[16], and has been partly discussed under war. Different kinds of tunes, *paṇ*,[17] one at least for each region, was developed. Probably the *paṇ* of *kuṟiñji* is the tune called *kuṟiñji* to-day. That of *mullai* was perhaps what is now called *madhyamāvatī*, for this is also called *brindāvana sāraṅga*. That of *marudam* was perhaps that called *kēdāram*, for *kēdāram*, like *marudam*, means a ploughed field. The *paṇ* for Neydal was probably that now called *punnāgavarāḷi*, that now used for sailor's songs. Instrumental music was called *pāṇ* and as bards accompanied their songs with playing on the *yāḻ*, they were called *pāṇar*. There were various forms of drums, the beating of which accompanied singing and dancing. Different kinds of measures or volleys were beaten for different occasions. As specimens, the following may be mentioned: *ēṟukoṭpaṟai*,[18] the cattle

[1] பொருதொழி நாக மொழியெயி றருகெறிந்து
சீருஞ் செம்மையு மொப்ப வல்லோன்
கூருளிக் குயின்ற வீரிலை யிடையிடுபு
தூங்கியன் மகளிர் வீங்குமுலை கடுப்பப்
புடைதிரண் டிருந்த குடத்த விடைதிரண்
டுள்ளி நோன்முதல் பொருத்தி யடியமைத்துப்
பேரள வெய்திய பெரும்பெயர்ப் பாண்டில்
மடைமா ணுண்ணிழை பொலியத் தொடைமாண்டு
முத்துடைச் சாலேக நாற்றிக் குத்துறுத்துப்
புலிப்பொறிக் கொண்ட பூங்கேழ்த் தட்டத்துத்
தகடுகண் புதையக் கொளீஇத் துகளறப்
ஆட்டுறு பன்மயிர் விரைஇ வயமான்
வேட்டம் பொறித்து வியன்கட் கானத்து
முல்லைப் பலபோ துறழப் பூநிரைத்து
மெல்லிதின் விரிந்த சேக்கை மேம்படத்
துணைபுணை யன்னத் தூநிறத் தூவி
யிணையணை மேம்படப் பாயணை யிட்டுக்
காடிகொண்ட கழுவுறு கலிங்கத்துத்
தோடமைத் தூமடி விரித்த சேக்கை.

Neḍunalvāḍai 117–135.

[2] விழவு. [3] வேட்டை. [4] ஆகேடகம். [5] பாபத்தி. [6] மற்போர். [7] சிலம்பம். [8] பந்தயம். [9] அம்மானை. [10] பந்து. [11] கவடி. [12] பலகறை. [13] அளகு. [14] சோழி. [15] இசை. [16] பாட்டு. [17] பண். [18] ஏறுகோட்பறை.

lifting measure, *murugiyam*[1], measure for *veṟiyāṭṭam*[2], Muruga dance, *maṇamuḻavu*[3], marriage drum, *nellarikiṇai*,[4] harvest drum, *tērōṭṭuppaṟai*[5], the drum beaten for dragging cars, *puṟappāṭṭup-paṟai*,[6] the drum announcing the king's or a god's going out of the *kōil*, *mīnkōṭpaṟai*[7], the drum beat announcing a haul of fish, *śūṟaikōṭpaṟai*[8], dacoity-drum. Different kinds of noises were also emitted from trumpets to suit various occasions, auspicious and inauspicious, marriage or death processions.

Dancing, *āṭṭam*[9], *kūttu*[10], was of various kinds. Almost every incident of life had its appropriate dance. *Kūttu*, *kaḷi*[11], *kunippu*,[12] was a kind of dumb show, in which ideas were expressed by dancing and by elaborate gestures. This was the ancient form of the Tamil drama—the drama where the characters spoke or sang their parts belonged to North India—and is still kept up in Malabar under the name *kathakaḷi*[13]. *Kūttar*[14], *kaṇṇuḷar*[15], and *kūttiyar*[16] were elaborately made up. The actresses were women of easy virtue for *kūttiyar* has come to mean harlots. Children's dances were *kummi*[17], *teḷḷēṇam*[18], *sāḻal*[19], *ōrai*[20], etc. Boys played a kind of primitive cricket, in which the bat and the ball were both represented by long and short sticks, *kiṭṭu*[21], *puḷ*[22].

Music was dispensed by wandering bards who were generally famished if they stuck to their homes.

'O *Pāṇan*, whose legs are tired by wandering from place to place like birds in search of fruits on hills which are covered by mist on the cessation of rain, because you have no one to support you in the world surrounded by the sea, and are surrounded by relatives crying for food, whose body is emaciated and whose mouth denounces the learning he has acquired'.[23]

Angling was another amusement. The following is a description of angling :—

'The expert angler of the *pāṇar* tribe carries on his shoulders a leather-bag full of bits of meat and sticks it at the end of a string tied to a long bamboo stick ; the fish bites the meat hanging at the bent end of the angling-rod and shakes the string ; missing it, the *vāḷai* fish stays with open mouth.'[24]

Capturing game by means of nets was another favourite amusement.

[1] முருகியம். [2] வெறியாட்டம் [3] மணமுழவு. [4] நெல்லரிகிணை. [5] தேரோட்டுப்பறை. [6] புறப்பாட்டுப்பறை. [7] மீன்கோட்பறை. [8] சூறைகோட்பறை. [9] ஆட்டம். [10] கூத்து. [11] களி. [12] குனிப்பு. [13] கதகளி. [14] கூத்தர். [15] கண்ணுளர். [16] கூத்தியர். [17] கும்மி. [18] தெள்ளேணம். [19] சாழல். [20] ஓரை. [21] கிட்டு. [22] புள்.

[23] தண்கடல் வரைப்பிற் றுங்குநர் பெறாது
பொழிமழை துறந்த புகைவேல் குன்றத்துப்
பழுமரந் தேரும் பறவை போலக்
கல்லென் சுற்றமொடு கால்கிளர்ந்து திரிதரும்
புல்லென் யாக்கைப் புலவுவாய்ப் பாண.

Perumbāṇāṟṟuppaḍai, 18-22.

[24] பச்சூன் பெய்த சுவல்பிணி பைந்தோற்
கோள்வல் பாண்மகன் தலைவலித் தியாத்த
நெடுங்கழைத் தூண்டி னடுங்க நாண்கொளீஇக்
கொடுவா யிரும்பின் மடிதலை புலம்பப்
பொதியிரை கதுவிய போழ்வாய் வாளை.

Perumbāṇāṟṟuppaḍai, 283-287.

'Hard-eyed hunters fix closely woven nets on the thorns of the hedges of fields in Pālaī land and drive into them rabbits which have long ears like the outer petals of the thorny-stalked lotus; they then proceed along with dogs whose jaws are wide-open, beat the shrubs and hunt the rabbit and eat them'.[1]

Trials of strength by wrestling was also a common amusement among the Tamils; the following is a description of *maṛpor*, wrestling :—

In Āmūr which produces sweet and strong liquor he overcame the great strength of the wrestler; he bent one of his knees and planted it on his adversary's chest; with the other leg he defeated the tactics, bent the back of his rival; as an elephant which tries to eat a bamboo, he hammered his rival's head and feet and conquered him: may Tittan the heroic father of the wrestler see the sight, whether it would please him or not.

(*To be continued.*)

Reviews

THE 'STONE' AGE 'IN INDIA

BY

PROFESSOR P. T. SRINIVASA AIYANGAR, M.A.

[Published by the University of Madras, Price Rupee One].

THE book under review is the full text of the Sir Subramania Aiyar lecture (1925) delivered under the distinguished auspices of the Madras University, by one who holds a unique place among the older generation of scholars in the field of Indian history and culture. He was the first historian in India to demolish the unsound theory of the Aryan invasion of India. He has no faith in race-theory in general, and he believes that the Aryans are as much autochthones as any other people or peoples claim to be. His researches for decades together have led him to conclusions which are found scattered throughout this work.

Years ago in the course of his excellent review of the Professor's 'Life in Anceint India', Mr. Kennedy spoke of him as a great anthropologist. In this learned lecture Professor Aiyangar has shown himself an anthropologist of a high order. No one has yet seriously approached the study of India's past in her palæolithic and neolithic ages. And the present attempt is indeed a fruitful one in that direction. Latest researches in geology have led geologists to the conclusion that the first home of man was in the North of India at the foot of the Himalyas, and man must have lived somewhere about 100,000 years before. Professer Aiyangar examines the palæolithic and neolithic finds which have been industriously collected by Foote and other scholars, and has argued that the Deccan plateau was the first home of the man, and man lived long before the time fixed by our modern geologists.

His chief theories may be categorically stated. First wood was used for tools and implements, and secondly stone took the place of wood. Even here a distinction is made between the old stone age and the new stone age. Thirdly man began his career on the globe as

an eater of fruits and nuts. It was only when he found their supply running short owing to seasonal variations that he took to flesh eating and consequently hunting. Fourthly there is evidence of the use of fire by striking flint. Fifthly palæolithic man abandoned the dead wherever they dropped down; but the neolithic man used pottery in the form of burial urns and trays. Sixthly primitive man was stark naked. Then he covered himself with the hides of animals, then tree-flay and the author incidentally traces the origin of *Yajñopavīta*. Lastly the predominance of goddesses as village deities shows the family organization to be matriarchal in character. These things influenced Vedic literature profoundly.

The reference in Vedic literature to Viṣṇu being the mountain god, and the planting of His step in three places is ingeniously explained as three different stages in the growth of the Himalayas. Yet another is the reference to the *kalaśam* of temples.

In the neolithic age man domesticated animals. Increase in population led to tribal movements. The five races according to regional divisions of land occurring in Tamil literature are said to have been so in the neolithic age. There was intercourse with the world outside in neolithic times. In discussing the religion of neolithians, and from the two finds of *Lingam* it is argued that Śiva worship began in South India in neolithic times and that Śiva is a hunter god and the author traces some connection with this in the *Rigveda* where the term *Śiśnadēvas* occurs. There are scholars who interpret this term as *Sesha* or serpent. Hence whether the *Śiśnadēvas* of the *Rigveda* were really worshippers of Śiva is a matter for future research to decide. In the same way Krishna is said to be a god of pastoral type as opposed to Vedic gods especially Indra. These suggestions are fortified by the fact that while the worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu and Amba is fireless, the Vedic is a fire-rite.

This monograph is concluded with the equally interesting theory that the new stone age was immediately succeeded by the Iron Age, and that South India was the original place where iron was first discovered and used. The book is thus full of new and interesting suggestions which afford ample food fôr thought for scholars and specically anthropologists. The value of the work is further enhanced by the select plates appended at the end of the book.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

PALLAVA ARCHITECTURE

Pallava Architecture, Part II, The Intermediate or Māmalla period. Mem. Arch. Surv. No. 34.

BY

A. H. LONGHURST

DURING the last decade or two the study of Pallava history and monuments has been making steady progress. It will be remembered that an account of Pallava architecture formed the subject matter of a work by the late Alexander Rea. In his *Pallava Architecture* however he confined himself to a study of the Pallava structural temples at Conjeevaram. The subject continued to interest scholars and was taken up by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar whose account of the monuments and antiquities of Mahabalipur forms a valuable contribution to the study of the subject. Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil confining himself to the archæological aspect has produced two interesting volumes on the antiquities of the Pallavas in which he brings together almost all the monuments in the Tamil districts that may be ascribed to the Pallava age. He is also the author of the classification of the Pallava monuments on the basis of their style and evolution into four groups namely, the Māhendra, Māmalla, Rājasimha and the Aparājita styles. This has been followed by later writers among whom is Mr. Longhurst of the Archæological Survey who gave, in his Report of Archæological work of the Southern circle for the year 1919–20, an account of the Pallava monuments of the style of Māhendra, based exclusively on Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil's methods of investigation.

Part I of Pallava Architecture issued as one of the memoirs of the Archæological Survey some four years ago is nothing but a reprint of this summary of the Annual Report with a few embellishments and illustrations. This has now been continued and the monuments in the style of what is called the Māmalla style are examined. The method of treatment remains the same and the arguments based on the style of architecture such as the shape of the pillar, the pose of the door-keepers, the shape of the *lingam* and the appearance of the cornice are given a greater prominence than other factors in determining the

age of the respective monuments. Mr. Longhurst like Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil is an enthusiast in the study of the styles of architecture, but in so doing he is led intc dangerous pitfalls by neglecting other aspects of evidence such as literature and epigraphy.

We may illustrate this position by one or two instances. In the first place the author assumes that Mahābalipuram with the monuments of which the present memoir is mostly concerned, was first founded by Narasimhavarman I and had no previous existence. Students of South Indian history will at once perceive the weakness of this position. But we may point out for Mr. Longhurst's information that the place did have a previous existence and was the reputed birthplace of one of the early Āḻvārs who refers to the place as Mallai. In the second place there are several monuments at the place which even following the stylistic standards of Mr. Longhurst may be safely assigned to Mahendravarman I. Mr. Longhurst himself admits that the *Dharmaraja Maṇḍapa* and the *Koṭikal Maṇḍapa* are exactly like the Manḍagapattu and the Mahendravaḍı cave temples of Mahendravarman I, but for reasons which we cannot understand assigns them to the earliest period of Māmalla. The discovery of the portrait sculpture of Mahendravarman I in the Varāha temple is another clear indication of the close connection that must have existed between Mahendravarman I and some at least of the monuments of Mahābalipuram. This point is dealt with in greater detail in my forthcoming paper to the ensuing Session of the Oriental Conference.

After devoting the opening paragraphs to the indication of the origin of the place and making certain observations on the methods of excavating the monoliths adopted by the Pallava architects he passes on to an examination of about twenty-five monuments at this place in the Mamalla style which, according to him, include not only the cave temples which are clearly in an earlier style but also the Raths and the rock-sculptures such as the relief representing the Penance of Arjuna. With reference to the last he questions the identification of the bas-relief as that of Arjuna's penance and remarks that 'there can be little doubt that the whole scene is a symbolic representation of the Ganges flowing from the Himalayas. This conclusion has already been suggested by Jouveau-Dubreuil, V. Gorlebew and others. What stands in the way of this identification is the impossibility of accounting for the scene here representing a boar hunt which forms a part of the

Arjuna's Penance, as also the failure to represent the descent of the Ganges as described in the *Ramayana* flowing down through the coiffure of Siva. As a matter of fact everything characteristic of the story of the celebrated penance of Bhagiratha is absent and we cannot presume that the Pallava artists were ignorant of the details of the Pauranic account of the scene or made an imaginary representation of the same.

Without entering into the other details it is sufficient to point out that while Mr. Longhurst has succeeded in producing an interesting account of some of the monuments, he could easily have made it valuable by avoiding the pitfalls indicated above. There is an interesting suggestion on p. 8 of the work which indicates that the palace of the Pallavas existed in this spot. It is unfortunate that having apparently been built of perishable material they did not survive but the terraced-footings for the foundations for the fortwalls, gateways and tank revetments are still to be seen cut in the rock as is seen from a photograph. (Plate 2.)

The illustrations, of which there are a good many, form the most important feature in this work and we hope that in the forthcoming concluding part dealing with the last phase of the Pallava architecture the author would deal with the subject in the light of the suggestions made here so as to make the work really useful to the scholar.

R. G.

'SIR ASUTOSH MEMORIAL VOLUME'

BY

J. N. SAMADDAR, PATNA

[Price, Rs. 15]

THANKS to the enterprising efforts of Professor J. N. Samaddar, convener, Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume, we are in possession of a good and useful work before us. The volume is printed in two parts, both of them bound together nicely and in a handy manner. Both the parts contain a number of learned articles contributed by distinguished scholars, as a fitting tribute to that eminent son of India, who is

unfortunately no more with us in flesh and blood but who is pervading with his spirit our minds, instilling in us fresh enthusiasm to carry on the noble work of disseminating the glorious culture of the ancient Hindus to which the late much lamented Mookerjee devoted himself.

In the opening pages of the volume we are given a short sketch of Sir Asutosh's life and work by Prof. Jaya Gopal Bannerjee. It is indeed interesting reading, and is remarkable as exhibiting what a talented son of India is capable of, given sufficient opportunity to display his inherent powers. Among the contents of the first part, the most interesting contributions are the 'Authenticity of the *Artha-śāstra*' by Dr. A. B. Keith, '*Dharmaśāstra* and *Arthaśāstra*' by Prof. M. Winternitz, 'Political Philosophy of the Hindus' by Dr. Shamasastri, 'the Evolution of Ancient Indian Politics' by Prof. Rangaswami Aiyangar, and 'Indian Political Evolution' by Mr. N. C. Banerjee. Of these one word might be said about Dr. Keith's contribution. In spite of a volume of evidence in favour of the theory that the *Arthaśāstra* was the composition of the fourth century B.C., Dr. Keith still maintains his old theory, namely, that the date of the composition could not be earlier than A.D. 200 and remarks, among others, that the worship of the Aśvins could not be antiquated in the third century A.D. But Dr. Keith need not be told that by the beginning of the Christian era, the later form of Hinduism with its movements Saivism and Vaishnavism, had taken a definite shape, and the earlier form of Hinduism which was the Vedic mode of worship and practice has begun to decline. The *Arthaśāstra* which has distinct references to Vedic religion and only indirect references to popular religion cannot be brought to post-Christian epoch.

Attention may also be drawn to the equally learned contributions of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar on 'Vikramāditya' and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar on the 'Date of Kālidāsa'. Professor Sukumar Dutt of Dacca contributes an interesting article on 'Sidelights on Some Aśokan Edicts.' He examines Aśoka's relation to the Buddhist *Saṃgha* on the evidence of three Pillar Edicts; Sāranath, Sānchi and Kauśāmbi. He establishes the following theories which seem to be rational. First Aśoka cannot be regarded as the 'Head' or the 'Ruler' of the Buddhist *Saṃgha*. And secondly Aśoka's *Śāsana* is not a new law imposed by a superior authority on the Buddhist

Saṃgha. As a constitutional sovereign he could not make new laws but all he could do was to administer the old laws.

Turning our attention to the contents of the second part, we find the subject of much prolonged debate—'the problem of Bhāsa,' by Mr. K. G. Sankara. The author of this contribution accepts that all Bhāsa's plays have come down to us almost intact, and that Bhāsa is the author of only nine plays and not all the fourteen or fifteen plays ascribed to him by the late lamented Pandit Gaṇapati Śāstri. When the authorship is accepted for a large number of plays of that category, why not accept it for the remaining few plays especially in the absence of any *direct* evidence to warrant the contrary conclusion. He further makes the remark that *Chārudatta* is only an abridged version of the *Mṛchchakatika* compiled about 750 A.C. Why it may not be that the latter work is indebted to *Chārudatta* must be answered before we accept this theory. The identification of Bhāsa with Śūdraka has no leg to stand on.

A reference may be made to the learned contributions of Dr. R. C. Majumdar on the 'Chronology of the Śātavāhanas' and 'Some Thoughts on Buddhist Art' by Dr. Saunders of the Californian University. The latter makes the significant statement (p. 126), 'Far too much time has been spent seeking to prove the foreign influence at work in this art; and it has been too little emphasized that from Bārhut to Barabudur, and from Ajantā to Hoňuji, it is essentially a National Indian art, developing by clear and recognizable stages.'

The second part closes with Dr. J. Jolly's interesting essay on 'the Old Political Literature of India and the Various Writers'. He does not give us anything new but simply reviews some of the Indian publications on 'Ancient Indian Polity' and concludes, 'much as one may sympathize with the liberal tendencies of these Indian researches, their views on history as well as their results are to be considered with care, and one cannot altogether acquit the above-mentioned authors of the blame of not demarcating History from Politics' (p. 137). Benoy Kumar Sarkar, we find, has already made a reply to this and other statements of Jolly in reviewing the German translation of Kauṭalya's *Arthaśāstra* by J. J. Meyer in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (June, 1928). We may conclude with the remark that History is past politics, and politics is present history.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

'THE GLORIES OF MAGADHA'

BY

J. N. SAMMADDAR

WITH FOREWORD BY

DR. A. B. KEITH

[Price, Rs. 8]

THIS is the second edition of the well-written work of Professer Samaddar, being the Readership Lectures delivered before Patna University (1922). The very fact that a second edition has been called for is in itself a testimony to the popularity of the work as a valuable contribution on the history of Magadha from the earliest times. In the first lecture itself Professor Samaddar takes us from the Vedic period. In the Vedic literature there are incontrovertible references to Magadha, as a country not fit for habitation by pure Brahmans. There are two theories. One is that the people there were non-Aryans alien to Brahmanical culture and with anti-Brahmanical tendencies. The other and more reasonable view is that they were Aryans but held a much lower status perhaps due to taking to other professions. This leads us to the consideration of the social status of the *Vrātyas* of Ancient Hindu literature. This has been examined by many a scholar but still the problem requires elucidation.

The second lecture is about the capitals of the Magadha kingdom. It had two capitals, first Girivraja, latterly known as Rājagṛha and then Pataliputra. A plan of old Rājagṛha is given, and its importance in Ancient Indian literature is brought out. By the time of Fa Hien, the city came to a ruined state. This was to be attributed to the rise of Pataliputra as the capital. The stone railings and other excavations found at Pataliputra are considered to be quasi-Persepolitan. A number of beautiful plates which are attached will afford interest to art critics. The valuable portion of this chapter is the comparative study of Megasthenes' accounts with Kauṭalya's *Arthaśāstra* to demonstrate how the *Arthaśāstra* is to be accepted as the authoritative account of political and social conditions of India in the fourth century before Christ. Otto Stein who has attempted to prove discrepancies between the two accounts must admit the resemblances also, and must needs revise his opinion on the subject.

The third and fourth lectures are on the edicts of Aśoka. The edicts are so important and so epoch-making that they have been edited and annotated by a number of scholars like the late Mr. V. A. Smith, Bhandarkar and Mookerjee and Woolner. We beg to differ from Professor Samaddar who observes that Aśoka was a Buddhist monarch, that the *Śukranīti* is a very late work, and that Buddhism and animal sanctity had got intermingled together. It is not correct to say that Aśoka adopted Buddhism as his religion. Like the great Mughal Emperor Akbar in later days, Aśoka was a tolerant monarch. He had respect for all creeds and faiths which propagated the *dharma* or *sacred law*. If he built Buddhist *stupas* he equally built temples for the Jains and made generous gifts to the Brahmans. This is not the place to enter into a discussion of his faith. Suffice it to say that he was a cosmopolitan in his religion, and his propaganda work consisted mainly for the dissemination of culture and principles which are the underlying factors of all religions.

In this context we may point out that there was no period like the Buddhist period of Indian history, when Hinduism declined in importance. It is wrong to speak of a revival of Hinduism. There is evidence of the *Arthaśāstra* that the old Vedic religion continued to thrive in the days of the first Mauryan king Chandragupta. The various regulations about sacrifices show the earlier form of Hinduism in vogue. Further too much is made of the doctrine of *ahimsa*. This doctrine was more of the Jains than of the Buddhists. Even the Jain view is not a novel one. It is as much the Brahmanical principle as any other. Perhaps the Jains carried the theory to its extreme limit.

The other statement of Samaddar that the *Śukranīti* is a very late work cannot be accepted. Its rules and regulations are much antiquated and barring a few passages, it must be ranked with the *Rāja Dharma* section of the *Mahābhārata*. It is therefore proper that the extant treatise is as much an authority for Hindu India as any other.

The lectures (V and VI) are a study on the Universities of Nalanda and Vikramaśila. The endowments, courses of study and chief teachers are all given in detail worthy of a true research scholar. The value of the book is very much enhanced by as many as twenty-five plates, which themselves afford an interesting study. Though we differ on a few points, still we congratulate the author on his painstaking study of

several controversial subjects, and an impartial and unbiassed presentation of them in an attractive style. We commend these lectures, with Dr. Keith, as an earnest and able contribution to an important field of study.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

'THE BAKSHALI MANUSCRIPT'

BY

G. R. KAYE

[A Study in Mediæval Mathematics, Archæological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, vol. xliii. Price, Rs. 23. Government of India, Central Publication Branch.]

THE publication of this important work on mediæval mathematics in the New Imperial Series of the Archæological Survey of India will be welcomed by all students interested in the subject of Hindu mathematics. It would be remembered that the work was discovered more than forty-five years ago at Bakshali written in birch-bark and that its discovery created considerable interest. Dr. Hoernle published a short account of it in 1888 intending to publish a complete edition of it in due course. But this hope remained unfulfilled although a considerable part of the analysis of the manuscript which forms the subject-matter in sections B, G, H, K, and L of the present work was prepared by him. These materials which were entrusted to Mr. Kaye have been utilized in the course of the present work and a thoroughly fresh examination of the whole work has been attempted with the result that in many respects such as the authorship and date of the work the views of Mr. Kaye differ completely from those of the late Dr. Hoernle.

The manuscript consists of seventy leaves of birch-bark, some of these being mere scraps. The text is written in the *Śarada* script which flourished in the N.W. borders of India from about the ninth century A.D. The language of the text is written according to Dr. Hoernle in the so-called *Gātha* dialect used in North India till the end of the third century A.D., but Mr. Kaye describes it as 'irregular Sanskrit' with the peculiarities of spelling and grammar commonly met

with in the inscriptions of the twelfth century in North-West India. The contents of the work are described in Chap. IV. As the work now stands it is concerned with problems involving systems of linear equations, indeterminate equations of the second degree, arithmetical progression, quadratic equations, approximate evaluations of square roots, complex series, miscellaneous problems and mensuration. The most interesting sections are those relating to quadratic equations which is the most complete in the whole MS. and miscellaneous problems which give glimpses of literary and social references, in the illustrative material. Mr. Kaye, afterwards proceeds to give the exposition and method; an analysis of the mathematical contents of the text is then furnished which is of interest only to specialists in the subject.

Chapter IX is devoted to a discussion of the age of the manuscript and the age of the work. It will be remembered that the late Dr. Hoernle held the view that the mathematical treatise (which is contained in the so-called Bakshali manuscript) was considerably older than the manuscript itself and that the work was composed six centuries earlier than the copy. Mr. Kaye after an elaborate analysis of the material, the format, the script employed, the language and the metre comes to the conclusion that the work is a composition of the twelfth century A.D. He also considers that the use of the place-value principle in the manuscript under review, as well as the square-root rule and the use of sexagesimal notation clearly point to the posterior composition of the work as in the opinion of Mr. Kaye they indicate foreign influence commencing at a period much later than the one given by Dr. Hoernle to the manuscript. The question therefore needs to be very carefully examined and decided upon by future research.

In the second part of this work the author gives a complete transliteration of the text (pp. 105–156) as well as the facsimiles of the whole text in collotypes from photographs of the manuscript obtained from the Bodleyan Library.

The author as well as the Archæological Survey are to be congratulated on the production of this excellent work and it is hoped that other rare manuscripts of like importance will also be published on these lines by the Government.

R. R.

'INDIA'S PAST, A SURVEY OF HER LITERATURES, RELIGIONS, LANGUAGES, AND ANTIQUITIES'

BY

A. A. MACDONNELL

[Oxford, 1927. 10*s*.]

IN the words of the learned author of this book the work summarizes India's intellectual history setting forth the mental development of the most easterly branch of the Aryan civilization since it entered India by land till it came into contact by sea with the most westerly branch of the same civilization after a separation of at least three thousand years. It would be remembered by readers of Prof. Macdonnel's works that this formed the subject of the professor's studies for the last fifty years in some one or other of its various aspects. The work opens with an introduction dealing with the physical characteristics of the country and its influences on the history and the following three chapters deal respectively with the Ancient-Vedic Period, the later Vedic Period, Post-Vedic period. Chapters V and VII are devoted to a description of the stories, fairy-tales and fables, their general literary characteristics and external influences in countries outside India, the technical literature in Sanskrit in the shape of works on grammar, lexicography, philosophy, law, medicine, astronomy, etc. (p. 115–193). In the next chapter the vernacular literature of the country is taken up, and it deals with the distribution of these vernaculars and the rise of their literatures. The final chapter is a brilliant account of the manner in which the Westerners became acquainted with India's past through her literature, and furnishes a succinct account of the efforts in research made in the archæological, epigraphic, numismatic and other fields. The dearth of old coins in Dravidian Deccan referred to on page 271 by the author is perhaps not correct as large quantities of these are now in the Madras Museum undergoing classification by Mr. R. Srinivasa Ragava Aiyangar. Similarly the statement of the author on p. 220 that Tamil versions of the *Mahābhārata* belong to a later date than the eleventh century A.D. is inaccurate as earlier translations are known such as the one by Perundevanar. The name of Tirugnana Sambandar is misspelt on the same page while the famous collection of Saiva hymns known as the

Tevaram is not mentioned at all. The period of Rāmanuja's activity is wrongly ascribed by Prof. Macdonell (p. 149) to A.D. 1175 to 1250, a statement which is quite untenable as it is definitely known that his activities belong to the latter half of the eleventh century and the first half of the twelfth.

The work is rendered very useful by the addition of a large number of photographic illustrations, four maps, as well as a comprehensive bibliography affixed at the end of each chapter.

R. G.

'A HISTORY OF INDIA'

BY

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI AND M. S. RAMASWAMI AIYANGAR
WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
PROF. RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI

[Part I, *Hindu India* : Publishers, Srinivasa Vardachari & Co.]

'HINDU INDIA' which forms Part I of *A History of India* designed for the use of students of colleges marks a considerable advance on text-books written in recent times covering the same ground and when complete, promises to be very useful to those for whom it is intended. Opening with a clear account of the physical features of India and their influence on the history of the land, the learned authors describe in lucid and simple language the history of Hindu India in fourteen chapters of which eight are devoted to the history of North India. The political history dealt with in each section is followed by welcome account of the social, economic, political, literary and religious condition of the period which is intended to bring home to the students the cultural development of the various ages. The treatment of South Indian dynasties is particularly good and considerable details at present found only in detailed research journals are summarized for the benefit of the students with full references to the sources. The account of the Pallavas and the significance of the new culture associated with them may be pointed out in this connection (pp. 137–8, 183). The appendices are good but the chronological table giving the Annals of politics and culture deserves to be worked up still further in great detail. (E.g.) The date of the Mahābhārata war is not given.

In conclusion it may be mentioned that the spellings adopted for certain terms by the writers needs to be revised in the next edition which the work is bound to attain to.

We come across with two different spellings for the term *Bhakti* on the same page (p. 224) while forms like Alwar, Thevaram, Someswara, Brihadiswara and Dwarasamudra freely occur in the work where we are now accustomed to write Alvar, Tevaram, etc. The place name of Dalavanur is misspelt on p. 186. The statement that the death of Paramesvaravaram II was followed by a war for the possession of the throne needs to be revised in the light of recent research as the Vaikuntaperumal inscriptions indicate a peaceful succession to the throne. The book is enriched by the addition of six maps but it is not clear why illustrations of important monuments (such as those representing Asokan pillars or Pallava temples, or portraits of kings) have not been included. We are anxiously awaiting the subsequent part of this excellent work and have no doubt that the minor errors would be rectified in a subsequent edition, by the learned authors.

VISHNUGOPA.

'THE MAKING OF A STATE'

BY

T. G. MASARYK

[George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London.]

THE Great War and the reconstruction of Europe following thereon have been responsible for the output of a great mass of literature of varying degrees of interest. Among the publications which resulted in consequence, there are some of the highest value from the point of view of humanity generally, such as for instance, the revision of the conception of democracy and the efforts at reconstruction of society on principles acceptable to human intelligence and reason. The work under review, *The Making of a State*, is an illuminating example of the struggles of a state trampled down by centuries of subordination to foreign rule exerting itself through some of the best of her sons to establish herself on an independent footing as a small state in the congeries of states constituting reconstructed Europe. It is of the nature, more or less of the autobiography of the principal man,

Professor Masaryk as he was, who, as voluntary exile, exerted himsel to bring about the support of the Allies to the legitimate aspirations at independence of the country of the Czechs. It is a very interesting autobiography and reveals one of those pages of European history not generally seen on the surface, nor readily understood, from works on general history. Historical judgment will have to count Masaryk a great man and the real builder of the state, and his ideas summarized in the last part of his work on democracy as a humanizing principle will, as it looks, become the guiding principle of politics in the reconstructed Europe in the immediate future. Masaryk's friend, Henry Wickham Steed, is the author of the English version, which provides interesting reading, and we may conclude with the following sentences from the introduction :—'The Masaryk revealed in these pages is a standing refutation of the shallow view that the Great War brought forth no great man. To me, who had experience of the Austria in which he grew up, of the deadening spell she cast over her children, of the Hapsburg system that was a perennial negation of political morality, the emergence of Masaryk seems well-nigh as miraculous as his triumph in the fight he fought, all but single-handed, against inveterate oppressors.'

'INDIA OFFICE RECORDS; HOME MISCELLANEOUS SERIES'

BY

S. C. HILL, 1927

THIS is a volume of selections from records in the India Office, and is the last work of that indefatigable Records Officer, S. C. Hill of the Education Department, who retired as Director of Public Instruction, Central Provinces. Since retirement in 1912, he made large contributions on the subject of these records generally to the English *Historical Review*, *The Indian Antiquary*, *Bengal Past and Present*, *The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, etc. Perhaps he is best known as the author of *Yusuf Khan, the Rebel Commandant*, published in 1914. In the line of the records purely, he published an analytical catalogue of the Orme Manuscripts in 1916. In 1920 he undertook the publication now given to the world under the caption Home Miscellaneous Series. It is a great pity that he did not live to

complete the work himself, but the work of cataloging was so thoroughly done that the bulk of the proof could be seen through by his widow without detriment to the work. However we are deprived of what might have proved a very illuminating introduction to the whole set of valuable documents from his pen, by his untimely death.

This defect is made up to some extent by a comparatively short introduction given by Mr. William Foster, who brought the collection down to date by a supplement to the work. The name, Home Miscellaneous Series, was given at the outset and has been continued notwithstanding the fact that it very soon ceased to signify the contents of the volume. The division was taken from the original classification of Mr. Danvers, the first Registrar and Superintendent of Records at the India Office, who made arrangements for publishing the papers in the India Office, and the first 47 volumes of the series conform to that plan. Thereafter it has ceased to be exclusively papers originating from Home and got to include papers originating from whatever source, so long as they were found connected both in point of time and subject. This series includes a vast mass of miscellaneous papers of which the details and the key to the references are given in a paragraph by Mr. Foster. The work is a very valuable one for those who wish to delve into these records for a large variety of subjects for research work and is a thoroughly analytical handbook which would serve as a valuable guide to anyone seeking information. It is provided with an excellent and exhaustive index which the author had taken care to complete while the work was still in the stage of manuscript. The index itself is about a hundred and fifty pages while the analysis of the records runs through 532 pages. We are grateful to the Government of India for having favoured us with a copy, which is indispensable to anybody that cares to work on any subject of modern Indian History.

'BARABUDUR'

BY

N. J. KROM

[Martinus Nijhoff, Hague, Holland.]

THE great monument reckoned among the wonders of the world called Barabudur was taken up for restoration by the Dutch Government and the restoration work was carried on during the years 1907 to 1911.

It was the intention of the Government and the Archæological Department alike that a new monograph on the subject should be published superseding that of Leeman's issued so long ago as 1873. Although the idea was certainly excellent it was not so easy of execution and the difficulty at once presented itself as to how far it would be possible to issue a monograph containing a complete explanation of all that is depicted on the great monument and thereby indicating the significance of the monument itself. After the necessary consultation the Government decided that defective as the monograph may be it must be issued, if for nothing else, at least to promote further research and make it possible for the future at any rate to complete the explanation that may be possible only in part now. The result of this effort on the part of the Government was the publication of an Album of 400 plates together with an explanatory letterpress introduction issued some five years ago. The architectural part was entrusted to Mr. T. Van Erp who had charge of the restoration work and therefore was the most qualified to do it. The archæological part of it was first undertaken by Professor Vogel and when he had to resign it in 1915, it was taken over by Mr. Krom. When the Dutch edition of the work was published a promise was made that an English edition would be given to the public as well and that edition delayed beyond expectation. Even so the English edition came out early in 1927, the Dutch edition having preceded it by almost seven years. The English edition is not a mere translation of the Dutch edition, and it could not be issued by the Government as was originally projected and the publication work of this English edition was taken up by Mr. Nijhoff. The English edition differs in two respects from the Dutch edition; the descriptive part of unidentified reliefs is abridged and secondly the references have been brought up to date by taking into consideration literature on the subject published since 1918. In some cases, these are also worked up in the text part.

Although these sumptuous editions of the work on the great monument have given us a volume of material such as we never had before, it still leaves room for a great deal of work to understand the monument and expound its full significance. The importance of the work, however, consists in the great facility that it gives now to a serious student to go to work in his own study and continue the research work which is already done and incorporated in the work

itself. This is not a small advance and the public interested in Indian and Indonesian archæology cannot be too grateful to the Dutch Government or to Mr. Martinus Nijhoff for having given us the two publications in the form in which they have been placed before the public.

The work is divided into thirteen chapters beginning with the foundation and history of Barabudur and proceeding to describe the various reliefs incorporating the life story of Buddha as it is embodied in various classics of Buddhist literature. It is here that one encounters the difficulty that all the reliefs are not capable of either correct or full explanation. But it must be said that what has been attempted is a remarkable achievement in as much as it takes us a good long way in understanding the monument in all its details as far as the research work done on this vast department of Indian culture has been studied from the literary side. The monument incorporates the culmination of Indian and Indonesian genius on the religious, artistic and architectural side of it and is well worth the study of all those interested in Indian culture and its spread beyond the frontiers of India. The work is comparatively costly, it may be too costly for private resources, but no public library and libraries of educational institutions should be without this monumental work, which is an unparalleled achievement of Indian and Indonesian genius and as such ought to appeal to Indians of culture. There are interesting chapters on Barabudur as a monument of Hindu-Javnese art and culture, on the pantheon, the great monument and on the kind of Buddhism of which it is an exposition in stone. There are also introductory chapters on the history of the monument apart from the exposition of the actual reliefs.

A smaller book containing the life of Buddha as portrayed in the monument was already issued in 1926. The monument seems actually to be the work of the best period of the empire of Sri Vijaya founded at Palembang in Sumatra and is generally assigned to the eighth century A.D. It is supposed to represent Mahayana Buddhism which gained its ascendency with the ascendency of Sri Vijaya. The history of the intercourse between these islands and India goes back at least to the early centuries of the Christian era and the communication between South India and these seems to have been regular and even frequent. The dynasty that distinguished itself in Sri Vijaya is known to

historians as the Sailendra and whether it had anything to do with the Sailodbhavas or the Sailendras of Orissa, though not quite certain, seems probable enough. But the period of the ascendency of these Sailendras corresponds to that of the great Pallavas of Kanchi, and of whose period an inscription has been found by Col. Gerini at the mouth of the River Takopa. This was published by Hultzch in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, so that it cannot be said that even in the period of the ascendency of the Sailendras, communication with South India was not real. The monument is supposed to be due to a person named Guṇadharma and belongs to the earlier part of the century A.D. 750–850, and though originally designed as a *stupa* containing some of the relics of the Buddha, it gradually developed into a symbolical representation of Buddhism and its secret of salvation.

The name Barabudur has not yet been satisfactorily explained. Neither the first part of the name nor the second has so far been made out. One cannot be very clear what language the name is in, as it seems to be of very late origin. If it should be regarded ancient *kāwi*, perhaps the first part *bara* may be a modification of the term *biara* meaning temple. The second part, *buḍur*, one cannot be sure is connected with the name Buddha. But there is a South Indian word *buḍur* still used, we believe in Tulu, which means a palace. In such a case, we shall have to regard it as a foreign word, and, from the locality of its provenance on the west coast of India, it would be difficult to provide historical warrant at present for its introduction in Java. Proceeding by sound alone, one may go the length of making another guess that Barabudur is nothing but a modification of the Tamil *Perumbūdūr*. Here again it would be dangerous merely to proceed on the similarity of sound alone, unless we can raise a reasonable presumption that the monument was constructed by immigrants from the Tamil country.

In regard to the significance of the monument itself, the elaborate investigation contained in the two big volumes before us do not appear to lead very far. So much however is certain that the part relating to the life of Buddha seems to be based unmistakably on the *Lalitavistara*, perhaps borrowing details from other well-known works on the life of the Buddha. After discussing in five or six other chapters the various subjects in the illustrations, the author proceeds to discuss the great monument as a work of Hindu-Javnese art and culture, its pantheon

and its religious significance. After conducting an elaborate investigation, the learned author comes to the conclusion, the only possible conclusion so far, that a study of this monument alone cannot lead to important conclusions in any one of these departments, although a thorough study of this great monument is of the first importance in an investigation of the questions involved. On the first subject of investigation the conclusion seems clearly derivable that the monument is the work not of Hindus from outside nor Javnese altogether from inside the island, but is a complex compound of the two. A study of the pantheon of Buddhism is of value for determining the character of the Buddhism meant to be represented. While there is ample material in the monument for regarding it as an exposition of Buddhism to the eye and through it to the understanding, it does not lead to any clear conclusions in regard to the character of the Buddhism itself. On these important questions therefore, the elaborate investigations undertaken remain inclusive, although it cannot be denied that the study certainly receives a substantial advance by way of clearing of the preliminaries for a final, or at any rate, a fairly final conclusion reachable by a far more elaborate study by bringing all the available material into comparison. The work is of the highest value and, taken along with the plates in two volumes, together contribute enough material for a good study, such as other monuments do not yet possess either in India or in Indonesia. We wish the enterprise all success.

'THE EMPIRE OF THE GREAT MOGOL'

A translation of DeLaet's 'Description of India and Fragment of Indian History'

BY

J. S. HOYLAND

[New Edition with critical notes and introduction by S. N. Banerjee. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.]

THIS work is published in a new edition with notes of value by Mr. Banerjee, Mohindra College, Patiala. The book was originally written in Latin from which it was translated, and it is now published with introduction and notes by Professor Banerjee of Patiala. The

value of this book as a source of Mogul history was perhaps unduly exaggerated by early writers and among later ones, by the late Dr. Vincent Smith. Even so, it is of value to have the work in the form in which it is presented to us in this new edition. We do not attempt any particular review of the book, as we are publishing in this number a detailed, critical review by such a competent scholar as Mr. Hodivala. We welcome the edition, however, as a handy volume for reference and use by scholars, and the work is likely to be useful in many ways, among which perhaps the most important consideration would be a warning not to trust too much the authority of writers like this, and perhaps what is worse prefering this to other contemporary sources of information. It affords a good illustration of the caution that is required in the use of authorities such as this. If for nothing else, the work is bound to be of great use, and we recommend it as such.

'ŚRĪ ŚIVA BHĀRATA'

BY

S. M. DIVEKAR, POONA

[Published for the first time with an elaborate introduction and notes in Marathi].

THE work of which we are for the first time provided with an excellent edition, is one of the rare manuscripts in the Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore where we have had the pleasure of examining it almost about a decade ago. It is a piece of Sanskrit writing in the *Kāvya* style on the life of Śivaji, but cast in a form to prejudice the historical student at first sight. It has got a Tamil version, the reading of which gives the impression that the work is of very little historical value. The Sanskrit *kāvya* presented to us enables us to form a better opinion of the work, although it must be admitted that even in this better form, it is, as it is written, far from history proper. The presentation is undoubtedly in the style of an epic with all its poetical machinery and the exaggeration characteristic of epic poems in India, but on the whole it presents the outline history of the life of Shāhji and Śivāji fairly fully. It is of value as a contemporary document, claiming as it does that its author composed the work at request of Śivāji himself, and the work was actually read to the

pilgrims assembled in Benares, where Kavīndra Paramānanda, the author, happened to be on a similar holy errand. It is composed of thirty chapters of which almost about twenty are taken up with the early life of Śivāji, in which the work of Shāhji as a Bijapur officer is dealt with more or less fully. Notwithstanding the epic treatment, there is a sobriety in the narration, poetic as it is, and gives one confidence that it is stating the facts as accurately as the method of treatment would admit. The Marathi introduction brings the facts together and examines them from other sources for the history of the period. We shall be glad to present our readers with a review of this in the next issue of the journal.

N.B.—*The Editor regrets that he is compelled to hold over other reviews owing to pressure on space.*

Principal Contents from Oriental Journals

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London)

April 1928—

A. H. SAYCE: 'The Original Home of the Hittites,' and the Site of Kussar. Holds the view that the original homes of the founders of the royal dynasties of the Hittites was the country of Kussar.

R. LEVY: 'The Nizamiya at Baghdad.'

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS: 'The Unknown Co-founders of Buddhism.'
In the course of this interesting investigation commenced in the Journal last year the writer feels convinced of the existence of a man whose original message to mankind has been woven into the earliest teachings we call Buddhism but whose name has not survived.

TUCCI (G.): 'On the Fragments of Dinnaga.' These notes are intended to supplement the important contribution of Mr. Randle's 'Fragments of Dinnaga' to the knowledge of Indian logic.

A. K. COOMARASWAMY: 'Some Early Buddhist Reliefs Identified.'

Y. R. GUPTE: 'Rathare Budruk plates of Madhava-varman.' The author assigns the record to the sixth or the seventh century. The donor is Madhavavarman and the village granted is called Retturaka, S.E. of the river Krishna-Venna.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society

VOL. III, NOS. 1 & 2

A. A. FYZEE: 'A Descriptive List of the Arabic, Persian and Urdu MSS. in the B. B. R. A. Society.'

V. S. BAKHLE: 'Satavahanas and the Contemporary Kshatrapas.' This is the first instalment of B. L. Indraji's Prize Essay and gives a brief account of the period which covered the century after the death of Asoka. It discusses then the question of the home of the Satavahanas and says that W. India was their

original home. The name Satavahana is derived from Satiyaputra and the essay proceeds with the list of kings. Then follows an account of the Kshatrapas, Satavahana possessions during this period and the Kshatrapas of Ujjain and their relation with the Satavahanas.

DR. S. K. AIYANGAR: 'The Bappa Bhaṭṭi Charitha and the Early History of the Gujara Empire.'

A. VENKATASUBBIAH: 'The Authors of the *Rāghava Pāṇḍavīya* and *Gadya Chintamani*.'

D. B. DISKALKAR: 'Some copper-plate grants recently discovered.' These include (1) Bantia plates of Dharasena II of Valabhi of (Gupta-Valabhi) Sam. 257. (2) Bhavanagar plates of Dharasena III of Valabhi of Sam. 304. (3) A grant of W. Chālukya sovereign, Pulikesin II. (4) A grant of Rāshṭrakūṭa sovereign, Govinda III. (5) Asvi plates of the early Yadava Irammadeva.

R. R. HALDAR: 'Some reflections on Prithviraja-rasa.'

J. J. MODI: 'The Story of Alexander the Great and the Poison damsel of India.'

K. RAJWADE: 'Indra's enemies.'

H. HERAS: 'Three Mughal Paintings on Akbar's Religious discussions.'

Journal of the Bombay Historical Society

March 1928—

H. HERAS: 'The Decay of the Portuguese Power in India.' Discusses the views of the late R. Sewell's remarks on the subject and critically examines the real causes of the decay, internal and external, ascribing it to (1) the destruction of the Vijayanagar Empire, (2) English opposition, (3) Dutch enmity, (4) and bad Government at home.'

DR. BAL KRISHNA: 'The Economic History of India.' Examines the materials for research at Bombay.

B. A. FERNANDES: 'Sopra: The Ancient Port of the Konkan.' Examines the antiquity of the port since the days of the Puranas to the rise of Portuguese power in 1534.

N. V. RAMANAIYA: 'The Place of Virakurcha in the Pallava Genealogy.' Puts forward the theory that the interval between the Sanskrit and Prakrit records of the Pallavas is exaggerated

and that Sanskrit displaced Prakrit within two generations. According to the writer the Vīrakorchavarman of the Darsi fragment was the father of Sivaskandavarman of the Hirahadagalli plates and can be safely identified with 'Mah. Bappasvami' mentioned therein.

Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute

No. 11

J. S. TARAPOREWALA: 'Some Aspects of the History of Zoroastrianism.'

J. C. TAVADIA: 'Recent Iranian Researches by European Scholars.'

Indian Historical Quarterly

March 1928—

M. WINTERNITZ: 'Jātaka Gāthas and Jātaka Commentary.' Examines how far the Jātakas can be used for historical purposes, more especially for the history of Indian literary types, and for the history of social life and institutions of ancient India.'

A. B. KEITH: 'The Authorship of Nyaya Pravēśa.'

N. DEY: 'Rāḍha or the ancient Gangarāshṭra.'

S. R. DAS: 'Alleged Greek Influence on Hindu Astronomy.'

N. K. SINHA: 'Ranjit Singh's Civil Administration.'

H. C. CHAKLADAR: Eastern India and Āryāvartha.'

M. M. BOSE: 'Asoka's Rock Edicts: I, VIII, IX, XI.'

A. VENKATASUBBIAH: 'The Battle of Soraṭṭūr.'

A. G. WARRIAR: 'The Tali Inscriptions in the Cochin State and Their Importance.'

Bengal, Past and Present

January–March, 1928—

N. K. BHATTASALI: 'Bengal Chief's Struggle for Independence in the Reign of Akbar and Jahangir.'

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI: 'The East India Company's Commercial Mission through the Wilds of Burma in the Early Part of the Nineteenth Century.' The papers connected with the accounts of these missions are in the archives of the Imperial Records

Department and the materials of the present paper have been taken from the records which deal with the commercial missions which Dr. Richardson and Captain Mcleod undertook from Moulmein during the years 1835–37.

M. J. SETH: 'Gorgin Khan: The Armenian Commander-in-Chief and Minister of Nawab Mir Kassim of Bengal.'

Bengal, Past and Present

April–June, 1928—

'Letters from Bengal: 1788–95.'

SIR E. COTTON: 'Unpublished Papers from the Correspondence of Ozias Humphry, preserved in the Library of the Royal Academy.'

N. K. BHATTASALI: 'Bengal Chief's Struggle for Independence.'

JADUNATH SARKAR: 'A Description of North Bengal in 1609 A.D.' Translation of a Persian account from the Diary of Abdul Latif, the favourite retainer of Abul Hasan, a brother of Nurjahan. It gives a description of a journey to Bengal, its cities, shrines, etc., observed by the writer on the way in the Royal tour in which he joined.

P. PISSURLENCAR: 'Prince Akbar and the Portuguese.' Written from the unpublished Portuguese letters of Viceroy Francisco de Tavora preserved in the Government archives at Pangim. Studies the relationship of Prince Muhammad Akbar the fourth son of Aurangzeb.

Discovery

March, 1928—

A. PERSSON: 'Excavations in the Tombs of Dendra.' Studies the rich tombs of Dendra.

Epigraphia Indica

VOL. XIX, PARTS I TO III

D. R. SAHNI: 'Ahar Stone Inscription.'

D. R. BHANDARKAR: 'Jejuri Plates of Vinayāditya.'

D. R. SAHNI: 'Seven Inscriptions from Mathura,' these are (1) The Buddha image inscription of the year 22. (2) Bodhisattva image inscription of the year 39. (3) The Bodhisattva

inscription. (4) Vardhamana image pedestal inscription of the year 84. (5) Stone slab inscription. (6) Stone bowl inscription in the Jamna Bagh. (7) Stone channel inscription.

R. D. BANERJI: 'The Kalyan Plates of Yaśovarman.'

HIRALAL: 'Amoda plates of the Haihaya King Prithvideva I: Chedi Sam. 831.'

K. V. S. AYYAR: 'Takkolam Inscription of Rājakēsarivarman (Āditya I).'

G. V. SRINIVASA RAO: 'The Kandukūru Plates of Venkaṭapatidēva I: Śaka 1535.'

D. R. SAHNI: 'Mathura Pedestal Inscription of the Kushaṇa year 14.'

R. D. BANERJI: 'Patna Museum Plates of Somēśvara II.'

Y. R. GUPTA: 'Rithapur Plates of Bhavattavarman of the Nala Family.' Palaeographically the record is assignable to the later half of the fifth or the first half of the sixth century A.D.

V. RANGACHARYA: 'Two Inscriptions of the Pallava King Raja Simha—Narasimhavarman II.' The first is the record discovered by the Archaeological Department in 1912. The second Panamalai inscription.

P. BHATTACHARYA: 'Two Lost Plates of the Nidhanpur Copperplates of Bhaskaravarman.'

D. B. DISKALKAR: 'The Second Half of a Valabhi Grant of Sam. 210.' This is the second half of the grant, the first half of which appeared in Vol. XVIII of *Ep. Ind.*

R. R. HALDER: 'The Sohawal Copper-plate Inscription of Maharaja Sarvanatha—the year 191 issued from Uchchakalpa.

T. C. RATH: 'Vishamagiri Plates of Indravarmadeva.'

K. V. LAKSHMANA RAO: 'Two Copper-plate Inscriptions of Eastern Chalukya Princes Issued by Bādapa and Taḷa II Sons of Yuddhamalle II. Not Hitherto Known to Us.'

J. NOVEL: 'Panchadharala Pillar Inscription of the Kona King Choḍa III.'

J. NOVEL: 'Panchadharala Pillar Inscription of the Eastern Chalukya King Viśvēśvara.'

D. B. DISKALKAR: 'A Fragmentary Pratihara Inscription.'

L. D. BARNETT: 'Six Inscriptions from Kolur and Devageri.' These include the (1) Kolur inscription of the reign of

Somēśvara I, Śaka 967. (2) Devagiri inscriptions of the reigns of Somēśvara II and III, Śaka 997 and 1056. (3) Kolur inscription of the fourth year of Vikramaditya VI. (4) Kolur inscription of the tenth year of Vikramaditya VI. (5) Devagiri inscription of the forty-eighth year of Vikramaditya VI.

Indian Antiquary

April, 1928—

A. VENKATASUBBIAH : 'Vedic Studies.'

B. C. LAW : 'Buddhist Women.'

M. SINGARAVELOO PILLAI : 'Nicolas Manuchy's Last Will and Testament.'

R. C. TEMPLE : 'Ignicoles : A Name for the Parsees.'

May, 1928—

S. SRIKANTA SASTRI : 'Devaraya II.'

June, 1928—

A. VENKATASUBBIAH : 'Vedic Studies.'

Journal of the Madras University

March, 1928—

A. J. SAUNDERS : 'The Saurashtra Community of Madura.'

S. HANUMANTA RAO : 'Life and Times of Madhavacharya.'

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI : 'A Note on the Kingdom of Srivijaya in Sumatra.'

The Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society

January–April, 1928—

J. RAMAYYA PANTULU : 'The Southern School of Telugu Literature.' Gives a bird's-eye view of the Telugu literature created in the Tamil country by Telugu people who emigrated to the Tamil districts in the days of the Nayak Kings.

S. SRIKANTA SASTRI : 'Suḷakas and Mulakas.' Questions the identification propounded by H. Heras of the Suḷakas with the Cholikas and traces the references to the word Mulaka in historical literature.

S. E. V. VIRARAGHAVACHAR : 'The Date of Naighantuka Dhananjaya.' Concludes that Dhananjaya was later than Kaviraja (A.D. 650–725) and prior to Rajasekhara and that he probably flourished between A.D. 750–800.

G. SINHA : 'Kalinga.'

J. RAMAYYA PANTULU : 'Krishnaraya or the Story of Karnata Kingdom.' Examines the origin of the Karnata kingdom and its history especially during the reign of Krishnadevaraya.

N. K. VENKATESAN : 'Govinda Dikshita.'

R. SUBBA RAO : 'The Pamulavaka Copper-plate Grant of Ammaraja II.' The inscription relates to a grant made by Ammaraja II—Vijayaditya. The importance of the inscription consists in the fact that it shows that the grant was made in the Elamanchi-Kalingavishaya and that the Eastern Chalukyan Empire during Ammaraja's time extended up to Elamanchi Kalinga (Vizagapatam District).

G. JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL : 'A Note on the Inscription from Ganj.' Expresses the view that the Vyaghradeva of Ganj was a feudatory of Vakataka Prithivisena II who was reigning in A.D. 480 and that he cannot be identified with Vyaghra mentioned in the inscription of Samudragupta. According to the writer a difference of more than a century separates the two Vyaghras so far as the palaeography of the inscription is concerned.

L. N. DEB : 'Sailodbhava Dynasty of Kalinga.'

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

March 1928—

H. HERAS : 'The Royal Patrons of the University of Nalanda.'

K. P. JAYASWAL : 'Revised Notes on the Brahmin Empire: Revival of Asvamedha.'

N. C. MEHTA : 'Jaina Record on Toramana.' This is a miscellaneous Champu work of 2,600 lines belonging to the eighth century. The author is Udyotana Suri and the work is called *Kuvalayamala*. Extracts from the work and a summary in English are given.

K. K. BASU : 'Account of the First Sayyad King of Delhi.'

J. N. SAMADDAR : 'Two Forgotten Mutiny Heroes.'

K. P. JAYASWAL : 'A Deed of Acquittance in Sanskrit.' This is a good specimen of a deed of acquittance and is dated in the year 508 of the Lakshmana era (1627 A.C.).

A. BANERJI SASTRI : 'Weights in Ancient India : Patna Cylinders.'

K. P. JAYASWAL : 'Demetrios, Kharavela and the Garga-Samhita.' Shows from a quotation from *Garga-Samhita* that the Greek king of Patanjali and Kharavela was Demetrios and not Menander.

B. B. ROY : 'Harappa and the Vedic Hariyupia.' As opposed to the views of Sir John Marshall, S. K. Chatterji and R. D. Banerji, the writer holds that the relics recently discovered at Harappa belong to the Aryan civilization. In Vedic times there was a city named Hariyupia, where a battle was fought between Chayamana's son King Abhyavarti, and Varaśikha's sons, in which Indra fought on the side of Abhyavarti, and killed Varaśikha's sons, who are stationed on the East and West of Hariyupia (*R.V.* VI, 27, 5).

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society

VOL. XIX, NO. 1

July, 1928—

REV. H. HERAS : 'Goa Viragal of the Time of Harihara II of Vijayanagara.'

A. A. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR : 'The Hindu Arabic Numerals.' In this article the writer continues the subject of the development of the Numeral system in India and the Decimal notation, the abacus and the symbol for the zero.

L. L. SUNDARARAMA RAO : 'Mughal Land Revenue system.'

SOMASUNDARA DESIKAR : 'Rājādhiraja II.' Concludes from a study of Ins. No. 43? of 1924 of Rajādhiraja II which he reproduces that (1) Rajaraja died a natural death without a proper heir to the throne, and (2) that he ordered his minister-general to look after his kingdom as well as to select a person from the correct line. He questions in a detailed discussion the accuracy of the statements made in the Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy for 1924 on this inscription.

Revue de L'Histoire des Colonies Française

March–April, 1928—

A. MARTINEAU : 'La Défense et la Critique de la Politique de Dupleix.'

Illustrated London News

May 19, 1928—

'The Storied-past of India.' Describes the discoveries at Old Prome and Pagan in Burma. M. Duroiselle here hit upon the untouched relic chamber of Old Prome, the ancient Śrīkshētra. Round the top of the stupa runs an inscription in a script closely related to Canara-Telugu script of South India. A MS. consisting of twenty gold leaves containing extracts in Pali from the Abhidhamma and Vinayapiṭakas in the early South Indian script of sixth century A.D. Among other objects discovered here were a gold image of Buddha, sixty-three smaller ones of gold and silver, and a number of inscribed gold and silver rings, ear-ornaments miniature boats, etc. These antiquities point to Southern Buddhism with its Pali canon being predominant here.

June 2, 1928—

'Relics of Sumer's first Capital after the Flood : Discoveries at Kish. 3500 B.C.' The antiquities of this site reach back to a period clearly 1,000 years earlier than the oldest Sumerian inscriptions that can be translated. The age to which the tombs belong date before 4000 B.C.

Modern Review

March, 1928—

R. D. BANERJI : 'Rajput Origins in Orissa.'

May, 1928—

MAJOR BASU : 'The Second Afghan War.'

June, 1928—

DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE : 'The School of Vedic Research in America.'

July, 1928—

R. D. BANERJI : 'Non-Buddhistic Cave-temples.'

Visvabharathi

April, 1928—

RAMES BASU : 'The Culture Products of Bengal : The Muslim Literature and Music during the Muslim Period.

Bharathi

June, 1928—

PRABHAKARA SASTRI : 'Old Telugu Inscriptions.'

Journal of Oriental Research

January, 1928—

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI : 'Indian Culture at Funan and Cambodia.'

M. RAGAVA AIYANGAR : 'The Date of Periāḷvār.'

Calcutta Review

March, 1928—

N. SINHA : 'Ranjit Singh and the British Government.'

May, 1928—

K. SARKAR : 'A pilgrimage to the excavation site of Paharpur (Illustrated).'

Indian Historical Quarterly

June, 1928—

H. C. CHAKLADAR : 'Valipaṭṭana Plates of Raṭṭaraja, three copper-plates of Saka Saṃvat 932 recording the grant of some land by Silara Mahāmanḍalika Raṭṭaraja.'

A. B. KEITH : 'Vasubandhu and Vādavidhi.'

H. C. RAY CHAUDHURI : 'The Study of Ancient Indian Geography.'

N. DEY : 'Raḍha or Ancient Gangarāshṭra, identifies Ancient Gange with Saptagrama, the modern Satagaon, two miles north of the town of Hughli.'

S. R. DAS : 'Astronomical Instruments of the Ancient Hindus.' Gives a detailed account of the astronomical instruments of the Hindus from the earliest times and pleads for the revival of the more important of these instruments by a study of the Hindu astronomical works.

GOVINDA PAI: 'Why are the Bāhubali Colossi called Gommata?'

S. DHAR: 'The Women of the Meghaduta.'

G. RAMDAS: 'Ravana's Lanka. The author holds that evidence establishes the identity of Lankadvīpa with Āmradvīpa and of these two with Amrakanṭaka.' Lanka was the name of the highland from which the two rivers the Narmada and the Mahanadi rise and it was the chief abode of Ravana the king of the Rakshasas at the time of Rama of the Ikshvaku family.

The Modern Review

August, 1928—

H. C. CHAKLADAR: 'A Great Site of Mahayana Buddhism in Orissa.' Magnificent monuments of Buddhist religion and art, ruins of stupas, shrines, and art-treasures and statues are according to the writer contained in the little known hills—Lalitagiri, Udayagiri and Ratnagiri in the Cuttack District of Orissa.' A sketch site plan is also given.

Zeitschrift für Indologie

BAND VI, HEFT I

E. LEUMANN: 'Die Göttin Aditi und die vedische Astronomie.' This is a notable contribution to the study of Vedic astronomy.

M. WINTERNITZ: 'Zwei neue Arthasastra-Manuskripte Nos. 916 and 647 discovered by Mr. Anujan Achan.' The form Kautalya is invariably used in both the MSS. and in the opinion of the writer this is a better form than Kautilya.

Indian Art and Letters

VOL. II, NO. 2

H. V. LANCHESTER: 'Traditional Architecture as developed in Southern India.' The type of architecture dealt with extends over an area coincident with that where Tamil is now spoken. The author considers that the most active period of progressive design was under the Pallava and Chola dynasties, between the sixth and fourteenth centuries.

G. COLDES: 'New Archæological discoveries in Siam.'

A. FOUCHES: 'The French in Archæological delegation in Afghanistan.'

S. KARPELES: 'An example of Indo-Khmer Sculpture.'

JOURNAL

OF

INDIAN HISTORY

The East India Company: Its Origin and Growth Prior to Sir William Norris's Embassy

BY

HARIHAR DAS

SIR WILLIAM NORRIS's mission to the court of the Emperor Aurangzib on behalf of the New or English East India Company occurred at a critical time both in regard to the fortunes of the Mughal Empire and also to the efforts that had been made by the English merchants and traders during over a century to promote their commerce and to establish their position as residents in India. On the one hand the Emperor's power was visibly declining and on the other the position of the European traders had become insecure for many reasons of which not the least important was their own rivalry which led them to think as much of injuring one another as of promoting what should have been a common cause in obtaining trade facilities and privileges. It was not surprising, therefore, that the New Company, which had to justify the patronage of King William III as well as to recover the immense sum expended on its promotion, should have resolved to entrust its interests to so well qualified a representative as Sir William Norris to plead its cause before the Mughal Emperor and to obtain from him as many favourable concessions as possible. In order to appreciate the situation of the moment both in England and in India it is necessary to retrace the history of the London East India Company and describe the circumstances which led to the formation of the New or English Company.

The London East India Company was a bold enterprise on the

part of adventurous City merchants. It owed its birth largely to the patronage and encouragement of Queen Elizabeth who was much impressed with the national advantages likely to accrue from the East India trade. Inspired with pride in, and ambition for, her merchants and not unmindful of personal advantage, she had already, after the defeat of the Spanish Armada, shown her favour by supporting sundry private undertakings to establish trade with the East Indies. To this she had been led partly by the advice of her far-seeing statesman, Lord Burleigh, and partly by the stimulating achievements of Sir Francis Drake and other great navigators. These undertakings had not been altogether successful, but public interest had been aroused and it was not unnatural that the merchant adventurers of London, who had already established trade with Russia and the Levant, should throw themselves eagerly into the enterprise of opening up new markets. Another influence was the success of the Dutch in their recent voyage to India.[1] Thus when these adventurers met on September 22, 1599, at Founder's Hall for the purpose of concerting those measures necessary to establish direct trade with India they felt assured of the Queen's patronage and active support. The first General Court of the Company was held on September 24, 1599. The Earl of Cumberland and other influential persons, including several Aldermen of London, petitioned Her Majesty to further their efforts by the grant of a charter. But, as delicate negotiations were in progress for restoring peace with Spain, delay occurred and it was not till the end of the following year (December 31, 1600) that the Royal Charter was signed.[2] This incorporated the enterprise under the title 'The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies.' The Company's affairs were to be directed from England by a committee consisting of one Governor and twenty-four others to be elected annually. The charter granted by the Queen contained 'a privilege for fifteen years.'

The first voyage undertaken by this London Company was under the command of Captain James Lancaster. It was begun on February 13, 1601 and Woolwich was the port of departure. Its destination

[1] Addl. MS. 24, 934, British Museum.

[2] Only a copy of this charter is known—that preserved at the India Office. See *Introduction* by Sir George Birdwood to William Grigg's *Relics of the Honourable East India Company*.

was the Spice Islands, more particularly Sumatra. The voyage was successful and the first English factory was founded at Bantam in the Island of Sumatra. In 1604 there was a second expedition to Bantam led by Captain Henry Middleton. But it was not till the third voyage in 1606-9, that India was brought into the range of the Company's operations. Meanwhile Elizabeth had been succeeded by James I in 1603 and two years later Akbar the Great had given place to Jahangir. It has been truly remarked by Sir John Seeley that 'In the growth of the Empire the reign of James is a capital epoch, when the seed sown in the Elizabethan age yielded its harvest.'[1] The Company was powerfully protected and encouraged by King James. In 1607 he sent Captain William Hawkins in command of the ship *Hector* to Surat where he arrived on August 24, 1608. Thence Hawkins proceeded on February 1, 1609 to the Court of Jahangir at Agra where in spite of opposition from the Portuguese and the Dutch he was allowed to reside in high favour for some time. At the beginning of his reign James had permitted licenses to be issued to private merchants, but in May 1609 he gave the Company 'the monoply of trade and traffic to the East Indies for ever.' The same year the Company built a vessel of 1,200 tons. This, the largest merchantman ever yet known in England, was unfortunately wrecked.[2] It was not till the tenth voyage, led in 1612 by Captain Thomas Best, that there was obtained the right to establish a factory at Surat. This was due to prowess displayed in defeating a superior Portuguese squadron. Hitherto the Mughal had regarded the Portuguese as invincible at sea and this defeat greatly surprised him. James Mill remarks that 'the power of the Portuguese in the East carried the usual consequences of power along with it, among other things, an overbearing and insolent spirit, they had already embroiled themselves with the Mughal Government in an act of piracy—an event favourable to the English, who were thus joined with that Government in a common cause.'[3] Between the years 1600 and 1612 no fewer than twelve separate voyages were made and profits up to 132 *per cent.* resulted from them. Nevertheless many serious difficulties were encountered. Abroad

[1] *See* vol. i, p. 291 of *The Growth of British Policy,* by Sir J. R. Seeley, Cambridge, 1922.

[2] *See* vol. vi, p. 124 of *History of England* by David Hume.

[3] Vol. i of *History of India,* by James Mill.

they had to contend with powerful rivalry from the Dutch who put every obstacle in the way of their establishing settlements in the East. Dutch settlements on the Indian coast were numerous, but never individually considerable. Their first fort was built at Pulicat in 1609. 'It is worthy of remark, by the way, that as the English ultimately gained possession of almost all the places with which they traded in the peninsula of India, so they either lost or resigned nearly all those in the several islands in the Indian Ocean where they at first carried on trade, in some instances not inconsiderable.[1]

As hitherto the Company had been unable to secure all the privileges desired from the Mughal Government it was thought that a properly accredited envoy might be more successful. So, in 1615 the king sent Sir Thomas Roe, as Ambassador to the Court of Jahangir. Although the whole of Roe's diplomatic demands were not conceded yet the results of his embassy were satisfactory when the position of other European traders in India was taken into consideration. Among other privileges secured was permission to establish a permanent settlement at Surat. In fact Roe's embassy laid the foundation of English influence at the Mughal Court, a thing that none of his countrymen had hitherto been able to do. In alluding to his achievement Chaplain Terry wrote that the Ambassador was 'like Joseph in the Court of Pharaoh, for whose sake all his nation there seemed to fare the better.'[2] The same year the Company also secured a permanent settlement at Masulipatam and opened trade with Persia. By 1618 they appeared to be in a full tide of prosperity so far as their trade by land and sea was concerned. They had five factories in the dominions of the Great Mughal, viz.:—at Agra, Ahmadabad, Burhanpur, Broach and Surat.[3] These factories enjoyed a large measure of independence under Jahangir who was now generally well-disposed towards the English.

About this time the Portuguese influence and power began to wane. They had been masters of Goa, Bombay and other places, partly through conquest and partly by agreement. But the path of the Company was by no means easy; for if Portuguese rivalry was now

[1]See the *Preface* of *Calendar of State Papers*, 1513–1616, edited by W. Noel Sainsbury, London, 1862.

[2] See p. lix of *Introduction* to the *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India*, edited by Sir William Foster, second edition, 1926.

[3] See the *English Factories in India, 1618–1621*, by Sir William Foster. Oxford University Press, 1906.

no longer formidable, the Dutch proved stubborn opponents. At last a treaty was arranged and ratified on July 16, 1619. This was intended to regulate matters concerning trade in the East Indies. It was concluded between the Dutch and English, but never came into operation. There followed a series of futile negotiations till January 1623. The English tried to establish themselves in the Spice Islands but were prevented by the Dutch who enjoyed a superiority in ships and other resources. These they turned to account by capturing or sinking many of the Company's best vessels. The Dutch appeared to have no scruples and the rivalry culminated in a treacherous massacre which took place at Amboyna in March, 1623. This put an end to the rivalry in the Spice Islands and led the English to concentrate their trade activities on India. The news of the tragedy of Amboyna caused great excitement throughout England and consternation among the members of the East India Company. The Assembly of the States-General in Holland did not condemn the action of their country-men, whose violent proceedings led to the publication of many pamphlets both in England and Holland. These vindicated the conduct of the English or of the Dutch according to the country from which they emanated. The most powerful of the pamphlets was written in England by a Mr. Skynner.[1] A Mr. Richard Greenbury painted for the Company a picture of the tortures inflicted by the Dutch which was eventually sent to the Duke of Buckingham.[2] Even half a century later the feelings of resentment were recalled by Dryden in his *Amboyna, A Tragedy*. The prologue, from which the following lines are taken, expresses the strong popular feeling of the day :—

> The doteage of some Englishmen is such
> To fawn on those who ruine them ; the Dutch.
> They shall have all rather than make a war
> With those who of the same Religion are.
> The Streights, the Guiney Trade, the Herrings too,
> Nay, to keep friendship, they shall pickle you :
> Some are resolv'd not to find out the cheat,
> But cuckold like, loves him who does the feat :
> What injuries soe'r upon us fall,
> Yet still the same Religion answers all :
> Religion wheedled you to Civil War,
> Drew English blood, and Dutchmen's now would spare.[3]

[1] See *Calendar of State Papers* (Colonial Series) 1622-24, edited by Noel Sainsbury.

[2] See p. 155 of Additional MS. 24,934, B.M.

[3] Dryden's *Amboyna* is ' a tissue of mingled dialogue in verse and prose ' and

The Company distracted with their difficulties and their differences with the Dutch, and uncertain about the future, petitioned Parliament to examine into the position of their affairs. Although the King disapproved of the petition, he assured them of his protection and his interest in their commerce. It so happened, however, that he died before reparation could be made either to the nation or the Company.

The Company's affairs were in a precarious condition when Charles I ascended the throne. He renewed the attempt to secure redress from the States-General for the sufferings of the English at Amboyna and ordered the English fleet to avenge themselves on Dutch vessels homeward bound. The Dutch continued their obstruction of English trade both at Surat and Masulipatam: the Portuguese made strenuous efforts to regain their influence. Jahangir died in 1627, and Shah Jahan was now disputing the right of succession with his brother.

It is interesting to note that the first English nobleman, the Earl of Denbigh, paid a visit to Shah Jahan in 1631 at Burhanpur being kindly received and entertained by the Emperor, who gave his distinguished visitor a present of Rs. 6,000 on his departure.[1] Next year Shah Jahan punished the Portuguese for their piratical acts and authorized his Provincial Governor to seize their settlement at Hooghly. The first regular English settlement in Bengal was established in 1633 when factories were founded at Hariharpore and Balasore. A friendly treaty was concluded between the English and

was written during the Second Dutch War in 1673, with a view to excite the English nation against their rivals. He also wrote *Aurangzeb*, an heroic poem which was first printed and acted at the Royal Theatre in 1676. It was dedicated to the Earl of Mulgrave, who brought it to the notice of the King, whereupon Charles II expressed the opinion that it was the best of all his tragedies, a view in which the author concurred. As regards the characters Dr. Johnson said that 'the personages are imperial; but the dialogue is often domestic, and therefore susceptible of sentiments accommodated to familiar incidents.' The Eastern atmosphere of the play perhaps supports Professor Saintsbury's conjecture that Dryden must have derived his information from Bernier. Sir Edmund Gosse in his *History of Eighteenth Century Literature*, styles the Great Mughal as an 'Indian potentate, the Sultan Aurangzeb.' It may be noted that the title of 'Sultan' is not applicable to Aurangzeb and, bold as it may appear to criticize Sir Edmund, I must observe that *Padshah* is the just equivalent for the style of Emperor. Dr. Johnson's comments therefore appear to be more apposite than those of our modern critics.

[1] See pp. xvii–xix of *The English Factories in India*, 1630–1633.

the Portuguese in 1634–5 which led for the time being to a better understanding regarding access to mutual ports.

The Company's commerce with India had hitherto been conducted on a monopolistic basis; but the wavering conduct of the Crown created many difficulties. In 1635, Charles I, in need of money, granted a limited charter to Sir William Courten's Association, restricting its operations to such localities as were not already occupied by the Company. It was even surmised that the King had a share in Courten's Association. Charles' conduct in this matter was indefensible inasmuch as he broke the pledge given to the Company in their former charter. The interloping Association mismanaged their own affairs in India, but did great harm to the Company and the arrival of their ships at Surat for trading purposes greatly hindered the Company's trade for some months. Fortunately Charles became aware of the harm being done, and in 1640 restored the Company, by a new pledge, to its former position. It was during this period of misfortune that an event took place destined to have far-reaching effects. This was the granting of a site at Madras to an English merchant, Mr. Day, at a nominal rent by a Hindu Raja in 1639 which proved to be, as Vincent Smith remarks 'the beginning of British territorial acquisition in India.' The agreement concerning the grant was engraved on a plate of gold.'[1] The factory at Hooghly was founded in 1642, and owing to remoteness from the more or less continuous warfare that marked the Mughal conquest, gave the Company less trouble than any other of its stations.

The Company's activities were necessarily much hampered by the Civil War at home (1642–9) followed by the Commonwealth and Protectorate. In 1653 when news of the outbreak of war between the English and the Dutch in Europe reached Surat the Dutch factors formally declared war against the English in India. The English factors thereupon claimed the Mughal's protection but he declined to interfere. The same year Fort St. Geogre was erected into a Presidency : and in April 1654, hostilities with Holland were terminated by the Treaty of Westminster. By this treaty the Dutch agreed to pay compensation for the Amboyna tragedy. During the Protectorate, Cromwell was so busy with European politics that he showed no

[1] See pp. 7–8 of *India under British Rule*, by J. Talboys Wheeler.

active interest in the Company's affairs. Public attention was largely engrossed with the Spanish War; so, for the time being, trade with the East Indies was little heeded. In 1654 a treaty with Portugal was concluded. This enabled English merchants to trade freely throughout the Portuguese Eastern possessions. Thus hostility between the three nations was for the time being brought to an end and it became unnecessary to send fleets from home for defensive purposes. In England there were general confusion and unrest owing to Royalist plots and Cromwell's Parliamentary difficulties; and these caused long delay in the granting of a new charter. Cromwell conferred on the 'Merchant Adventurers' a privilege similar to that granted by Charles I to Courten's Association. In October, 1657, the new charter was received. It re-established the Company on a basis similar to that of the charter under James I in 1609. A few months before, the East India Company's fortunes had reached their lowest ebb. The year, 1657, is also memorable in Indian History inasmuch as it witnessed the beginning of that fratricidal struggle which ultimately placed Aurangzib on the throne.

After the accession of Charles II, in 1661 a new charter was obtained by which the Company were confirmed in all their former privileges. Further, they received power to judge all persons, English or Indian, within their settlements, in causes both civil and criminal, according to the laws of England. They might wage war against non-Christians, conclude peace with Indian princes or people and coin money current in the countries where they traded. They were also empowered to issue to private persons licences for trading purposes, power being reserved to the Crown to interfere if necessary. These concessions, however, stirred jealousy and criticism. Being granted by charter from the Crown, without Parliamentary sanction, their validity was seriously questioned. Thus speculative adventurers, then termed 'Interlopers' were induced to set themselves in opposition to the Company. The 'Interlopers' efforts, however, came to nothing and now at last the Company was launched on a period of real prosperity, that prosperity dating from the Restoration.

Soon after Sir George Oxinden became President at Surat, the Maratha chief Sivaji plundered Rajapoor in 1661. On this occasion several English factors were seized and confined for two years in a

hill fort, whence they were liberated only on payment of a ransom.[1] Three years later Sivaji attacked and plundered Surat itself, but his efforts to capture the English factory were repulsed by Sir George Oxinden who 'like Pope Leo at Rome before Attila in the story, saved the city by their bold front.' English and Dutch merchants resisted the attack, but the loss sustained by the Mughal's subjects showed that Inayet Khan, the Mughal Governor, was incompetent. The sack of Surat lasted five days and Sivaji took away more than a *kror* of rupees from the homes and warehouses of various merchants. Sir George's courage was rewarded by the Emperor himself who granted to both English and Dutch factors a reduction of one *per cent* from the 'nominal import duties and all the merchants at Surat were excused paying customs duties for one year.' The Emperor in addition gave Oxinden a *Serpaw* (robe of honour) and the Company presented him with a gold medal in recognition of his valour.[2] Sivaji again attacked Surat in 1670 when the sack lasted three days and the Mughal Governor offered a weak defence. On this occasion the Mahratha chief spared the three European factories.[3] The booty carried away on this occasion is said to have been worth 66 lakhs of rupees in money, pearls and other articles. The city and its suburbs were panic-stricken and Sivaji's name, according to Dr. Fryer, became a terror which carried 'all before him like a mighty torrent.' In consequence of this the merchants' trade at Surat was for some time suspended and all communications ceased.[4]

At Surat Oxinden continued his strong and able administration in spite of serious trouble caused by hostilities with the Dutch. The year 1665 was marked by two important events. (1) The rebellion of Sir Edward Winter at Madras. Sir Edward was President of Fort St. George : his arbitrary and forceful policy did not commend itself to the Directors at home and Mr. George Foxcroft was sent out to supersede him. The factors of Madras supported Winter, who after some

[1] See vol. i, p. 143 of *A History of the Mahrathas*, by James Grant-Duff, Oxford edition, 1921.

[2] See p. 223 of Fryer.

[3] The French 'Compagnie des Indes' was formed in 1664.

[4] See vol. i, pp. 198–99 of *A History of the Mahrathas*, by James Grant Duff. Sarkar gives a detailed account ; see vol. iv, pp. 54–57, 184–188 of *History of Aurangzib* ; p. 221 of *Report of the Old Records of the India Office*, by Sir George Birdwood ; see p. 296 of *English Factories in India, 1661–1664*, by Sir William Foster ; also the *Gazetteer* of the Bombay Presidency.

bloodshed retained office in opposition to the Directors. But in 1667 a force was sent out which deprived him of power and installed Foxcroft in his place. Sir Edward Winter although deprived of the Presidency remained at Madras till 1672 when he returned to England. (2) Acquisition of the Island of Bombay. This had formed part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza when she married Charles II, and its possession had greatly enhanced English prestige, since it was of great value as a centre of authority and trade. In 1668 the King transferred all the ports and the Island itself to the Company 'reserving only allegiance of the inhabitants to himself.'[1] The political consequences of Charles' marriage were far-reaching as the Portuguese could now rely on the English for assistance in defeating the Dutch. The Company appointed commissioners to govern Bombay under the control of the Presidency of Surat. In 1673 the Dutch sent a squadron to capture Bombay but were totally defeated, and in the following year by the Treaty of Westminster all the differences between them and the English were settled. Under it the Dutch have retained down to the present day the undisputed command of Java and other islands in the Archipelago.

Sir George Oxinden was succeeded at Surat by President Aungier, who afterwards went to Bombay where he regulated the management of affairs and dispensed justice with an even hand. The name of Aungier became greatly revered both at Surat and Bombay whose inhabitants, putting the utmost confidence in his wisdom and integrity, made him the 'Common Arbitrator of their Differences in Point of Traffick,' and invariably accepted his awards as final.[2]

King Charles intended to clear the East India Company of the Whigs who had defied his authority. When this became known the interlopers began to dispute the Company's trade monopoly in the East as well as to impugn the validity of its charter. On February 3, 1683, the case between them came before the Chancery and the King's Bench. Then, when on April 21, Sir John Banks was chosen as Governor of the Company, it became evident that the Whigs would be expelled—an event which actually took place two days later.[3]

[1] See MS. Rawl, A. 302.

[2] See *A New Account of the East Indies*, by Captain Alexander Hamilton, London, 1744.

[3] Henry Muddiman's News-Letters—*The Times*.

Early in August, 1683, King Charles granted a new charter empowering the Governor and Company of Merchants to search for and seize all merchandise brought or carried by interlopers to and from every place within their jurisdiction. They were also authorised to govern their own territory, declare war or peace and to raise such military forces as might be necessary to quell disorders committed by Englishmen and others. In support of the powers thus granted the King resolved to institute a Court of Judicature in India and commanded that it should consist of 'one person learned in the civill lawes and two merchantes.' The Court was established at Bombay and empowered to adjudicate in mercantile and shipping cases according to the 'rules of equity and good conscience and according to the lawes and customes of merchantes.'[1] Dr. John St. John was appointed Judge of the Court of Admiralty there.

In 1681 Bengal was separated from Madras and after a few months Mr. William Hedges was appointed Agent there. From this time the Company's affairs were beset with difficulty. This was owing to wars both in the Provinces and on the coasts between the Mughal and Sambhuji, which greatly hampered the regular business done by merchants of Surat and other factories on the Malabar coast. About this time too the administration of Bombay was seriously mismanaged by Sir John Child[2] with the result that a rebellion broke out in 1683. Child was evidently unfit for his position and his administrative incompetence was notorious long before his death in 1689.

It will not be out of place at this point to take a glance at the condition of India during the period when Aurangzib began a fresh era of conquest. The Emperor wished to extend his sovereignty over the southern kingdoms of the Peninsula. He achieved, by force or by treachery—for he was not scrupulous in his methods—many successes, and in appearance at least realized his wishes. But his triumph was less real than he imagined, inasmuch as he had alienated Hindu sentiment where Akbar conciliated it. In this way he created

[1] *See* Patent Roll 3237 (35 Chas. II, pt. 3), P.R.O.

[2] Several writers including Macaulay and Sir George Birdwood have attested the fact that the two Childs were brothers; but Ray and Mrs. Oliver Strachey in their book *Keigwin's Rebellion* (pp. 162–3) have proved for the first time that there was no relationship between Sir Josiah and Sir John Child, Governor of Bombay.

formidable difficulties for his successors in the form of implacable rivals who were destined one day to dispute their power.

These rivals were the Marathas, who inhabited Khandesh and Malwa, with a strong natural frontier in the Vindhya and Satpura hills. About the time when Aurangzib, as Viceroy of the Deccan, began his offensive against Bijapur and Golconda, they had found a great leader in the person of Sivaji, a master in the art of irregular warfare. For a short period peace prevailed early in the reign of Aurangzib, but soon troubles arose in the Eastern scenes of his Empire which were promptly suppressed by his Governors. Sivaji in the meantime was exerting all his energies against the Mughal, but was eventually defeated by Aurangzib's general Jai Singh and persuaded to go to Agra to pay homage to the Emperor. While there he became doubtful about his personal safety and made a dramatic escape. Thereafter he resumed hostilities and harassed the Mughal wherever that was possible besides plundering in every direction. By alliance and other means he made himself the foremost power in the Deccan. In 1668 he concluded a peace with the Mughal which however, lasted only two years. His power and reputation continued to increase until in 1674 he assumed at Raigarh the title of Raja with the insignia of royalty. Of him Grant Duff truly remarks: 'Sivajee was certainly a most extraordinary person; and however justly many of his acts may be censured, his claim to high rank in the page of history must be admitted.'[1] The Mughal army for lack of money achieved little real success either against the Marathas or the King of Bijapur. Sivaji died in 1680 and his son Sambhuji became national leader of the Marathas.

Aurangzib found formidable enemies to his Empire in others besides the Marathas. Arbitrary invasions of the territory of two of his Rajput vassals and his re-imposition of the tax *Jizia* on 'unbelievers' alienatad the Hindu community. In 1669 he ordered the demolition of all Hindu temples within his dominions. These, if they had been spared, would have testified to-day to the architectural glories of Hindu India. But the Emperor did not dream of the ultimate consequences of his doings.

The Mughal returned to the Deccan in 1682 and spent his days in ceaseless warfare against Bijapur and the Marathas. Bijapur was

[1] See vol. i, p. 228 of *A History of the Mahrathas*, by Jame Grant Duff.

annexed in 1686 and Golconda the following year. Two years later Sambhuji was taken and put to death ; thus all rivals in the Deccan were cleared away. By the end of 1689, Aurangzeb was unrivalled monarch of Northern India and of the Deccan. His foremost foes had all fallen and their dominions been annexed to his Empire. He seemed to have gained everything, but in reality all was lost. As Mr. Sarkar remarks: ' It was the beginning of his end. The saddest and most hopeless chapter of his life now opened. The Empire was now too large to be ruled by one man. He could not hold the newly annexed kingdoms and at the same time hold the Marathas in subjection. He could defeat but not finally crush his foes. Lawlessness reigned in many places. The old Emperor could not control his officers at a distance ; thus administration grew slack and corrupt. In Agra there was chronic disorder. Art and learning decayed so that no great building, fine manuscript or exquisite picture commemorates Aurangzib's reign.'[1]

The accession of James II, from his well proved interest in naval affairs, encouraged the Company to rely on a continuation of the Royal protection which would enable them more effectually to restrain the interlopers from encroaching upon their domain. Owing to his own troubles within the state his brief reign proved to be for them a period of disappointment and depression. The activity of the interlopers increased, and the Company were at a loss to know how to deal with them. In Bengal where they were most active, they had beyond doubt inflicted considerable injury on the Company's trade. The Mughal authorities, unable to discriminate between the different representatives of the same European nation, had treated the interlopers with a certain measure of favour and after they had purchased a farmān from the Mughal officers they were allowed to trade without any restrictions. This was not very surprising because the new-comers expressed their willingness to pay a higher rate of import duty.

Prior to what may be called the definite establishment of these rivals the London Company had enjoyed a very favoured position in that it paid an import duty of only 2½ per cent, but when the 'New Company', as the interlopers dubbed themselves, expressed their willingness to pay up to 5 per cent, the Mughal authorities thought

[1]See pp. 50–51 of *Studies in Mughal India*, by J. N. Sarkar, 1920.

themselves entitled to charge the first comers an increased rate of 3½ per cent. This the London Company flatly refused to pay, declaring that they could not afford it although it is not clear why this seemingly moderate rate should have been deemed exorbitant. The rivalry between the Company and the interlopers was rendered more acute by a move which certainly placed the former in an invidious light with the Mughal authorities.

While these officials were pressing on the Company's factors for the extraction of heavier dues, the latter began to formulate their own grievances against the former. They rejoined that the Nawab of Bengal had for many years been in the habit of flouting their rights and ill-treating their representatives. Their privileges under the farmān had been infringed, bribes had been extorted, the loading of their ships had been hindered, and worst of all, the servants of the Company had been forced to appear in the local courts of justice. It was further alleged that the Mughal Emperor himself was indebted to the Company for no less a sum than £160,000, due mostly for goods forcibly extracted from them without payment, and besides these were claims for over-exactions under the head of customs. These duplicated causes of friction produced a strained situation all round, and it is not surprising that it led to serious troubles. Before long the legitimate English traders grew impatient. The interlopers were like gnats, but the Mughal authorities were the more formidable adversaries. It was with the latter that the position had to be arranged. As a later writer expressed it:—'Experience soon showed that treaties were of no avail against the lawlessness of the local officials. It was not that the Mughal Government would not protect the foreign merchants against oppression and wrong. It could not; whatever control it had, it was gradually losing.'[1] Under these circumstances the Company began to consider the advisability of acquiring a place in Bengal suitable for fortification with a view to upholding their trading and personal rights. With this object in view the Governor at Hooghly, Mr. Gyfford, applied to Shayista Khan for permission to construct a fort at the mouth or on the bank of the Ganges. This request was refused, the Mughal Governor no doubt seeing in it a limitation to his authority, but it did not improve the situation.

[1] See vol. v of *History of Aurangzib*, by J. N. Sarkar.

Whilst these disputes were in progress much trade was lost and it was impossible to discern any solution of the difficulties that had arisen.

In such a dilemma there appeared to be no remedy for the English between relinquishing trade in Bengal and resorting to force. A spirit of combativeness had seized the Court, and Mr. Gyfford was censured for displaying too much submissiveness to the Nawab and his officers. At this period the policy of the Company was largely inspired by Sir Josiah Child, the Chairman, who believed in political action as the best means of promoting the Company's interests and development. He is indeed said to have aimed at laying 'the foundation of a large, well-grounded, sure English dominion in India for all time to come.' But political action does not bear fruit unless there is military power behind it, and that the Company did not possess until a much later period. Still Sir Josiah Child's proceedings may be regarded as the first attempt towards grafting a political venture on the original design of a strictly commercial undertaking.

Sir Josiah Child undoubtedly held large views. In 1685 he had substituted Bombay for Surat as the head station and factory going so far as to describe Bombay as 'the key of India'. This was the first attempt to escape from the interference and control of the Mughal officials, as the Island of Bombay possessed a sovereign status. But its advantages as a place of trade were not perceived until a much later period. Child hoped that it would prove a secure base for the immediate safety of the Company's servants and for the realization of his ulterior plans. For similar reasons a fort had been desired in the Gangetic delta.

(*To be continued*)

A Note on the Kalvan Plates of the Time of the Paramara Bhoja

BY

D. B. DISKALKAR

Watson Museum, Rajkot

THESE plates have been edited by Mr. R. D. Banerji in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIX, Part II. Though undated, they are historically very important particularly in so far as they throw light on the extent of the Paramāra dominions in the Deccan under the great Bhoja. Mr. Banerji thinks that the grant was issued by Yaśovarman during the period of anarchy which followed the fall of Bhoja. But there is sufficient evidence in the inscription itself to show that it was issued in the life-time of that king when he was at the height of his glory. The record opens with an account of the Paramāra dynasty ruling at Dhārā, mentioning the three immediate predecessors of King Bhoja by name, viz. Sīyaka, Vākpati and Sindhurāja. The important southern, western and eastern conquests of Bhoja are further recorded in this description. Then is mentioned the name of Yaśovarman, King Bhoja's governor over the Selluka (or possibly Seṭṭuka) territory consisting of 1,500 villages. Lastly occurs the name of Rāṇaka Amma of the Gaṅga family who held the Audrahādi principality of eighty-four villages under Yaśovarman. This is in full agreement with the usual practice of land grants in which the names of the overlord, feudatory or governor of the province and then that of the grantor occur in successive order. The local potentate though directly subordinate to the feudatory or governor, owes allegiance to the paramount sovereign. The present grant was in fact issued not by Yaśovarman but by Rāṇaka Amma, and the mention of Paramāra Bhoja and Yaśovarman before his own name is sufficient to show that he paid due allegiance to his sovereign Bhoja and immediate superior Yaśovarman. The absence of any mention in the record about the consent of Bhoja, the sovereign lord to the issue of the grant, in no way indicates that the power of the Paramāras of Māḷvā had weakened considerably in North Mahārāshṭra at the time of the

issue of the grant. The mere mention of the Paramāra sovereign in the grant is sufficient to show that the part of the country was undoubtedly under the sway of that dynasty.

The grants of the early Yādavas of Seuṇadeśa show that the northern portion of the Nasik district in which the present grant was found was ruled over by them in the latter part of the tenth century A.D.[1] But they were often disturbed in their possession of the country by foreign invasions. The Paramāras of Māḷvā appear to have made attempts to seize the country at least since the time of Vākpati-Muñja. The Sangamner grant[2] of the early Yādava Bhillama II, dated A.D. 1000 states that he struck a blow against the power of Muñja and rendered the sovereign power of Raṇaraṅgabhīma (i.e. Chālukya Tailapa II) firm. Another inscription[3] refers to an invasion and conquest of Śvétapada by Lakshmaṇarāja, a ruler of Chedi. We do not see such an occasion in the history of Chedi king to have crossed Māḷvā, the territories of the Paramāras and to have advanced so far towards the Deccan. But it is probable that Lakshmaṇarāja had accompanied the Paramāra king Muñja, who, we know, had invaded the Deccan. We are told that Muñja's minister Rudrāditya endeavoured to dissuade his master from opposing Tailapa in that king's own country. Muñja, however, disregarded his advice and marched to the south. In the encounter which ensued Muñja was defeated and taken prisoner.[4] It must be the same fight of Muñja with the early Yādava Bhillama II that is referred to in the Sangamner grant. These statements thus lead us to believe that Lakshmaṇarāja in company of Paramāra Muñja invested Śvétapada and defeated Bhillama II in about A.D. 996, but the Chalukya sovereign Taila hastened to help his feudatory and gave a crushing defeat to the invaders and took Muñja prisoner.

After Muñja Bhoja also seems to have attempted to conquer the Śvetapada country. Bhoja's copper plate grants[5] dated V. S. 1076 and 1078 show that he had conquered the Koṅkaṇa. Now Bhoja could not have proceeded to conquer the Koṅkaṇa territory unless he passed

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 212 and *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xii, p. 119 and vol. xvii, p. 117.
[2] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii. p. 212.
[3] Kahla plates of the Kalachuri Sodhadeva : *Ep. Ind.*, vol. vii, p. 86.
[4] Luard and Lele, *Paramaras of Dhar and Malva*, p. 6.
[5] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi, p. 53 and *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xi, p. 181 ; vol. xviii, p. 320.

through the Śvétapada country and defeated the local king, evidently some prince of the Yādava family, either Vesuka or Bhillama III. But the Deccan Chālukya sovereign Jayasimha was too strong for Bhoja and soon deprived him of the sovereignty over Koṅkaṇa.[1] Consequently Bhoja had probably to restrict his activities in the south and allow even the Śvétapada country to remain undisturbed for some time. But any way, some time before the Kalvan plates were issued Bhoja must have conquered it again. Though these plates are undated there is sufficient evidence in them to lead us to assign them to a definite period. They were issued on the *amāvāsyā* day of the month of *Chaitra* when there was a solar eclipse. Now in the latter part of Bhoja's life, say between V.S. 1080 and 1110 the only years that have a solar eclipse in *Chaitra* are V.S. 1102, 1103 and 1104 (A.D. 1045-7). We can therefore say that in one of the three years the grant must have been issued. There is another reason to assign the Kalvan plates to this period of Bhoja's life. Fortunately we know of another grant dated V.S. 1103 which shows clearly that Bhoja's power was fully acknowledged over the southern part of Gujarat, falling within the Lāṭa country, which is quite adjacent to the Śvétapada country of the Kalvan plates. This grant was recently discovered at Tilakvāḍā[2] in the Saṅkheḍā mahāl of the Baroda district and was issued by one Jasorāja of the Śravaṇabhadra family ruling over Saṇkheḍā, the date being given as Monday the *amāvāsyā* of the month of *Mārgaśīrsha* in V.S. 1103, probably, 1 December A.D. 1046. From all this, it is impossible to suppose that Bhoja's power had weakened considerably at this time.

The Śvétapada country did not enjoy peace even after the fall and death of Paramāra Bhoja, for Vapullaka, a general of the Chedi king Karṇa conquered[3] it in about V.S. 1111 (A.D. 1055). The powerful Chedi ruler overran Malva and tried to seize the whole of the Paramāra territories, but was foiled in his attempt by the Deccan Chālukya king Someśvara Āhavamalla, who supported[4] the cause of Bhoja's successor Jayasiṁha and by his timely intervention in the affairs of Māḷvā not only freed that province from foreign aggression but also

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xii, p. 313.

[2] See *Proceedings of the Poona Oriental Conference*. The plates are being edited by me in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. vii, p. 86,

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, 1919, p. 137.

helped the Yādavas to enjoy their own territories in peace as his feudatories.

The troubles that befel the Śvetapada country by the encroachments of Bhoja and immediately after his death by those of the Chedi king Karṇa are echoed in the grants of the Yādavas of Seuṇadeśa. It is said therein[1] that there was much confusion after the death of Bhillama III, and Seuṇachandra got the kingdom by the force of his arms. It is said of Seuṇachandra that just as the three worlds were raised from the ocean by the God Vishṇu in his boar incarnation, so after the death of Bhillama Seuṇachandra conquered all kings and lifted up the sovereignty with its dignity.

From what is said above, it would not be difficult to explain why no antecedents of Yaśovarman, the governor of Bhoja, are given in the present record. It might have been due to his having risen at once to the high position by the favour of Bhoja as a governor of the province conquered by Bhoja from the Yādavas.

The points in which the present grant differs from the regular grants of the Paramāras of Malvā, as noted by Mr. Banerji, can also be very easily explained. As the grant was issued not directly by a Paramāra king but by a local authority under a feudatory of his, it was apparently not considered necessary to attach the Garuḍa and snake seal generally found in the Paramāra grants. The Tilakvāḍā plates, referred to above, do not similarly show the Garuḍa seal as they were issued by a feudatory of Bhoja. Similar arguments can be adduced about the second and third points raised by Mr. Banerji, viz. the absence of the date and customary opening verse in praise of Śiva. The latter may be due to the personal preference felt by the grantor for the tenets of Jainism.

Another place where Mr. Banerji seems to be wrong is where he thinks that Yaśovarman had obtained one-half of the town of Selluka through Bhoja's favour. It is not possible to suppose that only half the town of Selluka was given by Bhoja to Yaśovarman. The plate reading is not quite clear; but I think that सेल्लुकार्धे सार्धसहस्र is the engraver's mistake for सेल्लुकादिसार्धसहस्र (1,500 villages beginning with Selluka). I also think that the correct reading of the name of the

[1] In the above-mentioned Sangamner grant and Asvi grant which is being edited by me in the *Ep. Ind.* See also *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, part ii, p. 515.

town is probably Seṭṭuka which can be identified with modern Saṭāṇē, the name of a taluka town which is not far from Kalvan where the plates were found.

Although a portion of the Nasik District was called by the name of Śvétapada in some inscriptions, the word Śvetapada occurring in line 25 of the present inscription seems more to stand as synonymous of Śvetāmbara denoting a section of the Jainas than for a place name as Mr. Banerji supposes. The epithet Śvetapada we know is applied to the Śvetāmbara sect of the Jainas as Nagnapada is applied to the Digāmbara sect of the Jainas. There are a number of Jaina antiquities in the Nasik district, specially in the Nasik, Dindori and Kalvan talukas.

More place names mentioned in the grant can be identified with some certainty. Something has already been said about Selluka or Seṭṭuka. The village Muktāpalli cannot be recognized in a similar form, but the modern village Makhamalābād would seem to occupy its site. In the inscription Māhuḍalāgrāma is said to be in the north of Muktāpalli. Now Māhuḍalā is probably identical with modern Mohāḍi, which is in the Dindori taluka. Mohāḍi is to the north of modern Makhmalābād, thus indicating that Makhmalābād may be occupying the site of old Muktāpalli. Mahishabuddhikā must be modern Mhasarūḷa near Nasik which is a place of pilgrimage of the Jainas. Hathāvāḍa is modern Hātasagadh fort. Sangamanagara is probably modern Surgāṇē, the capital of a petty Bhil State on the border of the Nasik and Surat Districts. Aṭṭahikā may possibly be modern Otūra.

A History of the Reign of S͟hāh Jahān

(Based on Original Persian Sources)

BY

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CHAPTER III

THE CORONATION OF S͟HĀH JAHĀN

With this picture of Agra—however dim, blurred and inadequate—before us, we can follow the course of events to better purpose.

The period of ten days which intervened between S͟hāh Jahān's entry into Agra and his enthronement was none too long either for consideration of the necessary changes in administration or for preparation for the festivities. A heavy list of honours had to be drawn up; and rewards of faithful servants and appointments to high offices to be determined.

Besides his time must have been taken up by audiences given to grandees and officers—of all parties—who must have pressed on each other's heels to welcome and congratulate him; some, like S͟her K͟hān, anxious to wipe off their unseemly antecedents, others to create and establish a new patronage. We must remember that change of sovereign, under the peculiar conditions of Mug͟hal India, marked a more thorough-going breach of continuity with the past than we are apt to imagine: it involved a reshuffling of the parties with new lines of cleavage and antipathies and a more or less complete dissolution of the old allegiances and obligations, while the appearance of a new peerage led to a fresh grouping of the smaller nobles and men round their new patrons.

Notwithstanding the improvised character of the celebrations, the tone and quality of the festivities must have given the people a foretaste of the new era of prosperity and splendour that was dawning—an era characterized by generosity of thought, of action and of outlook. But it was only a foretaste, for some of the highest nobles

and dignitaries of the court were away at Lahore with all the paraphernalia of the imperial camp; and this quick assumption of supreme authority gave the enthronement the aspect of a political demonstration or diplomatic action, rather than a leisurely and dignified state function heavy with gold and elephants and long-drawn convivialities. Yet the festivities were as gorgeous as time and occasion allowed of. In gifts of hard cash, for which no preparation was necessary, a new record was established in the history of the Mughal court with its brilliant traditions of munificence.

With these remarks we proceed to the details :—

Shāh Jahān entered Agra fort riding a horse, and ascended the throne 3½ *gharis* (*i.e.*, 1 hour and 24 minutes) after sunrise on Monday, 8 *Jumāda* II, 1037 A.H.[1] (= 25 *Bahman* = February 4, 1628 A.C.), when he was 36 y. 0 m. and 28 d. of age by the solar, and 37 y. 10 m. and 8 d. old by the lunar, calculation.

The ceremony took place in the gallery known as *Daulat Khāna-i-khāṣ-o-'ām* (the Hall of Private and Public Audience).[2]

Nobles, soldiers and scholars, of whom a goodly number had by now gathered round the Emperor, offered congratulations and *niṣār* in quantities worthy of the occasion. This was distributed among the populace, whose cry of 'Long live the King' rent the air. Singers and dancing girls—the choicest in the land—formed part of the entertainment: the air was soft with scents and song.

The ceremony of reading the *khuṭba* in the new Emperor's name was performed in this wise: The *Khaṭīb*, after praising God, the holy Prophet and the *Khalīfas*, mentioned each one of the ancestors by name, being presented with a *khil'at* for each. On coming to the name of Shāh Jahān he got a particularly costly robe of honour worked with gold, and gold and silver were given away to the poor in lavish profusion.

The coins were struck in the name of the new sovereign, both the *ashrafī* (or *muhr*) and the rupee having the following inscriptions: On

[1] So *B. N.* and *Qarniya*. *A. S.* (I, 225) and *M. L.* (I, 395) give Monday, the 7th *Jumāda* II; while *Tūzuk* (426) has a woeful misprint. The calendars give Monday for 8 *Jumāda* II.

[2] Not the *Diwān-i-'ām* of our times, but an old gallery which stood in Jahāngīr's time on the spot occupied by the *Jharoka* of *Diwān-i-'ām* to-day.

one side, the holy *kalima*, with the names of the four *khalīfas* in the margin; on the other side, Emperor's name and title.[1]

Farmāns promulgating the accession were issued, bearing the *tughrā* (title), *Abū'l-Muzaffar Shihāb ud-Dīn Muḥammad Ṣāḥib-qirān-i-Ṣānī Shāh Jahān Bādshāh-i-Ghāzī*[2]—which was henceforth the imperial title—and the stamp of the Imperial Seal (*Muhr-i-Auzak*[3]). This latter, which already bore the names of Jahāngīr and his eight ancestors up to Tīmūr, and was known as '*Nu Spihr*' (The Nine Heavens), now underwent necessary modification: Shāh Jahān's name was placed in the centre, his father's being relegated to the margin.

Large trays of gold and jewels were sent out from the Zenana by Mumtāz uz-Zamānī Arjmand Bānū Begum ('Mumtāz Maḥal'), Shāh Jahān's favourite queen, as *niṣār*. It was duly showered over his head by the nobles.

Courtiers, sayyids, sheikhs, scholars, pious men, poets and astrologers received gifts and grants, some of which will be mentioned later.

Then the Emperor retired to the haram, where the ladies flocked round him to tender their felicitations. The Empress, now with her

[1] I have found no coin of Shāh Jahān's either in the Indian Museum, or in the Punjab Museum, Catalogue, struck in 1037 and bearing these inscriptions; though there are some such struck in 1039 and later. C. J. Brown, *Catalogue of Coins in the Provincial Museum Lucknow* has also been searched.

[2] Strictly speaking '*Abū'l-Muzaffar*' is *kunyat* (filionymic), and the rest is *laqab* (title or surname). '*Shihāb ud-Dīn*' was proposed for Shāh Jahān by Āṣaf Khān; and the other *laqab* '*Ṣāḥib-qirān-i-Ṣānī*' (Second Lord of the happy conjunction) was adopted not because there had been an auspicious conjunction of the planets Jupiter and Venus either at his birth or at his accession, but because Shāh Jahān's exploits as prince bore close resemblance to the achievements of Amīr Tīmūr before he succeeded to the throne; and the latter, as we know, bore the title '*Ṣāḥīb-qirān*' (Lord of the happy conjunction), having been born under a planetary conjunction. But this is not all: the *bayyināt* of 'Ṣāḥīb-qirān' are equal to the ordinary *abjad* value of 'Shāh Jahān', which is 365. This was considered proof of a subtle divine sanction for adoption of that surname. (Readers to whom this is obscure and who are sufficiently interested in the subject will find the matter explained in S. H. Hodivala, 'The *Laqab* "*Ṣāḥibqirān-i-Ṣānī*"' (*J. & P. of A.S.B.*, vol. xvii for 1921, pp. 97–101)).

The title 'Shāh Jahān' was bestowed on him by Jahāngīr in 1026 (= 1617) in recognition of meritorious services rendered in the Deccan (*Tūzuk*, 195; *Tūzuk*, R. & B., I, 395); while the name 'Khurram' was given him at his birth by the emperor Akbar (*Tūzuk*, Preface, p. 6.)

[3] See an illustration of an impression of this seal in Jahāngīr's time in Roe, 508. We have given the nearest equivalent in English to the proper pronunciation of this Turkish word. Özök, as pronounced by a German, would be nearer.

own hand, showered on the Emperor's head quantities of gold, silver and jewellery equal in amount to the *niṣār* offered outside. Her *peshkash* consisting of costly jewels and pearls, precious stuffs and rarities was accepted. Next his favourite daughter, Jahān Ārā Begum, popularly known as Begum Ṣāḥib, offered her *niṣār* and *peshkash*. Then the other ladies followed according to their wealth, position and the degree of favour enjoyed.

The ingenuity shown by poets and writers in finding chronograms giving the year of Shāh Jahān's accession is not devoid of interest:

Mulla'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Lāhorī found a subtle meaning in the fact that the numerical value according to the *abjad* system of the following verse of the *Qur'ān* (II, 28) :

اِنِّی جَاعِلٌ فِی الْاَرْضِ خَلِیْفَه

was equal to that of the following words :

شاه جهان بادشاه غازی سَلَّمَهُ اللّٰهُ و اَبْقَاه

while the words فلک جاه شهاب الدین محمد شاه جهان صاحب قران ثانی also gave the same value, which was considered an expression of divine will that Shāh Jahān was a vicegerent of God.

The chronograms also are quite good and worth reproduction: —

The following is from the now old and aging Ḥakīm Ruknā of Kāshān (' Masīḥ ') :

بادشاهِ زمانه شاهِ جهان * خرّم و شاد و کامران باشد
حکمِ او بر خلائق عالم * همچو حکم قضا روان باشد
بهر سالِ جلوس او گفتم * در جهان باد تا جهان باشد (1037)

The famous poet Sa'īdā-i-Gīlānī (' Bebadal Khān '), Superintendent of the Imperial Goldsmiths' Workshop, has the following :

جلوسِ شاه جهان. داده زیب ملت و دین (1037)

Mīr Ṣālī, the calligraphist, came forward with

تا بود از عالم و آدم نشان * شاه جهان باد پناه جهان
کلکِ قضا سالِ جلوسش نوشت * شاه جهان باشد شاه جهان (1037)

But the best of the bunch is Mulla ' Abdu'l-Ḥamīd's attempt, whose chronogram

دو شنبه بیست و پنجم بهمن . (1037)

gives the day of the week and the date and the month (of the *Ilahī* year) in the words, and the lunar year in the numerical value. The reader will agree that this is remarkably clever.

Among the rest are

(1) زینت شرع (1037)

(2) خدا حق بحقدار داد (1037)

the latter giving also, incidentally, the verdict on the moral issue of Shāh Jahān's succession.[1]

We turn now to the presents given away by the Emperor. First, naturally enough, come the members of the royal family. Mumtāz uz-Zamānī, who of course heads the list, got 2 lakhs of *ashrafīs* and 6 lakhs of rupees, her annual allowance being fixed at 10 lakhs of rupees. 1 lakh *ashrafīs* and 4 lakh rupees were bestowed on Jahān Ārā Begum with a yearly allowance of 6 lakhs (half to be paid in cash from the Imperial Treasury and half from a *jāgīr* fixed for the purpose).

A sum of 8 lakhs of rupees was entrusted to the Empress—4½ lakhs to be distributed among the absent children, as soon as they reached Agra, as follows: Dārā Shukoh, 2 lakhs; Shāh Shujā', 1½ lakhs; Aurangzeb, 1 lakh; and 3½ lakhs among Murād Bakhsh, Luṭfullāh, Raushan Ārā Begum and Ṣurayya Bānū Begum.

Further, daily allowances were fixed for the Princes as follows:

Dārā Shukoh, Rs. 1,000
Shāh Shujā', Rs. 750.
Aurangzeb, Rs. 500.
Murād Bakhsh, Rs. 250.[2]

We notice in passing how Jahān Ārā Begum stands relatively not only to the other princesses but to her own brothers, in the Emperor's favour. We also see that none of the other queens appears in this list, which gives of course only the bigger items; although Khāfī Khān,[3] involved in a tangle of blundering figures, records an allowance of Rs. 50,000 for each of the other ladies.

As for those outside the royal family we have no room here for the names of persons who received *manṣab* or increase of *manṣab* on this day. No less than 1000 men were honoured in this manner.

Among those that had accompanied Shāh Jahān from Junair some

[1] *B.N.*, I, i, 94–95; *A.S.*, I, 227–29.

[2] We follow here *B.N.* (I, i, 96–97), which is supported by *Qarniya*. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ's figures (*A.S.*, I, 231) are unsatisfactory, and *M.L.* (I, 396–97) is hopeless.

[3] *M.L.*, I, 396.

35 men received a rank of 1000 and upwards. Among these worthy of note are :

(1) Mahābat Khān, appointed Commander-in-Chief with a title of 'Khān Khānān', rank of 7000/7000 (*du aspa sih aspa*) and a gift of 4 lakhs of rupees in cash with other insignia of honour.

(2) Wazīr Khān, appointed *wazīr* with a rank of 5000/3000 and 1 lakh in cash.

(3) Sayyid Muẓaffar Khān Bārha Tihanpūrī, granted a rank of 4000/3000 and 1 lakh in cash.

(4) Dilāwar Khān Barīj, honoured with a rank of 4000/2500 and Rs. 50,000.

(5) Bahādur Khān Rohilla with 4000/2000 and Rs. 50,000.

Among the lowlier recipients of honour we may mention Riẓā Bahādur ('Khidmat Parast Khān'), with whom our readers are already acquainted. He got increase of *manṣab* to 2000/1200 with a cash prize of Rs. 20,000 and a jewelled baton (*'aṣā*), and was appointed *Mīr Tūzuk*.[1]

Altogether 72 lakhs of rupees were disbursed on this day ; 60 lakhs in the haram, and 12 lakhs among nobles, sayyids, learned and pious men and scholars and poets. And taking note of other expenses incidental to such a function, the total extent to which the Imperial Treasury was depleted must have approached a crore.

Among the *manṣabdārs* of Jahāṅgīr's time, who were present at the coronation, a considerable number kept their rank or increased it, additional *jāgīr* being sanctioned to the latter class for the increase. The list given by the court chroniclers, which only gives recipients of a rank of 1000 and more, runs to 22 names. We have space here only for the first six :

(1) Khān-i-'Ālam : 6000/5000.

(2) Qāsim Khān Juwainī : 5000/5000 (2000 *suwār du aspa sih aspa*), with governorship of Bengal.

(3) Abū'l-Ḥasan Mashhadī 'Lashkar Khān' : 5000/4000.

(4) Rāja Jai Singh : 4000/3000.

(5) Sayyid Daler Khān Bārha : 4000/2500.

(6) Rāo Sūr Bhūrtia : 4000/2500.[2]

[1] *B.N.*, I, i, 116–18 ; *A.S.*, I, 266–68. [2] *B.N.*, I. i, 120.; *A.S.*, I, 266–67.

Out of the governors of Provinces during Jahāṅgīr's reign only four were retained :

Governor	Province
' Yamīn ud-Daula ' Āṣaf Khān. (The administration to be carried on by Amīr Khān s/o Qāsim Khān Namakī on his behalf.)	Lahore and Multan
Khān Jahān Lodī.	Deccan, Berar and Khandes.
I'tiqād Khān (younger brother of Āṣaf Khān.)	Kashmir.
Bāqir Khān Najm-i-Ṣānī.	Orissa.

That only four were retained shows how much Shāh Jahān was out of love with the administration that preceded him. Of course the treatment that he had received during his rebellion and Nūr Jahāṅ' s intrigues had much to say to the changes in the personnel of the government.[1]

The following changes took place in the other provinces on Coronation day or immediately afterwards :—

Name of Province.	Old Governor.	New Governor.
Bihar.	Mīrzā Rustam Ṣafavī.	Khān-i-'Ālam.
Kabul.	Khwāja Abū'l-Ḥasan (his son, Ẓafar Khān,[2] officiating for him).	Abū'l-Ḥasan Mashhadī ' Lashkar Khān '.
Agra.	Qāsim Khān Juwainī.	
Bengal.	Fidā'ī Khān.	Qāsim Khān Juwainī.
Ahmadabad.	Saif Khān.	Sher Khān.
Malwa.	Mīr 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Ma'mūrī ' Muẓaffar Khān '.	Amānullāh (' Khān(a)zād Khān ', ' Khān Zamān '), s/o Mahābat Khān.
Allahabad.	Jahāṅgīr Qulī Khān s/o Mīrzā 'Azīz Koka 'Khān-i-A'ẓam '.	Jānsipār Khān Turkamān.
Delhi.	Mukhtār Khān Sabzwārī.	Qilīj Khān.
Tatta.	Mīrzā 'Īsā Tarkhān.	Bāqī Khān (' Sher Khwāja ').[3]

[1] *B.N.*, I, i, 125 ; *A.S.*, 1, 271–72.

[2] This Ẓafar Khān is the father of Muḥammad Ṭāhir ' 'Ināyat Khān ', the author of *Qarniya*.

[3] *B.N.*, I, i, 125–26 ; *A.S.*, I, 271–72.

The following *faujdārs* were appointed:

Faujdār of Sarkār-i-Kanauj	Mīrzā Khān, grandson of 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm 'Khān-Khānān'.
,, ,, ,, ,, Mewat	Dilāwar Khān.
,, ,, ,, ,, Sironj	Ṣafdar Khān.
,, ,, ,, ,, Miān-i-doāb	Sayyid Bahwa.
,, ,, ,, ,, Munger	Mumtāz Khān.
,, ,, ,, ,, Mandsur	Jān Niṣār Khān.[1]

And Khwāja Jahān was appointed *Dīwān* of the Ahmadabad province.[2]

Now we can turn to the first orders issued by Shāh Jahān after assumption of power. These give us an idea of the new era that was dawning, and also will help us in forming an opinion about the new personality that was to sway the destiny of the Indian peoples for thirty years.

The very first order he issued was that forbidding the *sajda* (laying the forehead on the ground) by way of salutation. Since Akbar's time this was the form of greeting the Emperor at time of audience or of grant of an imperial favour. Shāh Jahān ordered abolition of this ceremony not only because under the Islamic law God alone is worthy of this particular kind of homage, but, as Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ assures us,[3] Shāh Jahān's ideas of self-respect were offended by this form of self-abasement.

Mahābat Khān flatteringly protested that this would infringe the dignity of the Emperor, between whom and the subjects a distance should be kept, and suggested the 'kissing the ground' in place of the *sajda*. The Emperor did not agree to it but adopted a middle course and directed that the hands should be placed on the ground palm downwards and the back of the hands should be kissed.[4]

The sayyids and dervishes, and learned and pious people were exempted even from this, and ordered to use the form *As-Salāmu 'Alaikum* (which is customary between equals) at meeting, and to recite the *sūrah Al-Fātiḥa* at parting.[5]

[1] *A.S.*, I, 272. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*, 258.

[4] Later (in the 10th regnal year), even this was considered to resemble the *sajda* too closely, and a 'fourth bow' (in addition to the three current since Akbar's time) was substituted for it.

[5] *B.N.*, I, i, 111–12; *A.S.*, I, 258.

We see how strongly this despotic monarch, even in his maddest moments of youth and power, felt about the dignity and the brotherhood of man, and how his truly democratic spirit broke through the bonds of tradition, atmosphere and established usage.

The reader is perhaps impatiently expecting to hear of the way in which Āṣaf Khan's 'highly meritorious services' were rewarded.

'Khidmat Parast Khān', the bearer of the sanguinary message, having seen the executions through at Lahore, rode fleet and fast to Agra and was, as we have seen, in time for his share in the Coronation honours. He reached Agra on the afternoon of Friday, 5 *Jumāda* II (= 22 *Bahman*), and brought a letter from Āṣaf Khān saying that he proposed leaving Khwāja Abū'l-Ḥasan at Lahore for the present, and that he, with the three princes, would leave Lahore on Thursday, 21 *Bahman*, and reach Agra on Friday, 14 *Isfandārmuz*.

So on the day of the Coronation Āṣaf Khān was already on the way to Agra. Shāh Jahān wrote him an autograph letter in which he did him the special honour of addressing him as 'uncle'—in fact this is how he was henceforth addressed both in conversation and communication. The letter overflowed with gratitude for his services and admiration for his skill. He approved of Āṣaf Khan's plans, and as the first instalment of imperial favour invested him *in absentia* with the rank of 8000/8000 (*Du aspa sih aspa*), which constituted an increase of 1000 personal and horse on his previous rank, which was the maximum ever reached in the time of Akbar or Jahāngīr. Lahiri port was also bestowed on him. Further, as a mark of special distinction, the Emperor sent him the dress which he himself had worn at the time of enthronement.[1]

Āṣaf Khān with the Princes Dārā Shukoh, Shāh Shujā' and Aurangzeb, his own wife and all the retinue, reached the precincts of Agra on Wednesday, 1 *Rajab*, 1037 (= 19 *Isfandārmuz*), and encamped outside Bihishtābād or Sikandra.

Mumtāz uz-Zamānī, with Begum Ṣāḥib and other children, came forward to receive her parents. The meeting was to take place not at Sikandra but on a half-way spot where tents were ready pitched. The two family parties met here with great rejoicing. Towards evening the Empress and party returned to Agra.

[1] *B.N.*, I, i, 114-15.

Next day (Thursday) the nobles and dignitaries of the court gave a formal reception to the newcomers and ushered them into the imperial presence. When the Emperor had taken his seat in the *Jharoka* of the Hall of Private and Public Audience he was ready to receive them. They were presented in the following order, each offering *naẕr* and *niṣār* mentioned against the name of each :

Name.	*Naẕr.*	*Niṣār.*
Dārā Shukoh	1000 *muhrs*	1000 *muhrs*
Shāh Shujā‘	750 *muhrs*	750 *muhrs*
Aurangzeb	500 *muhrs*	500 *muhrs*
Āṣaf Khān	1000 *muhrs*	1000 *muhrs* (with a tray of jewels).

These princes, who had been taken from Prince Shāh Jahān as guarantees for his good and dutiful conduct, were now united to him after a long separation—under circumstances how changed! From miserable hostages to the first Princes of the blood—and all through Yamīn ud-Daula's successful policy and tact. We are not surprised at the Emperor's effusion. After the usual demonstrations of paternal affection had been lavished on the Princes, Āṣaf Khan was permitted to come up into the *Jharoka*—by itself a rare honour. He laid his head on the feet of the Emperor, who lifted it with both his hands and embraced his faithful servant. The list of the imperial gifts on this occasion, which may be considered an excellent specimen of the highest imperial favour, consisted of a robe of honour with *Chārqab Muraṣṣa‘*, a jewelled dagger with a costly *phūlkatāra*, a jewelled sword with a belt (*pardala*) set with gems worth 1 lakh of rupees (which was a trophy of the victory of Ahmadnagar, and which Akbar had presented to Jahāṅgīr, and the latter to Shāh Jahān as a reward for the victory in the Deccan), a standard, a drum, *tūmān tūgh*,[1] two horses (one an arab with a jewelled saddle, the other an *‘irāqī* with enamelled gold saddle), the distinguished elephant ‘Shāh Āsan’ with gold trappings, and a she-elephant.

Āṣaf Khān was appointed *Vakil.* The Imperial Signet, which had so far been in the keeping of the Empress, was at her request entrusted to him. On 8 *Rajab*, however, the Prime Minister's portfolio was transferred from Āṣaf Khān, at his own request, to Irādat Khān, *Mīr*

[1] This yak's-tail standard consisted generally of three tails attached to a cross-bar, which was fixed at the end of a long pole or staff.' Irvine, *Army*, 34–35.

Bakhshī, who was presented with the jewelled pen-case—the symbol of his high office ; Ṣādiq Khān being appointed *Mīr Bakhshī* in his place.

Later, on the day of the *Nauroz* festival, when 'Yamīn ud-Daula' produced 5000 horsemen for the imperial inspection, these were found to be so well equipped that, by way of appreciation, an increase of 1000/1000 (*du aspa sih aspa*) was ordered ; so that his rank now stood at 9000/9000 (*du aspa sih aspa*). A fine *jāgīr* with an annual revenue of 50 lakhs of rupees was assigned him.

But to resume : Out of the officers that had accompanied Āṣaf Khān to Agra a large number received honours in recognition of the services at Lahore. A short selection will answer our purpose :

Shāista Khān (eldest son of Āṣaf Khān) : 5000/4000 (original and increase).

Ṣādiq Khān : 4000/4000.

Khwāja Bāqī Khān ('Sher Khwāja') : 4000/3500 and governorship of Tatta in place of Mīrzā 'Īsā Tarkhān.

Mīr Ḥusām ud-Dīn Anjū : 4000/3000.

And Mūsavī Khān was appointed *Ṣadr* as before.

Another long list in *B.N.*, (I, i, 182–85) gives the names of *manṣabdārs*, out in the provinces, who were promoted or confirmed. Only the more important will be mentioned as usual :

Khān Jahān Lodī : 7000/7000 (*du aspa sih aspa*).

Khwāja Abū'l-Ḥasan, Sipahdār Khān, Yāqūt Khān Ḥabashī, and Jādūn Rāi Kāyath : 5000/5000 each.

I'tiqād Khān, Bāqir Khān, Jujhār Singh (s/o Rāja Narsingh Deo Bundīla), and Ūdājairām Dakkanī : 4000/4000 each.

Fidā'ī Khān and Bahlol Miāna : 4000/3000.[1]

On 5 *Rajab* Jānsipār Khān Turkamān came from the Deccan and got rank 4000/4000 (original and increase) and the governorship of Allahabad. And, on the 8th, Rāo Ratan Hāda with his sons and relations came from his home, and was honoured with a *manṣab* of 5000/5000.

[1]. *B.N.*, I, i, 177–86 and 193 ; *A.S.*, I. 275–81 and 284. Laurence Binyon (*Court Painters of the Grand Moguls*, pp. 73–74) is of opinion that the fine picture, Plate xx, Durbar of Shāh Jahān, 'probably' represents this reception of Āṣaf Khān. This is hardly possible for the simple reason that Khwāja Abū'l-Ḥasan (No. 7) is in the picture, and we know that he did not arrive from Lahore till 12 *Shawwāl*, *i.e.*, more than three months later. We agree, however, that this picture is of 'considerable historical value'.

Technically 8 *Jumāda* II was the Coronation day, when all the necessary rites and forms were gone through; but in reality there was a succession of durbars or levees from that date to the beginning of *Sha'bān*. On the 2nd *Rajab*, as we have seen, came Āṣaf Khān with his train. Ten days later began the festivities of *Nauroz* (New Year's day), which, as usual, lasted nineteen days. We have already witnessed Āṣaf Khān's entry and reception at Agra.

The historians have vouchsafed us a detailed description of the *Nauroz* celebrations, which we propose to share with our readers, since it was the first in this reign. Besides, it furnished Shāh Jahān with a more leisurely opportunity for display of wealth and taste than the hurried coronation had allowed of.

The sun entered the sign of Aries 9 *gharīs* and 36 *daqīqas* (*i.e.*, nearly four hours) after sunrise on Monday, the 12th *Rajab*, 1037 A.H.;[1] and elaborate arrangements were made for the festival. The huge canopy called *dal-bādal*,[2] which, according to Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ,[3] required 3000 trained men with a quantity of mechanical appliances to erect it, and which (with the tent belonging to it), was, in Hawkins' words, 'so rich, that I thinke the like cannot bee found in the world,'[4] had now arrived from Lahore with the imperial camp. And the Princes and courtiers had also reached the metropolis, though Khwāja Abū'l-Ḥasan had not yet come.

The *dal-bādal* was erected in the courtyard of the Hall of Private and Public Audience. Underneath it stood majestic pavilions, the trellis work of which was of pure silver instead of of wood. These were draped in brocaded and gold-embroidered velvet. At intervals stood small canopies set with gems and trimmed with strings of pearls; and in as many places were deposited jewelled thrones and seats of gold. Carpets of many colours and figured patterns covered the floor, while the walls and doorways of the great quadrangle were

[1] There is some slight confusion regarding this date. *B.N.*, and *Qarniya* give the date in text; *A.S.* and *Mulakhkhaṣ* say, Monday, the 13th *Rajab*. According to the calendar, 12 *Rajab* fell on a Saturday and corresponded to 8 March, 1628.

[2] I would rather read it *dal-bādal* than *dil-bādil*, as Irvine does (Irvine, *Army* p. 197). This is supported by *Qarniya*, in my copy of which the word happens to be written clearly thus with diacritical marks. And Platts (*Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi and English*, p. 522) and other lexicographers leave hardly a doubt on the point.

[3] *A.S.*, I, 282.

[4] Purchas, III, 48.

hung with brocaded velvets, European tapestries, Turkish and Chinese cloths of gold, and Gujarātī and Persian brocades.[1]

The Emperor took his seat, and the four Princes were stationed at the four corners of the throne. At the foot of it stood 'Yamīn ud-Daula' Āṣaf Khān, while the other nobles and *manṣabdārs* occupied their proper places.

The band in the Music Gallery (*Naubat Khāna*) struck up. The people prayed for the Emperor's life and dominion, and the poets offered 'incense kindled at the Muse's flame'.[2]

Two little incidents of this Durbar stand out in relief:

One is worth mentioning as it is illustrative of Shāh Jahān's faith kept. It appears that Shāh Jahān as prince had borrowed from Abū'l Ḥasan Mashhadī ('Lashkar Khān'), at time of necessity, 10 lakhs of rupees, which he had not yet been in a position to repay. This debt

[1] *B.N.*, I, i, 187–88 ; *A.S.*, I, 282–83. The latter account is clearer and gives fuller details, which are corroborated by *Qarniya*.

[2] William Hawkins' description of the *Nauroz* festival in Jahāṅgīr's time—he witnessed two: of 1610 and 1611—is full of picturesque detail and is therefore not devoid of interest in this connection :—

'This feast [*i.e.*, the *Nauroz*] continueth eighteene daies, and the wealth and riches are wonderfull, that are to be seene in the decking and setting forth of every mans roome, or place where he lodgeth, when it is his turne to watch : for every Nobleman hath his place appointed him in the Palace. In the middest of that spacious place I speake of, there is a rich Tent pitched, but so rich, that I thinke the like cannot bee found in the world. This Tent is curiously wrought, and hath many Seminans joyning round about it, of most curious wrought Velvet, embroidered with Gold, and many of them are of Cloath of Gold and Silver. These Seminans be shaddowes to keepe the Sunne from the compasse of this Tent. I may say, it is at the least two Acres of ground, but so richly spread with Silke and Gold Carpets, and Hangings in the principall places, rich, as rich Velvet imbroydered with Gold, Pearle, and precious stones can make it. Within it five Chaires of Estate are placed, most rich to behold, where at his pleasure the King sitteth. There are likewise private roomes made for his Queenes, most rich where they sit, and see all, but are not seene. So round about this Tent, the compasse of all may bee some five Acres of ground. Every principall Nobleman maketh his roome and decketh it, likewise every man according to his ability, striveth who may adorne his roome richest. The King where he doth affect, commeth to his Noble-mens roomes, and is most sumptuously feasted there : and at his departure, is presented with the rarest Jewels and toyes that they can find. But because he will not receive any thing at that time as a present, he commandeth his Treasurer to pay what his praysers valew them to bee worth, which are valewed at halfe the price. Every one, and all of his Nobles provide toyes, and rare things to give him at this feast : so commonly at this feast every man his estate is augmented. Two daies of this feast, the better sort of the Women come to take the pleasure thereof : and this feast beginneth at the beginning of the Moone of March.' Purchas, III, 48.

of honour was cleared off on this day.[1] We have seen that this gentleman had already received governorship of Kabul, backed up with a high rank, in recognition of his services.

The second incident is the special honour shown to Khwāja 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm Naqshbandī of Jūibār, who came as an ambassador to Jahāṅgīr's court from Imām Qulī Khān, ruler of Tūrān, and had obtained audience at Lahore before the former's demise. He reached Agra soon after the Coronation.

The Khwāja belonged to the noblest Sayyid family of Tūrān and was held in exceptionally high esteem there. He was descended, according to *B.N.* (I, i, 194) by 39, and according to *A.S.* (I, 284) by 32, degrees from Sayyid 'Alī 'Arīẓ s/o Imām Ja'far-i-Ṣādiq.[2]

He had been treated by Jahāṅgīr with special respect, being allowed to sit near the throne in his presence—an honour allowed to nobody but the first princes of the blood.[3] The Khwāja was shown similar courtesy by Shāh Jahān, being permitted to sit by the imperial throne behind the Princes. The discriminating historians tell us that this degree of consideration was never shown even to the highest grandees of this illustrious empire, nor yet to foreign rulers who occasionally came to the Indian emperors in search of asylum.

He was presented with a *khil'at* with a *chārqab* worked in gold and Rs. 50,000 in cash.[4] On the Khwāja's intercession 'Abdullāh Khān Fīroz-jang (also a Naqshbandī Khwāja), who was now in prison, was pardoned and released.[5]

Khwāja 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm's episode is of a piece with another which follows: Some three months later, Sayyid Muḥammad Riẓavī,[6] of

[1] So *B N.*, I, i, 189. According to *A.S.* (I, 283) 2 lakhs were paid him on the Coronation day, and the balance on this date.

[2] For the Naqshbandī sect of saints see *Ā'īn*, III, 167–68 (*Ā'īn*, B. and J., III, 358–60).

[3] For fuller details of the interesting reception accorded by Jahāṅgīr to the Khwāja see *Tūzuk*, 416.

[4] The Khwāja died at Agra soon afterwards, the Emperor offering condolence and a *khil'at* to his son, Ṣiddīq Khwāja.

[5] Later, on 2 *Zū 'l-Qa'd*, this capable officer, who had risen from the ranks, and who had now a distinguished career before him, was given rank 5000/5000 and Rs. 50,000 in cash; and the *sarkār* of Kanauj was bestowed on him as his *jāgīr*. (*B.N.*, I, i, 204).

[6] He was descended in the fifth degree from the famous saint, Shāh 'Ālam Bukhārī, who had migrated from Bukhārā to Gujarat, and who, in turn, claimed descent, in the 21st degree, from 'Alī, the son-in-law of the Prophet, being called

the well-known Sayyid family of Bukhārā domiciled at Ahmadabad, sent his son, Sayyid Jalāl Bukhārī,[1] to offer congratulations to the Emperor on his behalf, he himself being unable to attend on account of a severe attack of gout. Sayyid Jalāl Bukhārī was presented on the 8th *Zū'l-qa'd*, and received Rs. 10,000 and *khil'at*.

These little events, unimportant politically, are highly significant as indicating the scale of values by which the Mughals judged personalities. We get here an insight not so much into Shāh Jahān's character, as into the spirit of the Mughal administration, where piety and scholarship stood at such a high premium.[2]

To return to the *Nauroz:* Among the appointments announced during the celebrations none was of the first magnitude.[3]

Riẓavī after Imām Riẓā, a descendant of 'Alī. Sayyid Muḥammad was a man of engaging appearance, eloquent and generous, and had a strong common sense. He died in 1045 A.H., and was buried under the dome near the western entrance of Shāh 'Ālam's tomb at Ahmadabad (*B.N.*, I, ii, 328–29).

[1] A man, apparently, of considerable ability and scholarship. Charming in manners, he combined an extensive study in literature with a wide knowledge of hagiology. His life was one of spotless piety, and occasionally he composed verses, 'Riẓā'ī' (after Imām Riẓā) being his *takhalluṣ* or poetic name. The somewhat presumptuous chronogram *Wāriṣ-i-rasūl* (the heir of the Prophet) yields 1003 A.H. as the year of his birth.

He often came to see the Emperor after his father's death. Shāh Jahān used to say that by virtue of his nobility of descent and character he was fit to be a regular member of the imperial court. (*B.N.*, I, ii, 331–32).

[2] The reader remembers the exception Shāh Jahān made in favour of this class when issuing orders prohibiting the *sajda*. See *ante*, p. 334.

[3] The minor postings were :—

1.	Mukhliṣ Khān	appointed *Faujdār* of Narwar and neighbourhood.
2.	Rāja Bhārat Bundīla	,, ,, ,, the *pargana* of Etawa and its dependencies (which was part of the *Khāliṣa-i-Sharīfa*).
3.	Dīndār Khān	,, ,, ,, Miān-i-doāb.
4	Maghūl Khān, s/o Zain Khān Koka	,, *Qal'adār* of Kāvīl.
5.	Mullā Murshid Shīrāzī	,, Minister of the Household, with a small rank and the title 'Makramat Khān'.
6.	Ḥakīm Jamālā of Kāshān	,, *Dīwān* of the Empress's Estate, with increase of rank.
7.	Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid, s/o Muṣṭafā Khān Bukhārī	,, *Faujdār* of the *sarkār* of Hissar.
8.	Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, s/o Mīrzā Shāhī and nephew of Ja'far Beg Āṣaf Khān	,, ,, ,, Bahraich.

But the presents given away in the Haram on this occasion are worthy of record, since they cast into the shade even the cash gifts of the Coronation day:

Nawāb Mahd-i-'Uliā Mumtāz-uz-Zamānī got ornaments worth Rs. 50 lakhs, and Begum Ṣāḥib gems and jewels of the value of Rs. 25 lakhs;[1] while the total value of jewels and jewelled weapons bestowed on the Princes and Princesses amounted to Rs. 25 lakhs.[2]

These figures go to show that the lavish presents given away on Coronation day had not nearly satisfied Shāh Jahān's insatiable instinct for generosity. Indeed it looks as if a temperament with exceptional ambitions for munificence and the resources of an exceptionally rich empire were already trying to give each other points; and, as we shall see, they were running neck and neck at the end of this fairly long reign—when Shāh Jahān's sudden illness and deposition cut off his building plans and programmes in mid-career.

The contemporary historians have estimated the total value of 'jewels, weapons set with gems, *khil'ats*, jewelled daggers, *jamdhars*, and swords, horses, elephants, *ashrafīs* and rupees', given away from Coronation day to the last day of the *Nauroz* festival (*roz-i-sharaf*), at Rs. 1,80,00,000. Out of this Rs. 1,60,00,000 was conferred on the Empress and children; and Rs. 20,00,000 went to the others.[3]

Presents accepted from Nawāb Mahd-i-'Uliā and Princes and Princesses and nobles were worth Rs. 10 lakhs.[4]

A few religious observances are of interest as showing the devotional tendencies of Shāh Jahān's temperament:

On the night between the 26th and 27th *Rajab*—the *lailatu'l-mi'rāj*, or the night of the Prophet's ascent to heaven—Rs. 10,000 was given

[1] *A. S.* and *M. L.* assign Rs. 20 lakhs to Begum Ṣāḥib; while *B. N.* and *Qarniya* give the figure in the text, which we prefer, as both these latter authorities are generally more accurate.

[2] Here again *A. S.* and *M. L.* give Rs. 5 lakhs as the aggregate, and again *B. N.* and *Qarniya* agree on the figure in the text. Khāfī Khān is probably copying uncritically from *A. S.* throughout.

[3] So *B. N.* and *Qarniya*. *A. S.* and *M. L.* place the total at Rs. 1,60,00,000, out of which 30 lakhs is assigned to the *Umarā* and *Manṣabdārs*, and the balance to the members of the imperial family.

[4] The complete account of the *Nauroz* festivities is to be found in *B N.*, I, i, 186–89, and 191–96; and *A. S.*, I, 282–85. Khāfī Khān, in his meagre account (*M. L.*, I, 399–400), is apparently confusing the *Nauroz* with the opening of the second regnal year.

away as charity. A similar sum was similarly disbursed on the eve of the 15th of *Sha'bān—lailatu'l-barāt*, popularly known in India as *Shab-i-barāt*—and illuminations were made on a grand scale.[1]

A fortnight later began the first *Ramaẓān* of the reign—the month of fasting, of general abstinence, and of piety and prayers *par excellence.*[2] The court annalists pass in silent assumption over the fact that the Emperor kept the fasts regularly like a good Mussulman. But we know that he did so, and continued to do so, till he had passed the 60th lunar year of his life, when (*Ramaẓān*, 1060 A.H.) the muftis of the realm pronounced a joint *fatwā* declaring that the Emperor, owing to old age, was exempt from the obligation, and could give *kaffāra* or atonement instead.[3]

At the beginning of this first *Ramaẓān* Sayyid Mūsavī Khān, *Ṣadr*, received orders to present deserving poor for charity every night during the sacred month; and we are told that, besides daily allowances and *madad-i-ma'āsh*, Rs. 30,000 was given away to these in the course of the month.[4]

The details are worth recording since these were the standing orders, and were duly carried out year after year to the end of the reign, as the dates and the months came round.

The appearance of the new moon which ended the month of *Ramaẓān* was announced by a joyous beat of drums, and the festival of *'Īdu'l-fiṭr* was celebrated on Sunday, the 1st of *Shawwāl* (= 15th *Khurdād*). After the usual congratulations, the Emperor went to the *'Īdgāh* on a dark horse, and offered prayers, money being showered over him on the journey out and return.

[1] *B. N.*, I, i, 196 ; *A. S.*, I, 285-86.

[2] The sayings of the Prophet translated below will go to indicate the special position of this month in the Muslim calendar, and the high value of fasting and doing other good things in it :

(1) When *Ramaẓān* begins the gates of heaven are opened, the gates of hell are shut, and the demons are chained.

(2) He who fasts in *Ramaẓān* in faith and in hope of reward shall have his previous sins forgiven him. (Al-Bukhārī, I, 474–75.)

Al-Bukhārī tells us (*ibid.*) that the Prophet was never so generous as in the month of *Ramaẓān*.

[3] *B. N.*, III, by Muḥammad Wāriṡ (Punjab University Library MS., f 45b).

[4] *B. N.*, I, i, 200 ; *A. S.*, I, 288–89.

We may fitly close this chapter with the mention of the spring festival called '*Id-i-gulābī*,[1] which fell this year on Monday, the 30th *Shawwāl* (= 13th *Tīr*): On this occasion the Princes and 'Yamīn ud-Daula' offered jewelled flasks, and the other nobles, some enamelled and some plain ones of gold and silver, filled variously with rose-water, '*araq-i-fitna*,[2] or '*araq-i-bahār*.[3]

[1] See a picture of a celebration of the *Āb-pāshī* or *Gulāb-pāshī* (sprinkling of rose-water) festival in Jahāṅgīr's time, in Percy Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals, A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1750* (Frontispiece.)

[2] 'A liquor extracted from the flower of the jujube-tree.' Steingass.

[3] 'The aroma of orange-flowers.' Steingass.

Birth-place of Kalidasa

BY

PANDIT ANAND KOUL

(*President, Sringar Municipality, Retired*)

THERE can be no Indian who has not heard the name of the greatest dramatist and the most illustrious poet that India has ever produced, namely, Kálidása. The great poet, Goethe, bestows unqualified praise on his works. The richness of creative fancy of this genius, his delicacy of sentiment and his keen appreciation of the beauties of Nature, combined with remarkable powers of elegant description, which are conspicuous throughout his works, rank Kálidása as the prince among the Oriental poets. Kálidása's fame rests chiefly on his dramas but he is also distinguished as an epic and a lyric poet, possessing great magic power and spell to entrance. He has written three plays—*Shakuntala*, *Vikramorvaśīya* and *Málavikágnimitra.* He has also written two epic poems, entitled *Raghuvansha* and *Kumárasambhava.* His lyrical poems are *Meghaduta* and *Ritusamhára.* He carried ornateness to a pitch far beyond any poet's—a pitch which deserves the epithet of 'exalted excellence'. He occupies a throne apart in the ideal and immortal kingdom of supreme creative art, poetical charm and dramatic genius.

It is, by no means, improbable that there were three poets of this name; indeed, modern Indian astronomers are so convinced of the existence of a triad of authors of this name that they apply the term Kálidása to designate the number 3. One Kálidása was with King Bhoja of Málva at about the end of tenth century of Christian era, about whom it is said, that he had gone to Ceylon to see the king of that island named, Kumáradása. This king was a good poet and had sent a copy of his own poem *Jánaki Harana* as a present to King Bhoja. This poetic work had pleased Kálidása very much and he became anxious to make a personal acquaintance with him. He went to Ceylon and there he was staying in an old woman's house. King Kumáradása used to pay frequent visits to Matara and when he was there he always stayed in a certain beautiful house. During one

of these visits he wrote two lines of unfinished poetry on the wall of the room where he had lived. Under it he wrote that the person who could finish this piece of poetry satisfactorily would receive a high reward from the king. Kálidása happened to see these lines when he came to this house in Matara and he wrote two lines of splendid poetry under the unfinished lines of the king. He was in hopes that his friend king Kumáradása would be well pleased with this and would recognize his friend's poetry. But the unfortunate poet had not the pleasure of getting either reward or praise from the king, because the authorship of this poem was claimed by a woman in the same house, who had seen that the poet Kálidása had written these verses. She secretly murdered Kálidása and claimed the reward, stating that the poem was her own. But nobody would believe that the woman could have written such poetry which could have only been the work of a real poet. The king, when he saw the lines of the poetry, said that nobody but his friend, Kálidása, would be able to understand him so well and to complete in such an excellent way the poetry which he (the king) had written and he asked where Kálidása was, so that he could hand over to him the promised reward. Nobody knew where he was and at last search was made everywhere and, to the great sorrow of everybody, his body, which had been hidden, was found. One can hardly imagine how sad King Kumáradása was when he heard that Kálidása had been murdered, for he had loved him so much both as poet and as friend. A very grand funeral pyre was erected and the king lit the pyre with his own hands. When he saw the body of his dear friend consumed by the flames, he lost his senses altogether through his great grief and, to the horror of all the people assembled, he threw himself on the funeral pyre and was burnt with his friend (see page 147 of *Stories from the History of Ceylon* by Mrs. Marie Musseus-Higgins).

To return to Kálidása of our subject. He was appointed as a courtier by Vikramáditya and was greatly esteemed by him for his eminent merit. He was one of the nine gems of his court. What a genius he was, may be found from the following anecdote :—

King Vikramáditya once composed a poetic line—*Bhrashtasya ka(a)nya gàtih* ? meaning—What other end may not a fallen person come to ? or, in other words, the vicious wheel of vice revolves. He

asked Kálidása to complete this unfinished verse. Next day Kálidása went purposely to a butcher's shop whereby the king had to pass. When the king came and saw Kálidása there, he stopped and held the following dialogue with him in poetry, which Kálidása completed with that very line which had been composed by the king himself the previous day :—

V. *Bhiksho mámsa-nishevanam prakurushe ?*
K. *Kim tena madyam vina ?*
V. *Madyam chápi tava priyam bhavatah ?*
K. *Várángánábhih sahá.*
V. *Vesya (a)pyartha-ruchih, kutas tava dhanam ?*
K. *Dyutena chauryena vá.*
V. *Dyuta-chaurya parágraho (a)pi bhavatah ?*
K. *Bhrashtasya ka(a)nya gatih ?*

V. O mendicant, do you indulge in eating mutton ?
K. What is the good of it without liquor ?
V. Do you like liquor too ?
K. Together with prostitutes.
V. A prostitute requires to be given money ; wherefrom do you get it ?
K. Either by gambling or stealing.
V. Are you addicted to gambling and stealing too ?
K. What other end may not a fallen person come to ?

Pandit Lakshmi Dhar Kalla, M.A., M.O.L., Shastri, late Government of India Research Scholar in Archæology, is to be thanked for the research he has recently made, fixing the birth-place of Kálidása—the sun among the poet-stars of the world—in Kashmir. He has given a new interpretation to Kálidása's poetry in the light of the Pratibhijna philosophy of Kashmir. He gives five following proofs from the works of Kálidása that determine the birth-place of the poet in Kashmir :—

I. (*a*) Disproportionately detailed and minute physical and natural description of the Himálayas, specially of the northern parts of Kashmir, or more definitely, the Sindhu Valley in Kashmir.

(*b*) Feeling shown for, and patriotic references to, Kashmir.

II. Unconscious and spontaneous references to scenes, sights and legends of Kashmir.

III. Direct allusions to local sites and usages, social customs and

conventions along with such other miscellaneous matters as are preferably known only to the natives of Kashmir.

IV. The personal religion of Kálidása was the 'Kashmir Saivism' known as the Pratyabhijna School of Philosophy, which has its home in Kashmir and which was not known outside Kashmir during the days of Kálidása, till after its popularization by Somananda in the ninth century A.D.

V. The argument of Meghaduta points to Kashmir as the home of Kálidása.

Mátrigupta, who was appointed as king of Kashmir by Vikramáditya, is considered to be Kálidása by Dr. Bhaudaji (see footnote on page 83 of Stein's Translation of the *Rájatarangini*). Mátrigupta was no doubt, a poet, but he could not be identified with Kálidása, because the latter was sent to Kashmir as king by Vikramáditya after only six months' attendance at his court and he left Kashmir after Vikramáditya was dead (see Stein's Translation of the *Rájatarangini*, page 95); while Kálidása was with Vikramáditya at Ujjain for many years.

There is a saying current among the Kashmiris—*Kálidásas chhuh panani vizih wunán* (i.e., Kálidása falls into darkness in his own case). Proverbs prove facts which are handed down from generation to generation. The above saying goes to prove that Kálidása was a Kashmiri. Evidently it has reference to a certain indiscretion on his part in his lifetime which must have brought him into some sort of trouble.

The Rise of the Peshwas

CHAPTER III

Estimate of Balaji Vishwanath's work

BY

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Karhad-Kolhapur Campaign (1718-20)

Previous to his departure to Delhi, Balaji had to reckon with certain miscreants round about Satara. They were aided in their refractory proceedings by Shambhuji of Kolhapur. They were the Thorat brothers of Aste and Paradullah Khan, a Mughal officer, who would not withdraw from Shahu's dominions even after the friendly alliance of 1718 with Sayyid Husain Ali. In September 1718 Shahu started on a campaign with Balaji Vishwanath, occupied Karhad and Islampuri, and drove out Paradullah Khan. While returning home Balaji fought a battle with Shambhuji, whom he defeated at Badgaon. After this defeat Shambhuji kept quiet for some time, but as Balaji went to Delhi,[1] he

[1] *Extract from the Document 453,* vol. iii *of Rajwade:*—

'Shivaji Patil had five sons, the eldest Subhanji Thorat, next to him Krishnaji 'Thorat, next to him Suryaji Thorat, next to him Firangoji Thorat, and last 'Shidoji Thorat. These five brothers grew up to manhood in the life-time of their 'parents. Shivaji's right to the naiki of his two villages was not very secure, and 'hence his relations created troubles for him. His sons however got together all 'the documents to testify their right and took firm possession of the two villages. 'But the eldest Subhanji became masterful, and drove out all his brothers, who 'went to different parts of the country and maintaind themselves by their own 'prowess. A little later Subhanji planned the occupation of Aste, and called 'together all his brothers for assistance. They succeeded in their endeavours and 'Aste was occupied. Shidoji Thorat of the five brothers went, and took service 'at Miraj.

'Subhanji died while he was at Aste. Then Yeswant Rao Thorat (his son) 'who was near him looked after the naiki (duties of a naik) of the village. He 'kept Krishnaji Baba with him. Suryaji Baba went out to discharge the duties of 'Patil. Firangoji stayed at Borgaon. My father accepted a service under Naro 'Pant Ghorpade, who gave him Saranjam of Miraj and assigned Yelabi for his

again created troubles for Shahu. When in June 1719 Balaji Vishwanath returned triumphant with the imperial farmans, granting

'residence. He stayed there and maintained himself by taking in his service 50 'to 100 foot-soldiers and 30 to 40 horsemen. Yeswant Rao was at Aste. At that 'time there were Mughal outposts at Karhad and Miraj, and the country in others '(their) possession. Later on Yesba (Yeswant Rao) and Shambhuji Maharaj fell 'out. So he (Yesba) left his service and went over to Chatrapati Shahu of 'Satara. He also asked my (writer's) father to accompany him, but he (the 'writer's father) did not approve of it, and so remained in the service of Ghorpade 'in the dominions of Shambhuji. Thus passed a year. Then Balaji the elder 'made a treaty with the Sayyid. Therefore he forced the Mughals to leave their 'outposts on this side of the Bhima. Paradullah Khan was at Karhad. The 'king, Shahu, himself attacked him. So he (Paradullah) moved on to Islampur. 'Shahu took Karhad, and besieged Islampur. Yesba was with the king. My 'father was at Yelabi. . . . From Islampur Shahu marched on to Khedpanandi. 'He (Shahu) established his outpost at Yelabi and returned to Satara. Then 'Shambhuji formed his designs, and started along with Piraji, Sidoji Ghorpade, 'Nargunde and others. My father was with him. With a large army he came by 'slow stages, and besieged Aste. Then came Yesba and met him. He 'determined to take the outpost in 15 days. The troops marched in battle array 'to Shirole. There was Suryaji Thorat, my uncle. He took that outpost, 'imprisoned him (Suryaji) and went to Badgaon, which he besieged. Yesba 'who had been kept in confinement escaped from the camp at Shirole and came to 'Islampur where he met Balaji Vishwanath. He (Balaji) alone was there, all his 'troops being at Aste. He sent a letter to the Maharaja at Satara, informing him 'that if Badgaon is taken the Maharaja (Shambhuji) will be soon at Aste. If the 'king would send help at this time, the kingdom would remain under him, and 'his self-respect would be preserved. In the meanwhile Shahu despatched the 'Pratinidhi and ordered Fatteh Singh, who was at Tuljapur with a large army, to 'come. Both effected a junction at Vurli. The day Yesba met the Pratinidhi, the 'army marched on Badgaon. There was a deadly fight. Shambhuji Maharaj 'was defeated. The troops plundered and captured some of the Sardars. The 'meat of the Maharaja was also captured, and he himself fled to Panhala. on 'the second day the Pratinidhi and Fatteh Singh left Yesba at Aste and went to 'see the Maharaja at Satara. . . . Thus passed a year. Yesba went to 'Bijapur. Bithoji Chouhan remained at Panhala. The country as far as Satara 'came under the sway (of Shambhuji). Then returned Balaji from Delhi, and 'was deputed to lead an army into the South. Yesba apprised of this came to 'Aste. In the meanwhile the Rao Pradhan (Balaji) came out to give battle at 'Aste. When Yesba was informed of this he left some men at the outpost and 'the same night went away to Panhala with his family. The day after the army 'gathered round Aste, my father left Yelabi, and went to Panhala. My brother 'and I were very young. There was no time for escape. . . . When the Pant 'Pradhan the elder, and the Mantri arrived, some troops seized me and my 'mother, brought us from Bhilwadi, and entrusted us to the charge of Pilaji 'Jadhav, who put us in prison. Then the army marched on, and besieged 'Kolhaphur. One day while the army was marching on Panhala it came into 'contact with the troops of Yesba. A battle was fought. Yesba got a spear 'thrust and died of the wound. . . . In the meantime the army raised the 'siege of Kolhapur and retreated. Then my father gathered a large army and 'ravaged the country as far as Satara. He next laid siege to Aste.'

sovereign rights to Shahu, Shambhuji and other miscreants were silenced. On the other hand Balaji proceeded at once to give effect to the provisions of the farmans. He actually stamped out the Mughal authority from Poona and wrested Kalyan-Bhundi from Ramchandra Mahadeo Chaskar in September 1719. Then he defeated and drove out Thorat brothers, who acted in conjunction with Shambhuji. Balaji's next move was on Kolhapur, which he besieged for four or five months. A battle was fought in the meantime at Urunbah on March 20, 1720, in which Shambhuji was again defeated. This time he was taught a lesson which he did not forget soon. Having thus settled the affairs, Balaji interviewed Shahu at Satara and proceeded to Saswad, where, he died on April 2, 1720. Thus died the founder of the House of Peshwas after a period of strenuous work and crowded activities. He had become old and his unremitting toil for the good of the country had told on his health. He found the country torn with civil war, he left it peaceful and prosperous. He had won Shivaji's Swaraj from the Mughals without a battle, and impressed the imperial capital with the prestige of the Maratha arms. His great service to Maharastra was that he made up its rents, and built it anew.

Review of Balaji's Work

We have sufficiently emphasized the importance of Balaji's work in the narrative. But for him the civil war in Maharastra would not have ended so soon; but for him Shahu could not have secured his position so easily. He was a man with a remarkable tenacity of purpose. At a time when most of the Maratha chiefs were playing a waiting game, and loyalty was a rare commodity, Balaji Vishwanath evinced virtues, that at once won the confidence of Shahu and the respect of the people. He came to Shahu's help when the latter was in sore need for it. Besides this, his work could be broadly divided under three heads:—(i) Formation of the Maratha Confederacy; (ii) Reorganization of the Finances and (iii) Inception of an imperial policy.

(i) Formation of the Maratha Confederacy

The gradual formation of the Maratha confederacy is a unique fact in Maratha history, and yet it does not come to the serious student as a surprise. Its root lay in the circumstances then prevailing in

Maharastra. The quarter of a century's warfare of Aurangzib bore two deadly fruits ; one was the complete destruction of the nascent Maratha state, reared up by Shivaji ; the other the disintegration of the Mughal Empire. The former gave rise to a very noxious system of jagirs, which can be conveniently called Feudatory system ; the latter to the acquisition of the right of the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi over the six subahs of the Deccan. The cumulative effect of these two facts transformed the nature of the Maratha state, and laid the foundation of the Maratha confederacy.

Shivaji created the Astapradhans, and paid them in cash salaries. The watchwords of his Government were :—No jagirs, no hereditary office. The reign of Shambhuji was not a radical departure from the system of government founded by Shivaji. But a perceptible change came over the state during the regime of Raja Ram. It has been already pointed out in the introduction how Raja Ram pursued a policy of systematic spoliation of the Mughal territories. To effect this successfully he assigned different parts of the Deccan to his commanders, or to those who professed obedience to him. This was again the time when all semblance of Maratha government had disappeared. The Maratha commanders, thus commissioned by their chief, and burning in resentment against the Mughals swarmed the country and harassed the Mughals in every possible way. Their king Ram Rajah distributed different parts of the country amongst them, and allowed them to establish their headquarters and afterwards their sway there. 'With large armies they invaded the subahs of the 'Dekhin, Ahmadabad and Malwa for the purpose of collecting the 'Chauth, and plundered and ravaged wherever they went.'[1]

'Whenever the emperor appointed a Jagirdar, the Marathas 'appointed another to the same district, and both collected as they 'found opportunity ; so that in fact every place had two masters.'[2]

Out of their revenues, they paid a share to their chief. Upon them depended Raja Ram, then shut up in the fortress of Jinji. The Maratha sardars acted on their own intiative, and worked to establish their sway by their own strength ; except for obtaining a sanction from the king, they had nothing to do with him. They considered the different parts of the country, as their jagir, won and maintained

[1] Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, p. 464. [2] Scott's *Deccan*, vol. ii, p. 108.

entirely by themselves. In fact the jagir system that grew up amidst these surroundings was worse than the common one. There was some difference between the jagirs assigned by Raja Ram, and those bestowed upon the nobles or servants by potentates in ordinary circumstances. Here the credit of conquering the lands assigned went to the jagirdars. The king did not bestow on them a consolidated estate, or a land that actually belonged to him. Every bit of their so-called jagir had to be conquered from, and retained against the Mughals. Thus, from the very start the jagirdars were not actuated by a sense of obedience or service, but by a strong feeling of self-interest. Because they owed no obligation to their king for their possession of a jagir, except perhaps a formal grant, they took a legitimate pride in holding them (jagirs) independent of all authorities. That is why we witness a host of jagirdars, only tendering a lip homage to Tara Bai; that is why the Sawants of Wadi, Kanhoji Angrey, Damaji Thorat, Udaji Chauhan, Krishna Rao Khataokar, and many more Maratha chiefs paid no heed to the authority of Tara Bai or Shahu unless they were either coerced or cajoled by them. When Shahu returned to Maharastra, and was fighting for his own cause, the adherence of Parsoji Bhonsle of Khandesh, Mohan Singh of Bijagad, Ambu Pande of Sultanpur, Sujan Singh of Lambkani and many other zamindars, was a deciding factor in the struggle. These jagirdars, supported him with the ultimate motive of being left unmolested in their possessions. When Shahu actually emerged victorious he favoured not only his partizans, but those who had rendered any service during the war of succession. Afterwards, when he was firmly seated on the throne he granted fresh jagirs to those who deserved them by the merit of their services, and confirmed in their possessions those, who tendered their submission. His guiding principle in state-matters being 'Don't destroy anything old nor create anything new' he allowed things to remain as they are. Balaji Vishwanath agreed entirely with Shahu at least in so far as the distribution of jagirs was concerned. He had found out that to resume Shivaji's system was well nigh impossible, for Maharastra was then within the grips of a civil war, disaffection of the local chiefs and hostility of a foreign foe. To make the best of a bad situation he won over the powerful chiefs by granting them new jagirs or titles. His home policy was two-fold—pacification of the country and conciliation of the nobles. He accomplished both by

assigning large jagirs. It has been already noticed how he managed Kanhoji Angrey by this means. At the time of his appointment to the office of Peshwa many a Maratha officer and chief received jagirs. Whenever an officer like Dabhade rendered some meritorious service to the state, as in 1717, he was awarded a rich jagir. We can form an idea about the extent of jagirs from the following data[1] :—

1. Balaji Vishwanath Bhatt, the Peshwa.

In 1710-11, when as Senakarte, he was directed to raise an army he was given a *saranjam* worth 2,510,200. As Peshwa he further got sixteen mahals and two forts as *saranjam*. Besides, he drew a salary of 13,000 *hons* a year.[2]

2. The Pratinidhi, Parshuram Trimbak, had sixteen mahals and thirty-five forts under him in 1715–16, besides his salary of 15,000 *hons* a year.

3. The Sachiv Naro Shankar had one mahal as *saranjam*, one fort and one *watan* for sahotra, besides an annual salary of 10,000 *hons*.

4. The Mantri had a *saranjam* and a salary of 10,000 *hons* a year.

5. Kanhoji Angrey had sixteen mahals and ten forts.[3]

These are only a few of the bigger feudatories, whose possesions have been described in Shahu's diaries. Besides these, there were a host of others, like the Sawant of Wadi, Fateh Singh Bhonsle of Akalkot, Angrey of the Konkan, and we do not know definitely the extent of their jagirs or states. At any rate the fact should not be forgotten that Shahu's feudatories possessed more resources than their due, and more power than what would square with Shahu's interests. Since the latter was weak, and depended upon them for his position, they always appeared more stiff-necked than they otherwise should have been. Of them Balaji Vishwanath was the worst defaulter, for he had not only huge jagirs, but nearly all the power of the state. He did not raise a finger to abolish the jagir system. On the contrary he advised Shahu to resume it, since he represented, the times were not suitable for the abolition of the system. And, further, it should not be forgotten that Balaji Vishwanath's intention in forming the feudatory system was not altogether unselfish. He was actuated to

[1] *Selections from the Satara Rajas' and Peshwas' Diaries*, vol. i, pp. 42 and 45.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 54.
[3] Rajwade, vol. ii, p. 25, foot-note.

establish this system by a personal interest, and that was to increase the power and strength of his house. In other words he wanted to make the office of Peshwa hereditary in his house; for feudatory system or hereditary jagir system is based upon hereditary office and *vice versa*. The one is inseparable from the other. Thus it is that he not only created a feudatory system but also hereditary offices.

To this was added the right of collecting the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi from the six subahs of the Deccan. We have seen how the treaty containing these rights was actually ratified in 1719. But before this, and indeed long before the conclusion of the treaty in 1718 with Sayyid Husain Ali, the Marathas had claimed the contribution on these two heads and had succeeded in making good their claim to an appreciable extent. Shivaji 'claimed to be the hereditary Sardesh-'mukh of his country and had put forth his claim early in his career.' One-tenth of the Mughal revenue he claimed on this head. *Chauth* was 'a military contribution levied by a power without being in 'formal occupation of the country' and amounted to one-fourth of the royal revenues.[1] Shivaji was first to take steps in this direction. As far back as 1668 Bijapur and Golconda had agreed to pay an annual subsidy of three and five lakhs respectively to him in lieu of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi. In 1671, he imposed these taxes on the Mughal territories. Towards the end of Aurangzib's Deccan campaign, his own officers made secret arrangements with the roving bands of the Marathas, to pay the blackmail. A few years after the arrival of Shahu, Daud Khan Punni made regular payments of the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi, which his (Daud Khan's) officers used to collect; but by 1713 it was interrupted on account of the hostile proceedings of Nizam-ul-Mulk. It was not till the treaty of 1718, which was ratified in 1719 that they won recognition for the right of collecting the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi from all the Mughal territories of the Deccan except the Svarajya, which comprised Poona, Baramati, Indapur, Wai, Mawal, Satara, Kasrabad (Karhad), Khatao, Man, Faltan, Malkapur, Tarla, Panhala, Ajra, Junnar, Kolhapur, Kopal, Gadag, Halyal and other districts to the north of the Tungabhadra, all the forts conquered by Shivaji, and the Konkan.[2] In short the Maratha king was to realize the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi from the six

[1] Sen's *Administrative System of the Marathas*, pp. 112–3.

[2] Rajwade, vol. viii, Doc. 78, pp. 102–8.

:ughal subahs of the Deccan, viz., Khandesh, Berar, Bijapur, Bedar, :aiderabad and the Karnatic including Tanjore and Trichinopoly. But ıe Marathas did not stop short at this official recognition of their right. mboldened by the reverses of Aurangzib and the deplorable state of ıe Empire after him they had levied contribution on some parts of łujrat and Gondwana. On the return of Balaji Vishwanath from)elhi, the question that confronted him was how to arrange for the ealization of these taxes from widely stretched territories. Further, he right of collecting Chauth and Sardeshmukhi was conditional on he responsibility of maintaining peace and order in those territories. Hence the problem was not an easy one, and Balaji Vishwanath's perplexities increased when he discovered that the system of Government reared up by Shivaji had absolutely disappeared. And, even ıere, the precedent created by Shivaji came to his rescue. He used to let loose his regiments on the alien territories where they used to live for eight months in the year and realized the Chauth to boot. Following his example, Balaji Vishwanath apportioned the different parts of the Deccan excluding the Svarajya to the various jagirdars or feudatories, the ministers of the Council or his own friends. The Peshwa himself undertook to realize the blackmail from Khandesh and parts of the Balaghat; assigned Balgan and Gujrat to the Senapati, portions of Gondwana, the Painghat and Berar to Senasaheb Subah Kanhoji Bhonsle, Gangathadi and Aurangabad to the Sarlashkar, the Karnatic to Fatteh Singh Bhonsle, Haiderabad, Bedar and the countries between the Nira and Warna to the Pratinidhi.[1] These officials were authorized to realize the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi, retain a fixed part for the up-keep of this government and send the rest to the royal treasury. In territories assigned to them they were practically independent. Except for the regular payment, they knew of no other condition of subordination. By force they realized the blackmail, appropriated to themselves a major portion of it, and took no account of the condition of the people from whom they extorted the money or of the chief for whom they extorted it. Balaji Vishwanath had arranged for the realization of the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi, but not for the maintenance of peace and order in the country. The feudatories fattened at the expense of the people, and the frequent

[1] थो: शा: च:—p. 47.

occurrence of wars, almost nullified the only condition of their subordination to the king, viz., payment of regular tribute. They maintained big establishments, and besides possessed Watan lands in Svarajya which were their former jagirs with regard to the newly acquired countries and the Peshwa let them have their own way. These feudaotries already so defiant in their Watan or jagir in Svarajya, now assumed a semi-independent attitude. The state thus formed and worked by Balaji Vishwanath was called the Maratha Confederacy. The only difference in later ages was its much wider extent, and much wider powers, wielded by its various members.

(ii) Reorganization of the Finances

A necessary concomitant to this arrangement, was the rehabilitation of the finances. After the division of the country arose the question of the division of the revenues between the king and the feudatories. As has been noticed above they had been given unlimited powers with regard to the collection of the taxes and maintenance of their authorities in the country allotted to them, because they were the men on the spot, and were the best judges of the conditions obtaining there. But they were required to remit annual dues to the royal treasury. These annual dues were a composite payment on what they realized from the Mughal subahs and from the Svarajya jagirs or Watans. From the Mughal subahs they realized the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi of which the latter was a special privilege of the House of the Bhonsle i.e. of Shivaji. Therefore the Sardeshmukhi collection went direct to the king, Shahu. There remained the Chauth over the six subahs of the Mughals and the revenue realized from the Svarajya. Let it be borne clearly in mind that a good many watandars or the jagir-holders in the Svarajya, were the feudatories in the Mughal subahs. Hence out of what they collected from the Svarajya and the Mughal subahs, they had to pay twenty-five per cent, on the whole, to the king for the maintenance of his dignity and office. Of the rest, i.e. seventy-five per cent, which was called Mokasa, the king assigned six per cent called Sahotra and three per cent called Nadgauda to whomsoever he pleased. The remainder sixty-six per cent of the total collection fell to the share of the feudatories who were to maintain their dignity and office thereby. But, as has been hinted above, such a system was liable to the utmost corruption, and it did become irrevocable with the lapse of

time. Indeed, corruption was inherent in such a system. Right divorced from responsibility degenerated into excesses in all cases. When Balaji Vishwanath adopted measures to make good his right to the collection of the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi, he did nothing for the maintenance of peace and order. He shirked this onerous duty only to give free license to the rapacity of his feudatories. In fact, to shoulder the responsibility would have been the most efficient check to the dangerous development of the Maratha confederacy. Like the East India Company between 1765–1772 in Bengal, Balaji never realized the delicacy of the task. Like the former, in 1769, he simply put some artificial brakes to the ambitions of the feudatories by controlling their revenue collection. His method of control was to create wheels within wheels and to make the revenue collection much complicated but the inherent defect of the system was not remedied. His method was like the Mughal system of creating co-ordinate authorities in the provinces, so that they may act as a check on each other. According to Balaji's system the revenue officials of the king appointed those of the Peshwa or Ashtapradhan, and the revenue officials of Ashtapradhan appointed those of the feudatories. The chief officials were the Chitnis, in charge of all correspondence, the Fadnis, the controller of accounts, and Potnis, the head of the treasury. These were posted to different parts of the country, to work under different sardars, but officially they were not subordinate to the latter. In fact they were not under the direct control of the king or Peshwa. Balaji thought that the system would work well, and at least theoretically it appeared efficient. But the faults of imitation were soon to make themselves felt. Indeed they were apparent on the face of it. The Mughal system worked admirably well because the Mughal government was a centralized and absolute monarchy. The Diwan and the Subehdar were co-ordinate authorities, and each was a check on the other because each was a mere servant of the magnificent autocrat, the Mughal Emperor. If the Diwan was the head of the provincial finances, he was so during the pleasure of the king, and similarly the Subehdar. But the Maratha government was exactly the opposite of the Mughal government. It was not a centralized monarchy, it was a decentralized confederacy. Unlike the Mughal Subehdars, Shahu's feudatories were not his humblest servants, but his friends and supporters. They weilded enormous power and possessed great military strength. Further the Mughal

revenue administration was a part of an organic system, and it worked in well-settled and well-organized countries. The Maratha revenue administration, on the contrary, was purely a feeding channel, like the arms of an octopus ever ready to suck its supplies from alien countries. Where the finances depended on the military power and the military power was wielded in its entirety by the sardars or feudatories, there the latter cannot be controlled by means of a few revenue officials. There can be no co-ordination between these feudatories and the revenue officials. The latter had to serve as subordinates. Not even the king was powerful enough against these sardars. Balaji meant to remedy this defect by maintaining a strong army and punishing the sardars when they proved refractory. But he did not live long, and even if he had lived long, the system would not have been very successful. We know Baji Rao did the same; he defeated and killed Dabhade at the battle of Dabhai. It did not secure the desired effect. It gave rise to a deep resentment among sardars like Bhonsle, who considered the Peshwa as one of themselves. To tighten their hold on the feudatories, the later Peshwas, i.e. Baji Rao and others arrogated to themselves the office of Senapati, but even this did not solve the troubles. It only multiplied their difficulties and worsened the condition of the confederacy.

Further Balaji Vishwanath invented a novel method of maintaining the royal establishment. It has been already noticed that his scheme of revenue administration did not put into the royal treasury the whole of the net collection, but only a fraction of it. Sixty-six per cent of the collection never came to the royal treasury, it was appropriated by the feudatories; nine per cent went to the persons in high favour with the king; the rest twenty-five per cent only was his portion. This is a very mischievous system of revenue administration; for the annual revenues were disbursed without their ever coming into the treasury and without the king's ever knowing the net income of the state. Neither he nor the Peshwa could have any real control over it. But what is more significant, the king lived as a pensioner of the feudatories, expecting only his twenty-five per cent besides the Sardeshmukhi income. Military power had passed away from his hands, and by this arrangement he was made dependent on the big sardars for the maintenance of his office. Balaji did not realize the gravity of this mistake and he further weakened the position of the king by making it a rule

that the different establishments of the royal house should be maintained by different sardars. The Ashtapradhans and the sardars like Bhonsle and Angrey were called upon to maintain the royal establishments by monthly payments. The Sachiv had to pay for the upkeep of the royal stables, the Pratinidhi had to pay for that of the royal stores and the Peshwa, for that of the royal palaces.[1] The officer appointed to see whether every feudatory was sending his contribution every month regularly or not, was called the Rajajnya. This arrangement rendered the king not only a pensioner but a protege of the feudatories in all but name. The discredit of having thus undermined the strength of the central authority goes to Balaji Vishwanath.

(iii) Inception of the Imperial Policy

Much circumstance has been made out of the *Hindu padpadshi* as instituted by Shivaji, and resumed by the Peshwas with greater vigour. It simply means Hindu sovereignty and connoted to the Marathas of the eighteenth century, Hindu Imperialism. It was not Hindu in the fullest sense of the word, for the Marathas alienated the rest of Hindu India by their predatory habits. It was not an imperialism, for the basic principles of the expansion of the Maratha power lay in the Maratha confederacy. It remained a loose confederacy of the Maratha powers in the initial as well as in the final stage of its development. On what basis it was founded has already been outlined. Now we have to examine whether it contained at the start seeds of an empire. That is why I have called it the inception of an imperial policy.

Building an empire is a long and tedious process. It first of all requires perfect adjustment of a number of interests and internal peace. The second requisite is the continuous creation of spheres of influence. We have seen how Balaji Vishwanath tried to fulfil the first requirement in his own way. He tried to knit the Maratha chiefs quarrelling and ravaging, into a system of interdependence and that was the Maratha confederacy. Thus he secured peace in the country, and avoided the clash between the interests of the king and the powerful Maratha chiefs. For this the credit goes entirely to Balaji. His next concern was to secure a sphere of influence. That was achieved

[1] थो: शा: च: —p. 66.

by the treaty of 1718–19, which granted the Marathas their Svarajya, and the right of collection of the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi. Within Svarajya they exercised sovereign rights, and they realized the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi from the six subahs of the Deccan on the condition of preserving peace and order. The collection of the black-mail defined their sphere of influence, and tightened their grip on the country subjected to the payment of the taxes. Thus the Emperor by granting these rights resigned to them a part of sovereign rights, i.e. preservation of peace and order. Vast territories round about the Svarajya paid tribute to the Marathas, and were considered as half-subjugated by them. Thus was created a sphere of influence which went on increasing with every Peshwa and with the decay of the Mughal Empire. The British made similar beginnings in Bengal. But unlike the British the Marathas never evinced a willingness to shoulder the responsibilities resting on them. They extorted every pie of their due, but did not do anything for peace and justice. Hence, instead of the government getting strong with more income, it became corrupt and weak. The foundation for an empire, a stable form of government, was never laid in the proper way. Balaji remained content with the sphere of influence now secured by the sanction of the Emperor. Shivaji had originated it and had striven to secure it. Balaji cannot be credited with the originality no doubt, but his certainly is the credit to have secured for the Marathas, what Shivaji had fought for. But how far he was aware of its defects, or corruption creeping into the system, is extremely doubtful. True it is that he was not spared long to find out the defects of the system. He returned from Delhi by the middle of 1719, and in April 1720 he died. Thus he had only a few months to experiment on affairs, and when he had rushed through his experiment, for it was a very quick arrangement that he made, with regard to the collection of the Chauth aud Sardeshmukhi, he died suddenly. Great as he was in many ways, we can only cherish a fond hope about him that he would have devised remedies for the defects, had he lived long enough to experience them. In his life-time they did not occur.

Let me make one point clear at the closing. Balaji Vishwanath had no other plans of founding an empire than creating a sphere of influence for the Marathas. He had certainly no scheme for the establishment of an empire on the ruins of the Mughal Empire, by

means of conquest. His resources were not adequate to the task, and if he had indulged in that hopeless scheme, so early as 1719, we would have denied him any credit whatsoever as a statesman. But he never indulged in such a silly scheme as early as that, and it is a pity, that most of the patriotic historians attribute this to him. He might have considered that Mughal Empire was bound to fall into pieces in the near future, but this conviction did not blur his discretion. He worked quietly with humble beginnings, and left more ambitious schemes to be worked out by his posterity.

Balaji Vishwanath's Family

On his death his office was given to his son Baji Rao, then a youth of twenty-two. Balaji Vishwanath had two sons and two daughters. The old Peshwa had got them all married in their childhood, according to the prevailing custom of the country. Baji Rao, born about 1698, was married to Kashi Bai, the daughter of Mahadji Krishna Joshi, the banker to the Peshwa in 1710–11. Along with Baji Rao, he married his elder of the two daughters, Bhiu Bai to Abaji Joshi, the brother of Babuji Naik Baramatikar. Chimnaji Appa was married in 1716 to Rakhma Bai, the sister of Trimbak Rao Pethe, and the last of his children Anu Bai was married in 1719 to Vyankat Rao Joshi Ghorpade, the ancestors of the chiefs of Ichalkaranji. Balaji Vishwanath's wife Radha Bai was a very clever and accomplished lady of the house of the Barwes of Newarya. She was the head of the household, and wielded a great influence in society. She was of liberal views and affectionate in her dealings. Family legends have it, that once a mahar woman of loose morals was discovered in the house of Govind Hari Patwardhan of Poona. It created a good deal of sensation in the society, and the Patwardhans were segregated. But notwithstanding, Radha Bai took up their cause, of her own initiative invited all the Brahmans, got the expiation ceremony performed by them, and restored the Patwardhans to their former status. She died in 1753.

Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture

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Concluded from page 271 of Volume VII., Part II.

MEANS OF TRANSPORT

Walking was the only means of transport in nomad times. Modern anthropological opinion is coming round to the view that the Stone Age man was a great wanderer from the earliest times and that there was much intercourse between Asia and Africa on the one hand, and Europe and even America on the other, if not as much as there is in these days of the steam engine. The primitive nomad, hide-clad or skyclad, shouldered his tools and walked from country to country and spread the different stages of palæolithic culture all over the world. The motive for this travel was perhaps quest for food and the necessity for avoiding climatic rigour; or perhaps it was merely due to wanderlust and to the non-development of house building and of the habit of storing wealth, and living in one place to guard it from enemies. With the building of permanent habitations and the development of a love of luxury man began to make vehicles. The earliest kind of vehicle was the cart, *vaṇḍil* [3] also called *ūrdi*,[4] *oḻugai*[5], *śagaḍu*[6], *śāḍu*,[7] *vaiyam.*[8] *Vaṇḍil* now shortened into *vaṇḍi* literally means the bent place, from root of *vaḷ* to bend, whence *vaḷai*[9] to surround, to besiege,

[1] பகுவாய் ஞமலியொடு பைம்புத லெருக்கித்
தொகுவாய் வேலித் தொடர்வலை மாட்டி
முள்ளரைத் தாமரைப் புல்லிதழ் புரையு
நெடுஞ்செவிக் குறுமுயல் போக்கற வளைஇக்
கடுங்கட் கானவர் கடறு கூட்டுண்ணு
மருஞ்சுரம்.

Perumbāṇāṟṟuppaḍai, 112–117.

[2] இனிகடுங் கள்ளி னாமூ ராங்கண்
மைந்துடை மல்லன் மதவலி முருக்கி
யொருகான் மார்பொதுங் கின்றே யொருகால்
வருதார் தாங்கிப் பின்னொதுங் கின்றே
நல்கினும் நல்கா னாயினும் வெல்போர்ப்
போராருந் தித்தன் காண்கதி லம்ம
பசித்துப் பனைமுயலும் யானை போல
விருதலை யொசிய வெற்றிக்
களம்புகு மல்லற் கடந்தடு நிலையே.

Puṟam. 80.

[3] வண்டில். [4] ஊர்தி. [5] ஒழுகை. [6] சகடு. [7] சாடு. [8] வையம். [9] வளை.

to tie, and as a noun, a hole, also bangles, from their circular shape, a discus, a conch, *vaḷaiyam*[1] a tank, a hoop, *vaṭṭil*[2], a basket, a tray, a cup, *vaṭṭam*[3], a circle, a bull roarer, a shield, a tank, all named from the shape, *vaṭṭaṇai*[4], a circle, a cymbal, *vaṭṭu*[5], a spheroidal pawn used in gambling, *vaṇaṅgu*[6], to bow, to adore, *vaṇar*[7], an arched roof, *vaṇḍu*,[8] a beetle that wheels round and round, *vaḷi*[9], whirlwind, *vaḷḷam*[10], a round eating tray, *vaḷḷi*[11], a bracelet. From early times the people were familiar with a cart and named its various parts. *Achchu*[12], the axle tree, *āṇi*[13] (a word found also in the *Rig Veda*), *iruśu*,[14] *kandu*[15], axle pin, *uruḷai*[16], *uṇḍai*[17], *kāl*[18], wheel, *ār*[19], spokes *śūḍu*[20], tyre, *kuṟaḍu*[21] hub, etc. All parts of the cart were heavily carved.[22] The carts were used more for purposes of trade than for travel. Kings and noblemen used a *tēr*, car, as already described. The main streets of a city and the roads intended for travel by royal cars were broad. The cars were dragged by bulls, elephants, and in later times by horses. Kings and noblemen also travelled in palanquins, *pallakku*[23], *aṇigam*[24], *taṇḍigai*[25]; those with gems embedded on them were called *kañjigai*[26]. Transport on water was by means of boats of several kinds and made in several ways, *kappal*[27], *ōḍam*[28], *ambi*[29], *tōṇi*[30], *teppam*[31], *pariśal*[32], *paḍagu*[33], *kalam*[34], *uḍubam*[35], *kōlam*[36], *toḷḷam*[37], *pagaḍu*[38], *paḍuvai*[39], *paṭṭi*[40], *puruvai*[41], *puṇai*[42], *midavai*[43], *vaḷḷam*[44], *timil*[45]. It needs scarcely be added that the heads of boats were carved in the shape of the face of lions, elephants, horses, etc., and they were called in later times *arimugavambi*[46], *karimugavambi*[47], *kudiraimugavambi*[48] respectively. Boats were made in several ways; thus *teppam* was a float made of logs bound together, *timil*, a catamaran for fishing, *tōṇi*, a wicker work construction covered with hide, *valam*, a dugout, *paḍagu*, *kappal*, sailing boats and *ōḍam*, one rowed with oars. Sailing boats were furnished with *kūmbu*[49], mast and *pāy*[50], *idai*[51], sails.

Many words were used to indicate a ship: *ambi*,[52] *ōṅgal*,[53] *kalam*,[54] *śadā*,[55] *śoṅgu*,[56] *timil*,[57] *toḷḷai*,[58] *tōṇi*,[59] *navvu*,[60] *pāḵri*,[61] *pādai*,[62] *pāradi*[63], *pāṟu*[64], *puṇai*[65], *pōdam*[66], *madalai*[67], *vaṅgam*,[68] *poṟi*[69]. The Tamils ought to have been very familiar with boats and ships and to have constantly used them for purposes of transport by water, before they were prompted to invent nearly twenty names for it. The eastern and western coast lines were in olden days dotted with numerous ports, many of which have become useless on account of the retreat of the sea and almost all of which have become deserted by the modern developments of commercial intercourse by sea.

[1] வளையம். [2] வட்டில். [3] வட்டம். [4] வட்டணை. [5] வட்டு. [6] வணங்கு. [7] வணர். [8] வண்டு. [9] வளி. [10] வள்ளம். [11] வள்ளி. [12] அச்சு. [13] ஆணி. [14] இருசு. [15] கந்து. [16] உருளை. [17] உண்டை. [18] கால். [19] ஆர். [20] சூடு. [21] குறடு.

[22] கூருளி பொருத வடுவாழ் நோன்குறட்
டாரஞ் சூழ்ந்த வயில்வாய் நேமி

Siṟupāṇāṟṟupaḍai, 252–253.

The wheel whose tyre went round felloes inserted in a hub on which figures were carved with a sharp chisel

[23] பல்லக்கு. [24] அணிகம். [25] தண்டிகை. [26] கஞ்சிகை. [27] கப்பல். [28] ஓடம். [29] அம்பி. [30] தோணி. [31] தெப்பம். [32] பரிசல். [33] படகு. [34] கலம். [35] உடுபம். [36] கோலம். [37] தொள்ளம். [38] பகடு. [39] படுவை. [40] பட்டி. [41] புருவை. [42] புணை. [43] மிதவை. [44] வள்ளம். [45] திமில். [46] அரிமுகவம்பி. [47] கரிமுகவம்பி. [48] குதிரைமுகவம்பி. [49] கூம்பு. [50] பாய். [51] இதை. [52] அம்பி. [53] ஓங்கல். [54] கலம். [55] சதா. [56] சொங்கு. [57] திமில். [58] தொள்ளை. [59] தோணி [60] நவ்வு. [61] பஃறி. [62] பாதை. [63] பாரதி. [64] பாறு. [65] புணை. [66] போதம். [67] மதலை. [68] வங்கம். [69] பொறி.

Food

Before discussing the food habits of the ancient Tamils it may be pointed out that Indians, throughout the ages, have been mainly vegetarians. Not that they did not love the taste of meat; on the contrary when they got it they ate it with great delight.[1] Nor did they throw to the dogs the game they hunted, without consuming it themselves. But Indians never made the flesh of animals their staple food like the people of Western Europe. The latter living in countries where cereals cannot be produced in abundance, have been forced by their environment to adopt meat as their chief article of food and add to their dietary a minimum quantity of vegetable substance, because meat by itself is not a perfect food and because they cannot resist nature's urge to consume vegetable products charged with the chlorides, and iodides, the sulphates and phosphates and other salts necessary for the healthy life of a body. To use Indian phraseology, meat is their food and vegetable their curry; that is they eat meat to sustain their bodies and cereals and other vegetarian food to add relish to their meat. In India the position is reversed. Rice, wheat, the millets and the pulses are our food, and meat (and green-vegetables) our curry; that is we eat rice or wheat or millet and the seeds of legumes to rebuilid tissue lost by combustion, and meat and green vegetables turned into curry to add relish to the cereals which are mostly insipid in themselves and unfitted to stimulate to activity the glands which secrete saliva and other juices necessary for dissolving and digesting starches and proteids. In other words meat is food to Europeans and but curry to Indians. In this connection I may point out that curry, *kaṟi*[2], is the name in Tamil not only of curried meat or vegetable and of sauce in general, but also

[1] A bard thus describes how he gobbled meat when he was plied with it by a royal patron :

துராஅய் துற்றிய துருவையம் புழுக்கின்
பராரை வேவை பருகெனத் தண்டிக்
காழிற் சுட்ட கோழூன் கொழுங்குறை
ஊழி னூழின் வாய்வெய் தொற்றி
யவையவை முனிகுவ மெனினே சுவைய

Porunarāṟṟuppaḍai, 103-107.

'He urged me many times to eat the stout, well boiled loin of a ram fed with bundles of arugu grass (*Agrostis Linearis*). I ate big lumps of fat flesh, roasted at the end of iron spikes, and, as they were hot, shifted them from the right side of the mouth to the left to cool them. I then said we did not require any more boiled or roasted meat.' And again—

கொல்லை யுழுகொழு வேய்ப்பப் பல்லே
யெல்லையு மிரவு மூன்றின்று மழுங்கி
யுயிர்ப்பிடம் பெறாஅ தூண்முனிந்து

Ibid., 117-119.

'Our teeth, on account of eating meat night and day, became blunt like the blade (plough-share) of the plough with which the garden in the back yard is ploughed, and having no place for rest got disgusted with food. And again—

பால்வறைக் கருனை காடியின் மிதப்ப
வயின்ற காலை

Ibid., 115-116.

'When I swallowed milk and fried meat till I was filled to the neck.'

[2] கறி.

means black pepper. This proves that in old times meat and vegetables were boiled with black pepper to turn into curry. In passing I may remark that chilly, *capsicum*, now universally used as a substitute for black pepper in Indian cookery, is a thing introduced into this country from Chili in South America, in recent times, that is, after the rise of modern European trade with India. Hence it has no *iḍukuṟi*[1] names as has black pepper, i.e., *miriyal*[2], *miḷagu*[3], *kaṟi*[4], *kalinai*[5], *kāyam*[6], *tiraṅgal*[7], but merely a *kāraṇappeyar*[8], viz., *miḷagukāy*[9], the fruit that produces a substance like pepper, in Telugu, *miryiapukāya*, the *miriyam*—fruit. Europeans imported pepper from old India from before the Christian Era, their tongues having been captivated by its biting taste or rather touch, for it is touch nerves and not taste nerves that are titillated by the bite of pepper ; hence Sanskrit has a *kāraṇa-peyar*, *yoga*—name for pepper, namely *yavanapriyā*, dear to the *yavana*, i.e., the Greeks and the Romans. Though the ancient *yavanas* carried pepper from India in their ships they made a mess of its name, for they did not borrow for it its proper name of *kaṟi*, or *miriyal* or *miḷagu*, but called it *pippali* (whence *pepperos*, pepper) which is the name of long pepper[10]. In the middle ages Western Europe imported pepper from India, not for eating, but for sprinkling its powder on meat before drying it for use as food in wintry weather. Such meat was called 'powdered meat'. Thus pepper was a luxury in ancient Europe and a necessity in mediæval Europe ; Venetian bottoms, at first, and later Dutch ones, carried pepper to Western Europe and it was because the avaricious merchants of Holland doubled the price of pepper at the end of the sixteenth century, that in 1599 the East India Company was started, the final result of which was the development of the British Empire in India.

To return to the ancient Tamils. They ate meat, the various names of which *ūn*[11], *iṟaichchi*[12], *pulāl*[13], *tunnu*[14], *ūttai*[15], *ūḻttal*[16], *taśai*,[17] *taḍi*[18], *tūvu*[19], *puṇ*[20], *puraṇi*[21], *pulavu*[22], *vaḷḷūram*[23], *viḍakku*[24], indicate their fondness for it, as curry and not as food, just as their modern descendants do. This curry was of various kinds (1) *kuy*[25], *tāḷitta kaṟi*[26], sprinkled with pepper powder, mustard, etc., fried in oil ; (2) *karunai*[27], *porikkaṟi*[28], *varai*[29], *tuvaṭṭaṟkaṟi*[30], fried meat ; (3) *tuvai*[31], *puḷiṅgaṟi*[32], meat boiled with tamarind and pepper. While on the subject of *kaṟi* I may mention also *kāḍi*[33], *ūṟukaṟi*[34], pickles, fruits soaked in oil or water with flavouring substances.[35]

The Aryas of North India were as great lovers of meat as were the Tamils of South India. From the evidence of the Vedic mantras we

[1] இடுகுறி. [2] மிரியல். [3] மிளகு. [4] கறி. [5] கலினை. [6] காயம். [7] திரங்கல். [8] காரணப்பெயர். [9] மிளகுகாய். [10] திப்பிலி. [11] ஊன். [12] இறைச்சி. It is noteworthy that the word also means, that which is agreeable, [13] புலால். [14] துன்னு. [15] ஊத்தை. [16] ஊழ்த்தல். [17] தசை. [18] தடி. [19] தூவு. [20] புண். [21] புரணி. [22] புலவு. [23] வள்ளூரம். [24] விடக்கு. [25] குய். [26] தாளித்த கறி. [27] கருனை. [28] பொரிக்கறி. [29] வறை. [30] துவட்டற்கறி. [31] துவை. [32] புளிங்கறி [33] காடி. [34] ஊறுகறி.

[35] பைந்துணர்

நெடுமரக் கொக்கி னுறுவடி விதிர்த்த
தகைமாண் காடி.

Perumbāṇaṟṟuppaḍai, 308–310.

The sweet-smelling tender clustered fruit of the mango, preserved

learn that 'horses',[1], 'bulls'[2], 'buffaloes'[3], 'rams'[4], and 'goats'[5] were killed on slaughter-benches, *sūnā*,[6], cooked in caldrons,[7] and eaten. The eating of fishes and birds must have also prevailed because fishing and bird-catching are referred to.[8] In North India there was developed a prejudice against eating the village-fowl, because it feeds on all kinds of repulsive offal; such a prejudice does not seem to have ever risen in South India. In early times there was no sentiment against beef-eating in North India. In the later Vedic age the objection to the eating the flesh of the bull and the cow first arose. Says the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 'Let him not eat (the flesh) of either the cow or the ox; for the cow and the ox doubtless support everything here on earth. The Gods spake, 'verily the cow and the ox support everything here: Come, let us bestow on the cow and the ox whatever belongs to other species; accordingly they bestowed on the cow and the ox whatever vigour belonged to other species of animals; and therefore the cow and the ox eat most. Hence were one to eat the flesh of an ox or of a cow, there would be as it were an eating of everything, or as it were a going on to the end or to destruction. Such a one indeed would be likely to be born again as a strange being (as one of whom there is) evil report, such as he has expelled an embryo from a woman, he has committed a sin; let him therefore not eat the flesh of the cow and the ox. Nevertheless Yājñavalkya said, 'I for one eat it, provided that it is tender.'[9] Yājñavalkya Rishi, who probably belonged to the early years of the first millennium B.C. was not frightened by the threat that the eating of beef was tantamount to the dreaded sin of *brūṇahatti*; hence the virulent disgust at the very idea of beef-eating that is the marked characteristic of the Hindus to-day is less than of three thousand years' standing. South Indians too of ancient times did not seem to have had much objection to eat the flesh of the cow. As was the case with all other things they liked, they had several names for beef, viz., *vaḷḷūram*[10], *śūṭṭiṟaichchi*[11], *śūśiyam*[12], *paḍittiram*.[13] In later times the objection to beef-eating became violent all through India except among the depressed classes, whose social degradation made them so poor and so incapable of earning enough food that they had no objection to meat of any kind—the flesh of the cow or the buffalo and even the flesh of animals that have died on account of disease. Among the other classes the sentiment against beef-eating developed primarily on account of economical causes. The above is plainly indicated by the remark in the passage from the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* that 'were one to eat the flesh of an ox or a cow, there would be as it were, a going on to the end or to destruction'; besides the need of cattle for agriculture, other reasons were the wide use of milk and milk products in Indian dietary and the moral reason, i.e., the love inspired by the meek and gentle-eyed cow.

The chief cereal used by the Tamils was the paddy *nel*[14], *vari*[15], the names of various varieties of which existed, such as *śeñjāli*[16], *śennel*[17],

[1] A.V. vi. 71, 1. [2] R. V. i. 164. 43. [3] R.V. v. 29. 7. [4] R.V., x. 27. 17.
[5] A.V. i. 162–3. [6] R.V. x. 86. 18. [7] R.V. iii. 53. 22.
[8] P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Life in Ancient India*, p. 49.
[9] *S.B.* iii 1. 2. 21, Eggeling's Translation, ii, p. 11. [10] வள்ளூரம்.
[11] சூட்டிறைச்சி. [12] சூசியம். [13] படித்திரம். [14] நெல். [15] வரி. [16] செஞ்சாலி. [17] செந்நெல்.

sol[1], *iyavai*[2], *aivanam*;[3] paddy three years old and very healthy eating, *aśam*[4]; *pongaḷi*[5], was paddy not dusted. Ordinarily paddy was boiled before it was husked; this was called *puḷuṅgalariśi*[6], and as the health-giving vitamins and the muscle-building rice germs are best preserved in this form of rice, it was most widely eaten. Raw rice was called *pachchaiariśi*[7]. Well pounded rice cleaned well of bran was called *kuttalariśi*[8], or *avaiyal*[9] and one not very well cleaned was called *koḻiyalariśi*[10]. The chief way of cooking rice was to boil it in water. As boiled rice was the principal food it had very many names, *adiśil*[11], *amalai*[12], *amudu*[13], *ayini*[14], *avi*[15], *aviḻ*[16], *aḻuppu*[17], *uṇā*[18], *uṇḍi*[19], *ūṇ*[20], *kūḻ*[21], *śadi*[22], *śādam*[23], *śonṟi*[24], *śōṟu*[25], *tuppu*[26], *tōri*[27], *parukkai*[28], *pāttu*[29], *piśi*[30], *pugarvu*[31], *puḻukkal*[32], *puṟkai*[33], *pommal*[34], *porugu*[35], *maḍai*[36], *miśai*[37], *midavai*[38], *mūral*[39], *valśi*[40].

Rice boiled along with pulses was called *pongal*[41]. The human palate insistently demands variety in the matter of cooking: other preparations of rice to meet this demand were *kaḷi*[42], *kūḻ*[43], *tulavai*[44], different forms of porridge, *kañji*[45], gruel, *nīrāram*[46], rice-water, *tōśai*[47], *aḍai*[48], different forms of rice-bread. *Poṟi*[49] parched rice, was another favourite food. Cakes were called *viragu*[50] or *paṇiyōram*[51], such as *appam*[52], *piṭṭu*[53], *akkulli*[54], *aṇḍagai*[55], *ilaiyaḍai*[56], *nolai*[57], *melladai*[58], *pollal*[59], *poli*[60], *manḍigai*[61] *iḍi*[62], *saḥkulli*[63], *nuvaṇai*[64], *ochchai*[65], *tuvai*[66], *sīḍai*[67], *vaḍai*[68]. For some of these other grains than rice, such as *uḻundu*[69], *eḷ*[70], and many pulses were also used.

The grains eaten varied from region to region. Thus *varagu*[71], *Paspalum frumentaceum*, *śāmai*[72], panicum, *mudirai*[73], beans and lentils, were eaten in Mullai; the mountain-rice called *aivanam*[74], *tinai*[75], *Panicum italicum*, *mūṅgilariśi*[76], bamboo rice, in Kuṟiñji; *śennel*[77] and *vennel*,[78] red rice and white rice, in Marudam; in Pālai they ate whatever they could get by pillage and in Neydal, whatever they could barter for fish and salt.

Other things eaten were honey, *tēn*[79], which was also called *naṟavu*[80] *naṟai*[81], *piḻi*[82], *maṭṭu*[83], *tādu*[84], *pāgu*[85] chiefly eaten in Kuṟiñji,

[1] சொல். [2] இயவை. [3] ஐவனம். [4] அசம் [5] பொங்கழி. [6] புழுங்கலரிசி. [7] பச்சையரிசி. [8] குத்தலரிசி. [9] அவையல். [10] கொழியலரிசி. [11] அடிசில். [12] அமலை. [13] அமுது. [14] அயினி. [15] அவி. [16] அவிழ். [17] அழுப்பு. [18] உணா. [19] உண்டி. [20] ஊண். [21] கூழ். [22] சடி. [23] சாதம் [24] சொன்றி. [25] சோறு [26] துப்பு. [27] தோரி. [28] பருக்கை [29] பாத்து. [30] பிசி. [31] புகர்வு. [32] புழுக்கல். [33] புற்கை. [34] பொம்மல். [35] பொருகு. [36] மடை. [37] மிசை. [38] மிதவை. [39] மூரல். [40] வல்சி.

முகிழ்த்தகை
முரவை போகிய முரியா வரிசி
விரலென நிமிர்ந்த நிரலமை புழுக்கல்.

Porunarāṟṟuppaḍai, 112–14.

Rice grains, whole and unbroken, without lines on its surface like the tender buds of the mullai, *Jasminum trichotumum*, cooked so that each grain looked like a finger and was not sticking to the other grains. Cakes made of rice are thus described.

சுவைய
வேறுபல் லுருவின் விரகு.

Ibid. 107–8.

Sweet cakes skilfully made of variegated shapes.

[41] பொங்கல். [42] களி. [43] கூழ். [44] துழவை. [45] கஞ்சி. [46] நீராரம். [47] தோசை. [48] அடை. [49] பொரி [50] விரகு. [51] பணியாரம். [52] அப்பம். [53] பிட்டு. [54] அஃகுல்லி. [55] அண்டகை. [56] இலையடை [57] நொலை. [58] மெல்லடை. [59] பொல்லல். [60] போலி. [61] மண்டிகை. [62] இடி. [63] சஃகுல்லி. [64] நுவணை. [65] ஓச்சை. [66] துவை. [67] சீடை. [68] வடை. [69] உழுந்து. [70] எள். [71] வரகு. [72] சாமை. [73] முதிரை [74] ஐவனம். [75] தினை. [76] மூங்கிலரிசி. [77] செந்நெல். [78] வெண்ணெல். [79] தேன். [80] நறவு [81] நறை. [82] பிழி. [83] மட்டு. [84] தாது. [85] பாகு.

tēn and *tinai ma*[1] being a favourite combination; *vellam*[2], *akkāram*[3] jaggery, was substituted for honey in Marudam, sugar was not freely used, it being originally a product imported from China; there is no *idukuṛi* name for it in Sanskrit or Tamil; Sanskrit *sarkkarā* (whence European names of sugar are derived) as well as Tamil *ayir*,[4] sugar, originally meant sand and were, by metonymy, extended to jaggery refined into a powdery form. Jaggery was manufactured by boiling down the juice of the sugar-cane, *karumbu*[5], also called *kaḻai*[6], *kannal*[7], *vēḻal*[8], to molasses, *tēṟal*[9], *tēnpāgu*[10], *kuḻambu*[11], *āṇam*,[12] and cooled in pots or wooden moulds, *achchu*.

Milk and milk products were used largely. The chief milk products were *ēḍu*[13], cream, *ṭayir*[14], *perugu*[15], *musaru*[16], curdled milk, *mōr*[17], *arumbam*[18], *aḷai*[19], *machchigai*[20], *muśar*[21], curdled milk from which butter has been churned out, *veṇṇey*[22], *veṇkaṭṭi*[23], butter, and *ney*[24], ghi. It is curious that though ghi is clarified butter, the name for the latter is derived from the former, for *veṇṇey* is but white ghi. The cause of this order of naming the original article from the derived one is not quite clear; probably as butter cannot keep without getting rancid in tropical climates, it was never stored, but immediately after it was churned out, it was turned into ghi and the necessity for a name for the intermediate product was not felt for a long time.

That in the matter of food Aryan India and Tamil India had absolutely the same customs is proved by the fact that meat of all kinds was eaten both in the North and the South and by the following account of Arya food, other than meat. 'Of the animal food derived from the living animal, milk[25] sometimes mixed with honey[26] brought by toiling bees[27], ghi[28], butter[29] and curds[30] were consumed. Yava is frequently mentioned in the sense of corn in general or barley. (Wheat and barley were the grains used by the Aryas in addition to the South Indian ones). Rice, barley, beans and sesamum were the chief vegetable foodstuffs of the day.[31] Grain was eaten parched[32] and made into cakes[33] or boiled in water[34] or in milk.[35] Meal boiled with curd into Karambha[36] and gruel,[37] i.e., parched meal boiled in milk were other forms of food. . . . As now hot freshly cooked food was preferred[38] to cold food. Fruits were also eaten.[39] Food was served on leaf-platters,[40] the lotus leaf being commonly used for the purpose. Skins filled with honey[41] or curds, jars[42] of honey,[43] rice husked by servant-girls[44] and stored in earthern vessels[45] and flour obtained by grinding corn in mill stones,[46] were stocked in houses.[47] This shows that the difference between Arya and Dasyu was neither racial nor cultural but only one of cult.

[1] தேனுந்தினைமாவும். [2] வெல்லம். [3] அக்காரம். [4] அயிர். [5] கரும்பு. [6] கழை. [7] கன்னல். [8] வேழம். [9] தேறல். [10] தேன்பாகு. [11] குழம்பு. [12] ஆணம். [13] ஏடு. [14] தயிர். [15] பெருகு. [16] முசரு. [17] மோர். [18] அரும்பம். [19] அளை. [20] மச்சிகை. [21] முசர். [22] வெண்ணெய். [23] வெண்கட்டி. [24] நெய்.

[25] R. V. x. 49, 10. [26] R. V. viii. 4, 8. [27] R. V. x. 106, 9.
[28] R. V. iv. 58. [29] Sarpis, A. V. ix. 6, 41. [30] R. V. vi. 57, 2.
[31] A. V. vi. 140, 4. [32] *Dhānā*, R. V. iii. 35, 3.
[33] *Apūpam*, R. V. iii. 52, 7; *Puroḍāsam*, A. V. xii. 4, 35.
[34] *Odanam*, A. V. iii. 34, 35. [35] R. V. viii. 66, 10. [36] A. V. iv. 7, 2.
[37] *Mantha*, A. V. x. 6, 2. [38] R. V. x. 79, 3. [39] R. V. i. 90, 8.
[40] A. V. viii. 10, 27. [41] R. V. iv. 45, 3, 4. [42] R. V. vi. 49, 18.
[43] R. V. i. 117, 6. [44] A. V. xii. 3, 13.
[45] A. V. vi. 142, 1. [46] *Drishat*, A. V. ii. 31, 1.
[47] P. T. Srinivas Iyengar, *Life in Ancient India*, p. 49.

One result of the extensive use of vegetables in food was that there are distinct words for the different stages of the edible parts of plants e.g., *piñju*,[1] *elu*,[2] *vaḍu*,[3] the very tender fruit, *kāy*,[4] *tīyaḷi*,[5] *palan*,[6] (which last word, I think, is pure Tamil, having nothing to do with Sanskrit *phalam*), the grown fruit, *kani*,[7] *paḻam*,[8] the fully ripened fruit, *śuḷai*,[9] pulp or edible part of a fruit, *taṇḍu*,[10] tender stem, also petal, *taḷir*,[11] tender leaf, *ilai*,[12] mature leaf; but the word for *kiḻaṅgu*,[13] an esculent root, a tuber, has only synonyms borrowed from Sanskrit, e.g., *kandam*, *mūlam*; it has another synonym, *śakunam*, whose origin I cannot suggest; perhaps *vēr*,[14] root, and its Tamil synonyms *śaḍai*,[15] *śivai*,[16] and *tūr*[17] may also refer to tubers.

The ancient Tamils drank hard; liquor has more 'pure' Tamil names than any other article. Here are some of them; *ammiyam*,[18] *ari*,[19] *arugi*,[20] *aruppam*,[21] *aḷi*,[22] *aṟivaḻi*,[23] *āmbal*,[24] *āli*,[25] *ālai*,[26] *īḻam*,[27] *eli*,[28] *kalliyam*,[29] *kavvai*[30] *kaḷi*,[31] *kāli*,[32] *kuḍu*,[33] *kundi*,[34] *koṅgu*,[35] *śādi*,[36] *śāli*,[37] *śāṟu*,[38] *śikkar*,[39] *śuṇḍi*,[40] *śurai*,[41] *śūḻigai*,[42] *śēṟu*,[43] *śol*,[44] *śolviḷambi*,[45] *ñāḷi*,[46] *taṇiyal*,[47] *tumbi*,[48] *tēm*,[49] *tēṟal*,[50] *tēn*,[51] *toṇḍi*,[52] *tōppi*[53] (special name of rice-liquor), *naṟavu*,[54] *nanai*,[55] *nāṟṟam*,[56] *paḍu*,[57] *pāli*,[58] *piḻi*,[59] *pēdai*,[60] *maṭṭu*,[61] *madurai*,[62] *maruṭṭam*,[63] *maṟali*,[64] *māri*,[65] *māli*,[66] *murugu*,[67] *mēdai*,[68] *vaḍi*,[69] *viśuḷi*,[70] *veṟi*,[71] *vēri*;[72] *kaḷ*,[73] the vendors of liquor were called *śavuṇḍiyar*,[74] *tuvaśar*,[75] *paḍuvar*,[76] *paḻaiyar*,[77] *piḻiyar*.[78]

The following describes the food of the mountain-dwelling *Kuṟavar* and their hospitality.

'They mix the fat meat of the wild boar and venison cut from deer, killed when they were running, the flesh wounded by the bite of bitches; they fill themselves with the liquor brewed from honey and matured in bamboo cylinders and also with rice-liquor and they are full of glee. To bring down the intoxication due to drinking in the mornings, they mix pounded white nuts of the Jack fruit which have come down floating or rivers, have become over-ripe and burst out, with butter-milk to which has been added the sweet-sour tamarind fruit whose rind is white, and in this juice cook white rice matured in bamboo tubes, so that the smell of the boiling rice spreads all along the hill-side; you can get this food from the hands of the Kuṟava girls, who have black hair-knots smelling of flowers. They will offer you this food with great joy for having got a guest to feed; they will then introduce their children to you and will offer you besides the

1 பிஞ்சு.	2 எழு.	3 வடு.	4 காய்.	5 தீயளி.	6 பலன்.
7 கனி.	8 பழம்.	9 சுளை.	10 தண்டு.	11 தளிர்.	12 இலை.
13 கிழங்கு.	14 வேர்.	15 சடை.	16 சிவை.	17 தூர்.	18 அம்மியம்.
19 அரி.	20 அருகி.	21 அருப்பம்.	22 அளி.	23 அறிவழி.	24 ஆம்பல்.
25 ஆலி.	26 ஆலை.	27 ஈழம்.	28 எலி.	29 கல்லியம்.	30 கவ்வை.
31 களி.	32 காலி.	33 குடு.	34 குந்தி.	35 கொங்கு.	36 சாதி.
37 சாலி.	38 சாறு.	39 சிக்கர்.	40 சுண்டி.	41 சுரை.	42 சூழிகை.
43 சேறு.	44 சொல்.	45 சொல்விளம்பி	46 ஞாளி.	47 தணியல்	48 தும்பி.
49 தேம்.	50 தேறல்.	51 தேன்.	52 தொண்டி.	53 தோப்பி.	54 நறவு.
55 நனை.	56 நாற்றம்.	57 படு.	58 பாலி.	59 பிழி.	60 பேதை.
61 மட்டு.	62 மதுரை.	63 மருட்டம்.	64 மறலி.	65 மாரி.	66 மாலி.
67 முருகு.	68 மேதை.	69 வடி.	70 விசுளி.	71 வெறி.	72 வேரி.
73 கள்.	74 சவுண்டியர்.	75 துவசர்.	76 படுவர்.	77 பழையர்.	78 பிழியர்.

products of the tops of hills (such as sandal, *agil*, gold, gems, etc.)'.[1] Of the hunters it is said:

'They drink the sweet rice-liquor, *tōppi*, brewed in their houses; they cut in the open field the strong bull and eat its meat. The drum faced with folded hides sounds and they lift the left arm, strong with the constant bending of the bow, place it around the right side and dance all day with glee.'[2]

The food of the *Āyar* is thus described:—

'Early in the morning when the thick darkness begins to disappear and birds rise from their sleep, *Idaiyar* women ply with the rope the churning-rod, *mattu*,[3] with a noise like the grunt of a tiger; they churn the milk with folded crust, having been curdled by the curds reserved for the purpose, *urai*,[4] which looks like the white mushroom, and remove the butter; they place a pad of flowers, *śummāḍu*[5], on their heads and stand thereon a pot of buttermilk, whose mouth is sprinkled with drops of curds and sell it in the mornings. They are dark of skin; at their ears dangle earrings; their shoulders are like the bamboo; their hair is short and wavy. They feast their relatives with rice bartered for buttermilk. Then they sell ghi and buy gold and milch buffaloes and cows and calves. If you stay with the *Idaiyar* with hanging lips, they will feast you with *tinai*,[6] which looks like the young of crabs, boiled with milk. Their strong feet are scarred with constant wearings of sandals; their hands lean on sticks with which they cruelly beat the cattle; and are horny with handling the axes which fell trees; their shoulders, scarred and hairy by carrying *Kāvaḍis*[7] with double hanging loops; their hair, smelling because they wipe the head with hands full of milk-drops. They wear garlands of mixed flowers, *Kalambagam*,[8] plucked from trees and plants growing in the forests;

[1] எறித் தரூஉ மிலங்குமலைத் தாரமொடு
வேய்ப்பெயல் விளையுட் டேக்கட் டேறல்
குறைவின்றி பருகி நறவுமகிழ்ந்து வைகறைப்
பழஞ்செருக் குற்றநும் மனத்த நீர
வருவி தந்த பழஞ்சிதை வெண்காழ்
வருவிசை தவிர்த்த கடமான் கொழுங்குறை
முளவுமாத் தொலைச்சிய பைந்நிணப் பிளவை
பிணவுநாய் முடுக்கிய தடியொடு விரைஇ
வெண்புடைக் கொண்ட துய்த்தலைப் பழனி
னின்புளிக் கலந்து மாமோ ராகக்
கழைவளர் நெல்லி னரியுலை யூழ்த்து
வழையமை சாரல் கமழத் துழைஇ
நறுமல ரணிந்த நாறிரு முச்சிக்
குறமக ளாக்கிய வாலவிழ் வல்சி
யகமலி யுவகை யார்வமொ டளைஇ
மகமுறை தடுப்ப மனைதொறும் பெறுகுவிர்.

Malaipaḍukaḍām, 170–185.

[2] இல்லடு கள்ளின் றோப்பி பருகி
மல்லன் மன்றத்து மதவிடை கெண்டி
மடிவாய்த் தண்ணுமை நடுவட் சிலைப்பச்
சிலைநவி லெறுழ்த்தோ ளோச்சி வலன்வளைஇப்
பகன் மகிழ் தூங்கும்.

Perumbāṇāṟṟuppaḍai, 142–146.

[3] மத்து. [4] உறை. [5] சும்மாடு. [6] தினை. [7] காவடி. [8] கலம்பகம்.

they wear a single cloth which fits closely with the body, and eat porridge.[1]

The food of *marudam* is thus described :—

'The *ṡuḷai*[2] (pulp) of the Jack-fruit, sweet and fragrant, the fruits of the mango of many forms, and beautiful *kāy*[3] (unripe fruit) of numerous shapes, (like the plantain, the *pāgal*[4], and the brinjal), other fruits, (like the plantain and the cashew), leaf-curries of leaves, curled, thin, beautiful, growing on creepers which grow abundantly in the rainy season, crystals of sugar made from boiled sugar, and meat cooked together with big tubers which grow down and rice boiled in milk, sweet to eat, were served.'[5]

Fire for cooking and other purposes was made by churning wood.

The forester made fire by churning one piece of wood on another, as he does even to-day in forests remote from places where matches are sold. This is referred to in 'the fire which he churned,'[6] 'the lamp lighted from a fire, churned by hunters with dry wood brought by elephants.'[7] In the plains, they kept up a perpetual fire in fire-pots,

[1] நள்ளிருள் விடியற் புள்ளெழப் போகிப்
புலிக்குரன் மத்த மொலிப்ப வாங்கி
யாம்பி வான்முகி ழன்ன கூம்புமுகை
யுறையமை தீந்தயிர் கலக்கி நுரைதெரிந்து
புகர்வாய்க் குழிசி பூஞ்சுமட் டிரீஇ
நாண்மோர் மாறு நன்மா மேனிச்
சிறுகுழை துயல்வரும் காதிற் பணைத்தோட்
குறுநெறிக் கொண்ட கூந்த லாய்மக
ளளைவிலை யுணவிற் கிளையுட னருத்தி
நெய்விலைக் கட்டிப் பசும்பொன் கொள்ளா
ளெருமை நல்லான் கருநாகு பெறூஉ
மடிவாய்க் கோவலர் குடிவயிற் சேப்பி
னிருங்கிளை ஞெண்டின் சிறுபார்ப் பன்ன
பசுந்தினை மூரல் பாலொடும் பெறுகுவிர்
தொடுதோன் மரீஇய வடுவாழ் நோனடி
விழுத்தண் டூன்றிய மழுத்தின் வன்கை
யுறிக்கா வூர்ந்த மறுப்படு மயிர்ச்சுவன்
மோம்பா லுரைத்த வோரி யோங்குமிசைக்
கோட்டவுங் கொடியவும் விரைஇக் காட்ட
பல்பூ மிடைந்த படலைக் கண்ணி
யொன்றம ருடுக்கைக் கூழா ரிடையன்

Perumbāṇaṟṟuppaḍai, 155–175.

[2] சுளை. [3] காய், [4] பாகல்.

பலவுடன்
[5] சேறு நாற்றமும் பலவின் சுளையும்
வேறுபடக் கவினிய தேமாங் கனியும்
பல்வே றுருவிற் காயும் பழனுங்
கொண்டல் வளர்ப்பக் கொடிவிடுபு கவினி
மென்பிணி யவிழ்ந்த குறுமுறி யடகு
மமிர்தியன் றன்ன தீஞ்சேற்றுக் கடிகையும்
புகழ்படப் பண்ணிய பேரூன் சோறும்
கீழ்செல வீழ்ந்த கிழங்கொடு பிறவு
மின் சோறு தருநர்

Maduraikkāñji, 526–535.

[6] தான் ஞெலி தீ.
Puṟam, 150.

[7] யானை தந்த முளிமர விறகிற்
கானவர் பொத்திய ஞெலிதீ விளக்கு.
Ibid., 247.

kumpaṭṭi,[1] into which was poked a *śuḷundu*,[2] stalk sometimes tipped with sulphur.

Salt was manufactured on a large scale. Salt-fields have several names: *uppaḷam*,[3] *aḷakkar*,[4] *uvarkkaḷam*,[5] *uvaḷagam*,[6] *kaḷi*.[7] These names prove that salt-manufacture was an extensive industry, a fact which we could have inferred otherwise also, because the large use of vegetable food and especially of curries of innumerable kinds and of the many varieties of pickles to tempt the palate and satisfy its craving and to render rice and pulses tasty, requires the free use of salt.

The food of Northern and Southern India has remained unchanged for five thousand years and more. But the necessities of modern commerce have begun to alter it in many respects. Old ways of preparing foodstuffs and cooking them are giving way to new ones; the old methods of boiling and pounding paddy with the hand preserved the proteids and vitamins necessary for health and strength; but the new methods of hulling by machinery and polishing unboiled paddy are giving rise to the widespread diseases of civilization—tuberculosis and diabetes and to general enfeeblement. The old custom of eating leaf-curry and fruits cooked with their skins is giving way to modern refinements in cookery, and tinned provisions are taking the place of freshly made ones, so that the health of the people is steadily degenerating. The old forms of food were the result of thousands of years of experience, whereas the new ones, supposed to raise the standard of living, are really refined methods of committing slow suicide.

Agriculture

Says Prof. G. Elliot Smith, 'I suppose most people would be prepared to admit that the invention of agriculture was the beginning of civilization. It involved a really settled society and the assurance of a food supply. Hence it created the two conditions without which there could have been no real development of arts and crafts and the customs of an organized form of society.'[8] Prof. Smith is of opinion that agriculture was developed in Egypt with the sowing of barley about ten thousand years ago and thence spread to other parts of the world. At about the same or perhaps a few millenniums earlier, as stone tools testify, the cultivation of paddy and the weaving of cotton began in the plains of South India. Hence the rise of Indian agriculture was not consequent on its development in Egypt.

Agriculture was the main industry of Ancient India, as it is to-day. It was carried on chiefly in the lower reaches of rivers where irrigation by means of canals is possible. Thus in the Śoḷa country, *Śōṇāḍu*,[9] the fertile delta of the Kāviri, even to-day the granary of South India and the island of Ceylon, was the main scene of agricultural operations. In the Pāṇḍya nāḍu, in the valleys of the Vaigai and the Tāmraparṇi wet cultivation was carried on. In the Śēra nāḍu which looked up to the sky for irrigation, the strip of coast west of the ghats where the rain iṭ raineth every day during the monsoons, was devoted to this early industry of Indian man. In

[1] கும்பட்டி. [2] சுளுந்து. [3] உப்பளம். [4] அளக்கர். [5] உவர்க்களம். [6] உவளகம். [7] களி.
[8] *Nature*, Jan. 15, 1927, p. 8. [9] சோணாடு.

other parts of the country there were small patches of Marudam, where rain-water straight from the sky, carried away by hill torrents, was stored and utilized for the raising of grains or vegetables. Where water supply was not on a generous scale, were raised grains and other crops which did not require a constantly wetted field to grow in. Hence cultivated land was divided into *nanśey*,[1] rice-growing field and *punśey*,[2] where other grains grow. Uncultivated land was *tariśu*.[3] *Śey*,[4] the common element of *nanśey*, and *punśey*, means a field as well as a particular area of land. It also means red and perhaps the word acquired the meaning of a field in the districts covered with red ferruginous clay. *Nanśey*, therefore, originally meant a good field and *punśey*, a bad field. Cultivated land was partitioned into fields. The field had numerous names : *vayal*,[5] *śey*, *agaṇi*,[6] *kambalai*,[7] *kaḻani*,[8] *kaidai*,[9] *kōṭṭam*,[10] *śeṟu*,[11] *taḍi*,[12] *paṇai*,[13] *paṇṇai*,[14] *paḻanam*,[15] *pānal*,[16] *pulam* ;[17] a small field was *kuṇḍil*,[18] *pātti*.[19] The large number of synonyms for *vayal*, was due to the fact that agriculture was the chief occupation of the people. Agriculture itself was called *vēḷāṇmai*,[20] the *āṇmai*,[21] lordship, of *vēḷ*,[22] land, *Vēḷaḷar*,[23] (a word different in origin from *veḷḷālar*)[24] were landowners, cultivators, *vēḷāṭṭi*,[25] being the feminine gender of the same. Owners of extensive tracts of land were called *vēḷ*, *veḷir* ; there were *kuṟunilamanar*, petty chiefs. After the Ārya social organization was imposed on Tamil India, *Vēḷāḷar* were given the name of *pūvaiśyar*, but the name has not stuck to them, for though they were technically Vaiśyas, the privileges of Vaiśyas were not really extended to them. *Vēḷāṇmai* was considered the noblest of occupations ; because the possession of grains conduces to the development of generosity. For, whereas other forms of wealth, especially minted metal, can be hoarded jealousy and will, if put out to interest, grow infinitely more and more, wealth in the form of food-grains will deteriorate if hoarded ; it will either be destroyed by vermin or will rot ; so the man who has a rich store will be naturally prompted to give it away to the poor and the starving. Hence India, the land of extensive agriculture, has become the land of unstinted charity ; hence *vēḷāṇmai* has become in Tamil synonymous with *īgai*,[26] (lit, gift), also *koḍai*.[27] The *Vēḷāḷar* were, by right of their instincts of charity, the nobles of the land and hence the characteristics of *vēḷāḷar*, *vēḷāṇmai māndar iyalbu*,[28] have been described as ten ; viz, (1) *āṇaivaḻi niṟṟal*,[29] keeping an oath, (2) *aḻindōrai niṟuttal*,[30] raising up the fallen, (3) *kaikkaḍanāṟṟal*,[31] being obliging, (4) *kaśivagattuṇmai*,[32] having compassion, (5) *ōkkalpōṟṟal*,[33] supporting relatives, (6) *ōvāmuyaṟchi*,[34] perseverance, (7) *manniṟaikaṟudal*[35] paying taxes, (8) *Oṟṟumaikōḍal*,[36] being peaceable, (9) *virundu*,[37] *puṟandarudal*, hospitality, (10) *tirundiyavoḻukkam*,[38] correct conduct. Of this list of virtues belonging to the Tamil farmer, *ōvāmuyaṟchi*, ceaseless toil, is the necessary result of rice-cultivation ; for more than other food-grains rice requires unceasing work

[1] நன்செய். [2] புன்செய். [3] தரிசு. [4] செய். [5] வயல். [6] அகணி. [7] கம்பலை. [8] கழனி. [9] கைதை. [10] கோட்டம். [11] செறு. [12] தடி. [13] பணை. [14] பண்ணை. [15] பழனம். [16] பானல். [17] புலம். [18] குண்டில். [19] பாத்தி. [20] வேளாண்மை. [21] ஆண்மை. [22] வேள். [23] வேளாளர். [24] வெள்ளாளர். [25] வேளாட்டி. [26] ஈகை. [27] கொடை. [28] வேளாண்மை மாந்தர் இயல்பு. [29] ஆணை வழி நிற்றல். [30] அழிந்தோரை நிறுத்தல். [31] கைக்கடனாற்றல். [32] கசிவகத்துண்மை. [33] ஒக்கல் போற்றல். [34] ஓவாமுயற்சி. [35] மன்னிறைகருதல். [36] ஒற்றுமைகோடல். [37] விருந்து புறந்தருதல். [38] திருந்தியவொழுக்கம்.

for several months in the year, patient endurance of the rheumatic pains, chills and other ills due to standing upto the knees in water and trudging on wet sticky clay ; this has made the Indian farmer a model of unfailing patience and enduring perseverance, and contributed to the development of what is miscalled fatalistic acceptance of misfortune. When the harvest was over and his granaries filled, he either gave himself up to the festivities of the post-harvest season, eating and drinking, singing and dancing, decorating his person with flowers and love-making developed as a fine art, or to martial exercises. In every village there was a field, *kaḷam*,[1] set apart for these purposes.[2] Another virtue of the farmer was his readiness to pay the king's taxes. All the world over, people are unwilling to pay taxes and many regard it almost as a virtue to evade payment of taxes. How is it then that the ancient Tamil landowner was differently constituted to modern men? The reason of this was the fact that taxes were payable in kind. A man with a well-filled granary easily parts with a portion of his abundance, all the more so because wealth in grains does not increase, but decreases with keeping ; but it is hard to part with specie, as it will keep all right for any length of time, and, if properly invested, barren metal will breed as fast as cattle and sheep, as Shylock well knew. Paying taxes in gold and silver is more difficult, especially if the purse is as ill-filled as generally the Indian farmer's purse is and if one has to borrow for paying taxes.

All the other virtues of the Veḷḷāḷar are but different forms of charity. It has already been explained how one who has a large store of cereals is easily induced to enjoy the pleasure of seeing his fellow-men feed on his substance. Numerous poetical names signifying *vēḷāḷar* exist. They are *maṇmagaḷ pudalvar*,[3] sons of the earth-goddess, *vaḷamaiyar*,[4] the flourishing, *kaḷamar*,[5] owners of fields, *maḷḷar*,[6] the strong, *kāvirippudalvar*,[7] sons of the Kāviri, *uḷavar*,[8] tillers, *mēḻiyar*,[9] ploughmen, *ērinvāḻnar*,[10] those that live by the plough, *iḷango*,[11] prince, *pinnavar*,[12] perhaps those that are behind *mannavar*,[13] *perukkāḷar*,[14] those that increase wealth, or those that utilize the food, *vinaiñar*,[15] toilers.

There was a wealth of vocabulary attached to each detail of agricultural operations. Ploughing was *uḻavu*,[16] *toyyil*;[17] hoeing, *kottudal*;[18] trampling, *uḻakkudal*,[19] *midittal*,[20] *madidal*;[21] manure,

[1] களம்.

[2] மன்னர் குழீஇய விழவி னானு
மகளிர் தழீஇய துணங்கை யானும்
யாண்டுங் காணேன் மாண்டக் கோனை
யானுமோ ராடுகள மகளே யென்கைக்
கோடீ ரிலங்கு வளை நெகிழ்த்த
பீடுகெழு குரிசிலுமோ ராடுகள மகனே.

Kuṟundogai, 31.

I have searched for him in the places where heroes congregate (for martial exercises) ; and where women gather for the *tuṇaṅgai* but have not seen the magnificent hero ; hence I am but a woman of the theatre *āḍukaḷam* (ஆடுகளம்) ; the great hero too who has caused my bright bent bangles cut from conch-shell to slip, is also a man of the theatre.

[3] மண்மகள்புதல்வர். [4] வளமையர். [5] களமர். [6] மள்ளர். [7] காவிரிப்புதல்வர். [8] உழவர். [9] மேழிய. [10] ஏரின்வாழ்நர். [11] இளங்கோ. [12] பின்னவர். [13] மன்னவர். [14] பெருக்காளர். [15] வினைஞர். [16] உழவு. [17] தொய்யில். [18] கொத்துதல். [19] உழக்குதல். [20] மிதித்தல். [21] மடிதல்.

eru,[1] *uṟam*.[2] *kuppai*,[3] *kūḷam*,[4] and so on. Different names were given for the fields other than that used for wet cultivation. A garden was *tōṭṭam*,[5] *tudavai*,[6] *paḍappai*,[7] *tōppu*,[8] *śōlai*,[9] *taṇḍalai*[10] (flower-garden), *kollai*,[11] (generally a kitchen-garden behind a house). High land was *tagar*,[12] *tarāy*,[13] *mēḍu*,[14] *ōṅgal*,[15] *karu*,[16] *kuppai*,[17] *kuvāl*,[18] *kuvai*,[19] *śuval*,[20] *tiḍar*,[21] *tiṭṭu*,[22] *tiṭṭai*,[23] *paḍar*,[24] *miśai*,[25] *vallai*,[26] *vanbāl*,[27] *murambu* :[28] this was so variously named, probably because it gave much trouble to the cultivator who had to level it before tilling it. The low land was also variously named, *paḷḷam*,[29] *aval*,[30] *iḻivu*,[31] *kiḻakku*,[32] *kīḻ*,[33] *kuḻi*,[34] *kūval*,[35] *ñeḷḷal*,[36] *tāḻvu*,[37] *paḍugar*,[38] *payambu*.[39]

The chief implement of the farmer was the plough ; so he lovingly gave it numerous names, *kalappai*,[40] *idai*,[41] *uḻupaḍai*,[42] *kalanai*,[43] *ñāñjil*,[44] *toḍuppu*,[45] *paḍai*,[46] *paḍaivāḷ*.[47] The ploughshare was made of wood in the stone age and of steel in the iron age ; both kinds are in use even to-day. The other important implement was the knife ; it, too, had numerous names, *vāḷ*,[48] *uvaṇi*,[49] *ēdi*,[50] *kaḍuttalai*,[51] *tuvatti*,[52] *naviram*,[53] *nāṭṭam*,[54] *vañjam*,[55] *kuyal*,[56] *kuḷir* ;[57] short knives were called *kuṟumbiḍi*,[58] *śurigai*,[59] one that could be bent into the handle, *śūri*.[60]

An extensive system of irrigation was practised ; rivers were furnished with a complete dam, *aṇai*.[61] or a partial dam, *korambu*,[62] and the water diverted into a *kāl*,[63] *kālvāy*,[64] or *vāykkāl*.[65] Or water was raised from ponds or wells by means of an *ēṟṟam*[66] or *kabilai*[67] or *iṟaikūḍai*[68]. The latter was the most common means of raising water and had numerous names, *ambi*,[69] *iḍār*,[70] *iṟaivai*,[71] *kārāmbi*,[72] *kiḻār*,[73] *piḻār*,[74] *puṭṭil*,[75] *pūṭṭai*,[76] *paṭṭai*,[77] and conducted by means of a sluice, *maḍai*,[78] to higher levels and distributed to fields.

Here is a description of ploughing.—' The plough men, who raise food for many people, yoke trained oxen to the plough, whose front looks like the mouth of a female elephant, press it on the ground so that the ploughshare which looks like the face of the iguana, is buried in the earth. They plough round and round, then sow seeds and then weed the field. When the harvest season is near, the quail with short feet and black neck with its young, white and smelling like the

[1] எரு. [2] உரம். [3] குப்பை. [4] கூளம். [5] தோட்டம். [6] துடவை.
[7] படப்பை. [8] தோப்பு. [9] சோலை. [10] தண்டலை. [11] கொல்லை. [12] தகர்.
[13] தராய். [14] மேடு. [15] ஓங்கல். [16] கரு. [17] குப்பை. [18] குவால்.
[19] குவை. [20] சுவல். [21] திடர். [22] திட்டு. [23] திட்டை. [24] படர்
[25] மிசை. [26] வல்லை. [27] வன்பால். [28] முரம்பு. [29] பள்ளம். [30] அவல்.
[31] இழிவு. [32] கிழக்கு. In the Kāviri valley which slopes from West to East *kīḻ* and *kiḻakku*, lit. lowland and *mēl*, *meṟku*, highland came to mean East and West respectively. [33] கீழ். [34] குழி. [35] கூவல். [36] ஞெள்ளல்.
[37] தாழ்வு [38] படுகர். [39] பயம்பு. [40] கலப்பை. [41] இதை. [42] உழுபடை.
[43] கலனை. [44] ஞாஞ்சில். [45] தொடுப்பு [46] படை. [47] படைவாள் [48] வாள்.
[49] உவணி. [50] ஏதி. [51] கடுத்தலை. [52] துவட்டி. [53] நவிரம். [54] நாட்டம்
[55] வஞ்சம். [56] குயல். [57] குளிர். [58] குறும்பிடி. [59] சுரிகை. [60] சூரி.
[61] அணை. [62] கொரம்பு. [63] கால். [64] கால்வாய். [65] வாய்க்கால். [66] ஏற்றம்.
[67] கபிலை. [68] இறைகூடை. [69] அம்பி. [70] இடார். [71] இறைவை. [72] காராம்பி.
[73] கிழார். [74] பிழார். [75] புட்டில். [76] பூட்டை. [77] பட்டை. [78] மடை.

Kadamba flower—*Eugenia racemosa,*—and unable to fly about, afraid of the noise of the harvesters, settles in the forest near.' [1]

Agriculture in South India was carried on exactly as it was in Āryāvartta. 'They ploughed the ground,[2] the plough being drawn by two oxen[3] fastened to the yoke with hempen or leather traces, and driven with a goad.[4] The ploughshare was made of iron[5] which supplanted the older ploughshare[6] made of Khadira wood. The ploughmen sang merrily to the steers while ploughing.[7] They bedewed the furrow with ghee and honey[8] before sowing. The fields were watered by means of irrigation canals from wells[9] or lakes, or by raising water from wells by means of wooden or metal buckets[10] tied to a rope, pulled round a stone pulley. They kept away birds from robbing them of the growing corn[11] by uttering loud cries.'[12]

Love in Marudam

The leisure enjoyed by agriculturists after the harvest was over led to the development of festivals among them, in which there was much singing, dancing and play-acting in order to pass idle moments. This again led to the growth of the institutions of harlotry, song-stresses and actresses ; *viraliar*[13] and *kūttiar*[14] were experts in the refinements of love. Numerous poems of the class Marudam deal with this subject. 'The festival is over. The drums are silent. Do you want to know what she thought then ? I will tell you her thoughts. This young woman wore a leaf-garment ; with that garment dangling on her lap, she walked along the streets. Then arose in the streets a great sound of laughter, as loud as when the followers of the great bowman Ōri, the victorious warrior-lord of Kolli, who was killed by Malaiyamān Tirumuḍikāri, saw Kāri enter the incomparably long streets of Ōri. On hearing that sound of laughter, the fair ladies who wore bangles and the skins of whose bodies was like the tender leaf of the mango, feared that she would capture the hearts of their

[1] குடிநிறை வல்சிச் செஞ்சா லுழவர்
நடைநவில் பெரும்பகடு புதவிற் பூட்டிப்
பிடிவா யன்ன மடிவாய் நாஞ்சி
லுடுப்பு முகமு முக்கொழு மூழ்கவூன்றித்
தொடுப்பெறிந் துழுத துளர்படு துடவை
யரிபுகு பொழுதி னிரியல் போகி
வண்ணக் கடம்பி னறுமல ரன்ன
வளரிளம் பிள்ளை தழீஇக் குறுங்காற்
கறையணற் குறும்பூழ் கட்சி சேக்கும்
வன்புலம்.

Perumbāṇāṟṟuppaḍai, 197–206.

[2] R. V. x. 101, 3 ; x. 106, 2.
[3] R. V. iii. 17, 3 ; x. 101, 3.
[4] A. V. iii. 25, 5 ; iv. 57, 4.
[5] A. V. iii. 17, 3.
[6] A. V. v. 6, 6.
[7] A. V. viii. 20, 9.
[8] A. V. iii.17, 9.
[9] A. V. i. 3, 7 ; iii. 13, 9 ; R. V. iii. 45, 3 ; vii. 49, 2, 4 ; x. 43, 7.
[10] R. V. x. 101, 5, 7
[11] R. V. x. 68, 1.
[12] P. T. Srinivas Iyengar, *Life in Ancient India*, p. 23.
[13] விறலியர்.
[14] கூத்தியர்.

husbands and guarded them from her wiles. I have failed in these attempts; and she has seduced my lover away from me.[1]

More innocent incidents of love also belong to *Marudam*; such as the wailing of a wife when her husband has gone away to a far place after quarrelling with her. 'The sparrows whose wings are like the faded water-lily with petals shrunk and folded, and which reside in the roofs of houses, eat the paddy and the other grains spread for drying in the front yard of houses; they make holes in the slender filaments of flowers in the highway. They return to their beds in the roof where they sleep with their young ones. Do not the sad evening and the pains of separation exist where he has gone.'[2]

Pasturage

As agriculture was the chief industry of *Marudam*, pasturage was the chief industry of *Mullai*. The sheep, the goat, the cow, the ox, the buffalo were the chief domestic animals tended by the *Āyar*, herdsmen. Profusion of names for each of these as usual indicates the love the herdsmen felt for their wards. Thus the sheep was called *āḍu*,[3] *uḍu*,[4] *oruvu*,[5] *turuvai*,[6] *tuḷḷal*,[7] *puruvai*,[8] *veṛi*;[9] the red variety *śemmaṛi*,[10] *mōttai*,[11] *udaḷ*,[12] *ēḻagam*,[13] *paḷḷai*,[14] *kaḍā*,[15] *mai*,[16] *koṛi*,[17] *tagar*,[18] *meḻagam*.[19] The goat was called *veḷḷāḍu*,[20] *kārāḍu*,[21] *kochchai*,[22] *veḷḷai*,[23] *vaṛkāli*;[24] *kuṛumbāḍu*,[25] from the wool of which *Kuṛumbar* wove *kamblies*, was also called *varuḍai*,[26] *varaiyāḍu*.[27] The cow had naturally the largest variety of names, *ā*,[28] *paśu*,[29] *kuram*,[30] *kurāl*,[31] *kūlam*.[32] *kovalam*,[33] *śurai*;[34] a useless cow was *śudai*;[35] a barren cow, *vaṛchai*,[36] that which has yeaned once *kiṭṭi*,[37] *kiruṭṭi*.[38] The ox was *erudu*,[39] *iṛāl*,[40] *iṛu*,[41] *kuṇḍai*,[42] *kūḷi*,[43] *koṭṭiyam*,[44] *śe*,[45] *kō*,[46] *nūpam*,[47] *pagaḍu*,[48] *pāṇḍil*,[49] *pāṛal*,[50] *pullam*,[51]

[1]விழவு முடிந்தன்று முழவுந் தூங்கின்
றெவன் குறித்தனன் கொலென்றி யாயிற்
றழை யணிந்தலமரும் மல்குற் றெருவி
னிளையோ ரிறந்த வனைத்தற்குப் பழவிற்
லோரிக் கொன்ற வொருபெருந் தெருவிற்
காரி புக்க நேரார் புலம்போற்
கல்லென் றன்றா லூரே யதற்கொண்டு
காவல் செறிய மாட்டி யாய்தொடி
யெழின்மா மேனி மகளிர்
விழுமாந் தனர்தங் கொழுநரைக் காத்தே.

Naṛṛiṇai, 320.

[2]ஆம்பற் பூவின் சாம்ப லன்ன
கூம்பிய சிறகர் மனையுறை குரீஇ
முன்றி லுணங்கன் மாந்தி மன்றத்
தெருவி னுண்டாது குடைவன வாடி
யில்லறைப் பள்ளித்தம் பிள்ளையொடு வதியும்
புன்கண் மாலையும் புலம்பு
மின்றுகொ றோழியவர் சென்ற நாட்டே.

Kuṛundagai, 46.

[3]ஆடு. [4]உடு. [5]ஒருவு. [6]துருவை. [7]துள்ளல். [8]புருவை. [9]வெறி. [10]செம்மறி. [11]மோத்தை. [12]உதள். [13]எழகம். [14]பள்ளை. [15]கடா. [16]மை. [17]கொறி. [18]தகர். [19]மேழகம். [20]வெள்ளாடு. [21]காராடு. [22]கொச்சை. [23]வெள்ளை. [24]வற்காலி. [25]குறும்பாடு. [26]வருடை. [27]வரையாடு. [28]ஆ. [29]பசு. [30]குரம். [31]குரால். [32]கூலம். [33]கோவலம். [34]சுரை. [35]சுதை. [36]வற்சை. [37]கிட்டி. [38]கிருட்டி. [39]எருது. [40]இருல். [41]ஏறு. [42]குண்டை. [43]கூளி. [44]கொட்டியம். [45]சே. [46]கோ. In view of the fact that *kōn* was a pure Tamil word for a cowherd, I regard *kō* as independent of Sanskrit *go* the resemblance between the words being absolutely accidental. [47]நூபம். [48]பகடு. [49]பாண்டில். [50]பாறல். [51]புல்லம்.

pūṇi,[1] *peṛṛam*,[2] *pōttu*,[3] *mūri*,[4] *viḍai*.[5] Of these names *kūḷi*[6] means breeding bull; those which were used by traders for bearing burden, (*podi*)[7] were called *tūriyam*,[8] *pagaḍu*,[9] and *pāṛal*.[10] The buffalo was called *kavari*,[11] *kārā*,[12] *kārām*,[13] *mūri*,[14] *mēdi*;[15] *vaḍavai*,[16] barren ones, *maimai*;[17] the bull calf of the buffalo, *kuḻavi*,[18] *kanṛu*.[19] Its cow-calf *ā*,[20] *nāgu*;[21] the bull-buffalo, *umbal*,[22] *ēṛu*,[23] *oruttal*,[24] *pagaḍu*,[25] *pōttu*.[26] The udder of the cow and of the buffalo, *maḍi*,[27] *śeruttal*;[28] *māḍu*[29] was the general name of both the cow and the buffalo. Intimate acquaintance with animals developed a great love of them and the invention of a number of words relating to them. Thus beasts in general were called *vilaṅgu*,[30] *kuraṅgam*,[31] *mā*,[32] *mān*;[33] their young ones, *kuruḷai*,[34] *kuṭṭi*,[35] *piḷḷai*,[36] *maṛi*,[37] *kanṛu*,[38] *kuḻavi*,[39] *pārppu*,[40] *magavu*.[41] Hornless animals were called *kumaram*;[42] the horn was *ulavai*,[43] *kōḍu*,[44] *maruppu*;[45] the tail, *tōgai*,[46] *kūlam*,[47] *vēśagam*.[48]

Tame Animals.

The tame animals that were of use to man were *mān*,[49] deer, also named *uḻai*, [50]*ēṇam*,[51] *śūnam*,[52] *navvi*,[53] *piṇaimari*;[54] its male, *iralai*,[55] *ēṛu*,[56] *oruttal*,[57] *karumān*,[58] *kalai*,[59] *pulvāy*;[60] its female, *piṇai*;[61] its young, *ēṇi*,[62] *kanṛu*,[63] *kuḻavi*,[64] *tannam*,[65] *paṛam*,[66] *pārppu*,[67] *maṛi*.[68] The ass *kaḻudai*,[69] besides the bullock, was a burden-bearer. The horse, *kudirai*,[70] was not a native of South India, and was imported in later times from Sind and Persia. The pig, *panṛi*,[71] was another useful animal and was also named *ari*,[72] *iruḷi*,[73] *eṛuḻi*,[74] *ēnam*,[75] *karumā*,[76] *kaḷiṛu*,[77] *kānal*,[78] *kānmā*,[79] *kiḍi*,[80] *kiri*,[81] *kēḻal*,[82] *kōṭṭuma*,[83] *maimmā*,[84] *mōḻal*.[85]

The dog first tamed by the hunter and then trained by the keeper of the cattle to watch the fold, was named, *nāy*, [86]*akkan*,[87] *aśuḻam*,[88] *aṛpam*,[89] *eginam*,[90] *kukkan*,[91] *kūran*,[92] *śuṇaṅgan*,[93] *ñamali*,[94] *ñāḷi*,[95] *tuttam*,[96] *pāsi*;[97] its female, *pāṭṭi*, [98]*piṇai*,[99] *muḍuval*;[100] the pup, *kuṭṭi*,[101] *kuruḷai*,[102] *pāṛal*;[103] the cat was called *alavan*,[104] *indi*,[105] *ōdi*,[106] *pavanam*,[107] *pākkan*,[108] *pilli*,[109] *pūsai*,[110] *pūñai*,[111] *verugu*;[112] it was also poetically called, *iṛpuli*,[113] the house-tiger; the male cat was specially named *kaḍuvan*,[114] *pōttu*;[115] the kitten, *kuṭṭi*,[116] *pāṛal*,[117] *piḷḷai*.[118]

[1] பூணி. [2] பெற்றம். [3] போத்து. [4] மூரி. [5] விடை. [6] கூளி. [7] பொதி. [8] தூரியம். [9] பகடு. [10] பாறல். [11] கவரி. [12] காரா. [13] காராம். [14] மூரி. [15] மேதி. [16] வடவை. [17] மைமை. [18] குழவி. [19] கன்று. [20] ஆ. [21] நாகு. [22] உம்பல். [23] ஏறு. [24] ஒருத்தல். [25] பகடு. [26] போத்து. [27] மடி. [28] செருத்தல். [29] மாடு. [30] விலங்கு. [31] குரங்கம். [32] மா [33] மான். [34] குருளை. [35] குட்டி. [36] பிள்ளை. [37] மறி. [38] கன்று [39] குழவி. [40] பார்ப்பு. [41] மகவு. [42] குமரம். [43] உலவை. [44] கோடு. [45] மருப்பு. [46] தோகை. [47] கூலம் [48] வேசகம். [49] மான். [50] உழை. [51] ஏணம். [52] சூனம். [53] நவ்வி. [54] பிணைமரி. [55] இரலை. [56] ஏறு. [57] ஒருத்தல். [58] கருமான். [59] கலை. [60] புல்வாய். [61] பிணை. [62] ஏணி. [63] கன்று. [64] குழவி. [65] தன்னம். [66] பறம். [67] பார்ப்பு. [68] மறி. [69] கழுதை. [70] குதிரை. [71] பன்றி. [72] அரி. [73] இருளி. [74] எறுழி. [75] ஏனம். [76] கருமா. [77] களிறு. [78] கானல். [79] கான்மா. [80] கிடி. [81] கிரி. [82] கேழல். [83] கோட்டுமா. [84] மைமா. [85] மோழல். [86] நாய். [87] அக்கன். [88] அசுழம். [89] அற்பம். [90] எகினம். [91] குக்கன். [92] கூரன். [93] சுணங்கன். [94] ஞமலி. [95] ஞாளி. [96] துத்தம். [97] பாசி. [98] பாட்டி. [99] பிணை. [100] முடுவல். [101] குட்டி. [102] குருளை. [103] பாறல். [104] அலவன். [105] இந்தி. [106] ஓதி. [107] பவனம். [108] பாக்கன். [109] பில்லி. [110] பூசை. [111] பூஞை. [112] வெருகு. [113] இற்புலி [114] கடுவன். [115] போத்து. [116] குட்டி. [117] பாறல். [118] பிள்ளை.

The other beasts familiar to the people were *aṇil*,[1] the squirrel, *karaḍi*,[2] the bear, *kāṭṭā*,[3] the wild cow, *kīri*,[4] the mongoose, *kuraṅgu*,[5] the monkey, *nari*,[6] the jakal, *śennāi*,[7] the wild dog, the *nāy*,[8] or the *kōnāy*,[9] the wolf, *nīrnāy*,[10] the beaver, *nāvippiḷḷai*,[11] the civet cat, *muṭpaṉṟi*,[12] the porcupine, *maraimāṉ*,[13] the yak, *muśu*,[14] the ape, *muyal*,[15] the hare, *yānai*,[16] the elephant.

The chief house-pests were *eli*[17] the rat, *kāreli*,[18] the black rat, *peruchchāḷi*,[19] the bandicoot, *mūnjūṟu*,[20] the mouse and the ubiquitous mosquito, *kośu*,[21] which was such a great nuisance as to receive a dozen other names, *aśaval*,[22] *añalam*,[23] *ulaṅgu*,[24] *śagal*,[25] *tummu*,[26] *tuḷḷal*,[27] *nilambi*,[28] *nulumbu*,[29] *noḷḷal*,[30] *muñal*,[31] *valu*,[32] *añal*;[33] *ī*,[34] the house-fly and *andu*,[35] insect found in stored grain. But the bed bug seems to be an import from abroad, for, it has but a *kāraṇappeyar*, i.e. *mūttaippūcchi*,[36] the bundle-insect.

Birds

There are many general names for birds *paṟavai*,[37] *kuḍiñai*,[38] *kurugu*,[39] *puḷ*;[40] their young ones, *kuñju*,[41] *pārppu*;[42] the cry of birds *payir*;[43] their nest, *katchi*,[44] *kuñjuṟai*,[45] *kuḍambai*,[46] *kurambai*,[47] *kūṇḍu*.[48] A flock of birds was called *thoḻudi*,[49] the cries of a flock, *tuḻani*;[50] the beating of a birds' wings, *ośanaittal*,[51] *puḍaittal*;[52] female birds are called *peḍai*,[53] *peṭṭai*,[54] *pēḍai*;[55] the females of birds other than the gallinaceous fowl and the owl, *aḷagu*;[56] their males except in the case of the peafowl and the *eḻāl*,[57] *śēval*;[58] the cock of the peafowl and the *eḻāl*, *pōttu*.[59] The food of birds and of some animals *irai*,[60] *uṇḍi*,[61] *uṟai*,[62] *ūṭṭi*[63].

The following are names of some species of birds :—*anril*,[64] nightingale, *annam*,[65] swan *āndai*,[66] large eyed owl, *uḷḷāṉ*,[67] snipe, *ūrkkuruvi*,[68] sparrow, *tūkkaṇāṅguruvi*,[69] *kavudāri*,[70] partridge, *kavudam*,[71] king-fisher, *kaḻugu*,[72] eagle, *kākkai*,[73] crow, *nīrkkākkai*,[74] a diving water-bird, *kāḍai*,[75] quail, *kiḷi*,[76] parrot, *kuyil*,[77] cuckoo, *kurugu*,[78] village fowl, also *kōḻi*,[79] another variety, *kūgai*,[80] large hooting owl, *kokku*,[81] stork, *śādagam*,[82] sky-lark, *śichchili*,[83] king-fisher, *sival*,[84] *pagaṇḍai*[85], another species of partridge, *sembōttu*,[86] *nārai*,[87] heron, *parundu*,[88] kite, *purā*,[89] pigeon, *mayil*,[90] peafowl.

The love of nature and close observation of natural objects which was a great characteristic of the Tamils of ancient times are constantly revealed in early Tamil poems. On later Tamil Poetry the conventions of the later artificial Sanskrit Poetry wielded

[1] அணில். [2] கரடி. [3] காட்டா. [4] கீரி. [5] குரங்கு. [6] நரி. [7] செந்நாய். [8] ஓநாய். [9] கோநாய். [10] நீர்நாய். [11] நாவிப்பிள்ளை. [12] முட்பன்றி. [13] மரைமான். [14] முசு. [15] முயல். [16] யானை. [17] எலி. [18] பெருச்சாளி. [19] காரெலி. [20] மூஞ்சூறு. [21] கொசு. [22] அசவல். [23] அஞலம். [24] உலங்கு. [25] சகல். [26] தும்மு. [27] துள்ளல். [28] நிலம்பி. [29] நுளும்பு. [30] நொள்ளல். [31] முஞல். [32] வலு. [33] அஞல். [34] ஈ. [35] அந்து. [36] மூட்டைப்பூச்சி. [37] பறவை. [38] குடிஞை. [39] குருகு. [40] புள். [41] குஞ்சு. [42] பார்ப்பு. [43] பயிர். [44] கட்சி. [45] குஞ்சுறை. [46] குடம்பை. [47] குரம்பை. [48] கூண்டு. [49] தொழுதி. [50] துழனி. [51] ஓசனைத்தல். [52] புடைத்தல். [53] பெடை. [54] பெட்டை. [55] பேடை. [56] அளகு. [57] எழால். [58] சேவல். [59] போத்து. [60] இரை. [61] உண்டி. [62] உறை. [63] ஊட்டி. [64] அன்றில். [65] அன்னம். [66] ஆந்தை. [67] உள்ளான். [68] ஊர்க்குருவி. [69] தூக்கணாங்குருவி. [70] கவுதாரி. [71] கவுதம். [72] கழுகு. [73] காக்கை. [74] நீர்க்காக்கை. [75] காடை. [76] கிளி. [77] குயில். [78] குருகு. [79] கோழி. [80] கூகை. [81] கொக்கு. [82] சாதகம். [83] சிச்சிலி [84] சிவல் [85] பகண்டை. [86] செம்போத்து. [87] நாரை. [88] பருந்து. [89] புறா. [90] மயில்.

great influence. Not so on the natural poetry of the earlier ages. To illustrate the keen observation of Fauna on the part of the poets, a few quotations are given. 'The pods of the Phaseolus mungo are like the red legs of the quail.'[1] 'The leaf of the *Caladium nymphæfolium* which grows on the hill, rich and waving, moved by the cold northwind in the month of Tai, resembles the ears of the elephant'.[2] 'The water-lily growing in deep pools resembles the back of the yellow-legged crane'[3]. 'The carp, afraid that the stork would eat it, ducked under the water, but found itself near the lotus and equally feared its bud.'[4] 'The nightingale which dwells on the palmyra leaves cries gently.'[5] 'In the cold weather the *Cassia* flower like ourselves gets golden dots and the twig of the memecylon *tinctorium* is filled with flowers and looks like the neck of a peacock.'[6] 'The path traced by the claws of the crab will be extirpated by the waves of the sea.'[7] 'The mountain from which honey-combs are hanging, as (the trappings from) the chariot.'[8] 'The goat has a belly like the false skin of the flowering bean.'[9] 'The flock of yellow legged fish-eating storks look like the pearls on the breast of Murugan when they fly in the red sky.' [10] 'The shaggy head of the ñemai tree looks like the rows of flags on the royal elephant. The spiders' webs round the tree waved in the west wind that blew over the hill called Ōdai; the lean elephants mistook them for clouds and lifted their trunks to catch them and sounded like the *tūmbu*[11] of the actors.'[12]

[1] பூழ்க்காலன்ன செங்காலுழுந்து. *Kuṛundogai*, 68.
[2] சிலம்பிற் சேம்பினலங்கல் வள்ளிலை
பெருங்களிற்றுச் செவியின் மானத்தைஇத்
தண்வரல் வாடை தூங்குங்
கடும்பனி. *Ib*. 76.
[3] பைங்காற் கொக்கின் புன்புறத்தன்ன
குண்டுநீ ராம்பல். *Ib*. 122.
[4] குருகுகொளக் குளித்த கெண்டை யயல
துருகெழு தாமரை வான்முகை வெருஉம். *Ib*. 127.
[5] மன்றலம் பெண்ணை மடல்சேர் வாழ்க்கை
யன்றிலும் பையென நரலும். *Ib*. 177.
[6] கொன்றையம் பசுவீ
நம்போற் பசக்குங் காலை
… … … காயாய் பூக்கெழு பெருஞ்சினை
மென்மயி லெருத்திற் றோன்றும். *Ib*. 183.
[7] அலவன் கூருகிர் வரித்த
வீர்மணை வீர்நெறி சிதைய விழுமென
வருமிசைப் புணரி. *Ib*. 351.
[8] நிரைசேர் நுண்டேர் போலப்
பிரசந் தூங்குமலை. *Ib*. 392.
[9] பூங்கொடி யவரைப் பொய்யத ளன்ன
வுள்ளில் வயிற்ற வெள்ளை வெண்மறி.
Agam 104.
[10] நெடுவேண் மார்பினாரம் போலச்
செவ்வாய் வானத்தீண்டி மீனருந்தும்
பைங்காற் கொக்கினிரை பறை யுகப்ப. *Ib*. 120.
[11] யானைக் கொண்டுதுகிற் கொடிபோல
வலந்தலை ஞெமயத்து வலந்த சிலம்பி
யோடைக் குன்றத்துக் கோடையொடு துயல்வர
மழையென மருண்ட மம்மர் பலவுட
ஞெய்களி றெடுத்த நோயுடை நெடுங்கை
தொகுசொற் கோடியர் தூம்பினுயிர்க்கும். *Ib*. 111.
[12] தூம்பு. a musical instrument.

'Green parrot with the red bill, who go on picking the bent stalks of the panicum, do not fear me; give up the fear that any one would threaten you for picking the stalks. When you have finished with them and are at leisure, attend to my wants; I join my palms and beg you to help me in this affair. If you go to your relatives who live in my lover's country, where grows the jack tree which bears abundant fruits, meet my lover who is the lord of this mountain and tell him that the young *Kuṛava* woman of the forest around this mountain is guarding the millet field to-day as usual.'[1]

'The banyan tree bears many boughs full of fruits; to eat the fruit many birds crowd round the tree. Their cries resemble the sound of many musical instruments.'[2]

'The crowds of beets which have thin wings eat the honey, and after the honey is exhausted desert the flowers.[3]

'The *āral*,[5] lamprey, with nose like an ear of corn, creeps into the mud; the *vāḷai*,[6] *Trichiurus lepturus*, which has a horn, moves tremulously on the water; the fishermen approach the tank which have flowers bright as the flame, the tortoise looks like the hollow-bowelled *kiṇai*,[7] (the drum of the *marudam*); the gravid *varāl*,[8] *Ophicephalus striatus*, is like the *nugumbu*[9] of the palmyra; with it fights the *kayal*,[10] carp, which shines like a spear.'

Trees and Plants

The ancient Tamils distinguished and named innumerable trees, plants, shrubs and creepers and knew their properties. The pure Tamil names of a few trees alone will be here referred to: *achcham*,[11] *Coronilla grandiflora*, commonly called *agatti*,[12] probably after Agastiya, *atti*,[13] Indian fig, *anichchai*,[14] a sensitive tree, *āchchā*,[15] *Diospyros ebenaster*, *ātti*,[16] *Bauhineara cemosa*, *āl*,[17] the banyan, *itti*,[18] *Ficus virens*, *ilandai*,[19] jujube, *ilavam*,[20] the silk-cotton tree, *iluppai*,[21] the long-leaved Bassia, *īndu*,[22] *Phoenix farinifera*, *uśil*,[23] *Acacia pennata*, *eṭṭi*,[24]

[1] கொடுங்குரல் குறைத்த செவ்வாய்ப் பைங்கிளி
யஞ்ச லோம்பி யார்பதங் கொண்டு
நின்குறை முடித்த பின்றை யென்குறை
செய்தல் வேண்டுமால் கைதொழு திரப்பல்
பல்கோட் பலவின் சாரலவர் நாட்டு
நின்கிளை மருங்கிற் சேறி யாயி
னம்மலை கிழவோர்க் குறைமதி யிம்மலைக்
கானக் குறவர் மடமக
ளேனல் காவ லாயின ளெனவே. *Naṛṛiṇai*, 102.

[2] கோடுபல முரஞ்சிய கோளி யாலத்துக்
கூடியத்தன்ன குரல்புணர் புள். *Maḷaipaḍukaḍām*, 268–269.

[3] நுண்டா துண்டு வறும்பூத் துறக்கு
மென்சிறை வண்டினம். *Maduraikkāñji*, 573.

[4] கதிர்மூக் காரல் கீழ்ச்சேற் றொளிப்பக்
கணைக்கோட்டு வாளை மீநீர்ப் பிறழ
வெரிப்பூம் பழன நெரித்துடன் வலைஞ
ரரிக்குட ரரியின் யாமை மிளிரப்
பனைநுகும்பன்ன சினைமுதிர் வராலொ
டுறுவே லன்ன வொண் கயல்.
Puṛam, 249.

[5] ஆரல். [6] வாளை. [7] கிணை. [8] வரால். [9] நுகும்பு, perhaps the tender kernel of the fruit. [10] கயல். [11] அச்சம். [12] அகத்தி. [13] ஆத்தி. [14] அனிச்சை. [15] ஆச்சா. [16] ஆத்தி. [17] ஆல். [18] இத்தி. [19] இலந்தை. [20] இலவம். [21] இலுப்பை. [22] ஈந்து. [23] உசில். எட்டி.

Strychnos nux vomica, *elumichchai*,[1] the lemon tree, *ōmai*,[2] the mango, also *mā*,[3] *kaḍambu*,[4] *Eugenia racemosa*, *kaḍavu*,[5] *Gyrocarpus jacquini*, *kaḍu*,[6] the gall-nut tree, *kamugu*,[7] the areca palm, *karuṅgāli*,[8] the ebony, *kaḷḷi*,[9] *Euphorbia tirucalli*, *kāya*,[10] *Memecylon tinctorium*, *kurundu*,[11] *konṛai*,[12] Cassia, *śandanam*,[13] or *āram*,[14] sandal-wood tree, *teṅgu*,[15] cocoanut tree, *tēkku*,[16] teak, *nāval*,[17] the jambolan trèe, *nelli*,[18] Indian gooseberry, *palā*,[19] the jack tree, *panai*,[20] palmyra, *pādiri*,[21] *Bignonia chelonoides*, *pālai*,[22] the iron-wood tree, *puḷi*,[23] the tamarind tree, *punnai*,[24] the Alexandrian laurel, *pūvaraśu*,[25] the Portia tree, *pūvandi*,[26] the soapnut tree, *magiḷ*,[27] a tree of very sweet smelling flower, *mādaḷai*,[28] the pomegranate, *muruṅgai*,[29] *Hyperanthera murunga*, *mūṅgil*,[30] the bamboo, *vāgai*,[31] *marudam*,[32] *Terminalia alata*, *vanni*,[33] *Prosopis spicigera*, *vilvam*,[34] *Crataeva religiosa*, *viḷā*,[35] the wood-apple, *vēṅgai*,[36] the *Pterocarpes bilobus* *vēmbu*,[37] the margosa tree. The names of smaller plants, and of different kinds of leaves and flowers are so numerous that it is not possible to catalogue them or even to mention the more familiar varieties. The unblown flower was called *arumbu*,[38] the parts of flowers, *idaḷ*;[39] *pūndēn*;[40] young trees *nāgu*;[41] fruiting trees, *paliṇam*,[42] trees with heart-wood inside, *āṇmaran*,[43] with heart-wood outside, *peṇmaram*,[44] branch, groups of trees without heart-wood, *ali*,[45] *veḷiṟu*,[46] ; the synonyms of the word, tree, are very considerable in number. I will content myself with noting a few poetic images which show how keen was the observation of nature by the ancient Tamils :—

'The gourd (*pīrkku*,[47]) with round, white flowers grows along with the thin creeper *muśuṇḍai*,[48] on shrubs.'[49]

'The hill country has bamboos which wave to and fro and its clear clouds spread the dew amidst the peacocks whose expanded tails shine like the sapphire.'[50]

'The forest land possesses the expanding jasmine, *taḷavu*,[51] the broad November flower, *tōnṛi*,[52] the mullai with the petals opened, the *tēṟu*,[53] (clarifying-nut tree) which drops its flowers, the *konṛai*,[54] Cassia, whose flowers are like gold, the *kāyā*,[55] whose flowers are like sapphire.'[56]

'The *kuravam*,[57] has flowered ; the cold weather is gone ; in the beautiful spring, in the river, a slender stream is running ; the wide river with straight stretches of sand has its banks adorned with many

[1]எலுமிச்சை. [2]ஓமை. [3]மா. [4]கடம்பு. [5]கடவு. [6]கடு. [7]கமுகு. [8]கருங்காலி. [9]கள்ளி, [10]காயா. [11]குருந்து [12]கொன்றை. [13]சந்தனம். [14]ஆரம். [15]தெங்கு. [16]தேக்கு. [17]நாவல். [18]நெல்லி. [19]பலா. [20]பனை. [21]பாதிரி. [22]பாலை. [23]புளி. [24]புன்னை. [25]பூவரசு. [26]பூவந்தி [27]மகிழ். [28]மாதளை. [29]முருங்கை. [30]மூங்கில். [31]வாகை. [32]மருதம். [33]வன்னி. [34]வில்வம். [35]விளா. [36]வேங்கை. [37]வேம்பு. [38]அரும்பு. [39]இதழ். [40]பூந்தேன். [41]நாகு. [42]பலனம். [43]ஆண்மரம். [44]பெண்மரம். [45]அலி. [46]வெளிறு. [47]பீர்க்கு. [48]முசுண்டை, *Iponæa Candicans*.

[49]புன்கொடி முசுண்டைப் பொறிப்புற வான்பூப்
பொன்போற் பீரமொடு புதற்புதல. *Neḍunalvāḍai*, 13–14.

[50] மணி மயிற் கலாப மஞ்சிடைப் பரப்பித்
துணிமழை தவழுந் துயல்கழை நெடுங் கோடு.

Śiṟupāṇāṟṟuppaḍai, 264–5.

[51]தளவு. [52]தோன்றி. [53]தேரு. [54]கொன்றை. [55]காயா.

[56] அவிழ்தளவி னகன்றோன்றி
நகுமுல்லை யுகுதேறவீப்
பொற்கொன்றை மணிக்காய.

Porunarāṟṟupaḍai, 199–201.

[57]குரவம்.

marudam trees; the mango has its branches decorated with tender leaves; the smoke-like cloud creeps along its boughs filled with bunches of flowers; the cuckoos enjoy the beauty of the scene and sing.' [1]

'The roots of the bamboo are interwined with each other; when the winds blow upon them they sound like the sigh of the elephant tied to its post. Looking at the moon which crept over the hill standing in a forest of bamboos, I said to myself, another moon (his mistress with a face bright as a moon) with teeth sharp as thorns and a fair face adorned by a sweet-smelling mark (*tilakam*) is standing on the hills, on whose rocks grow trees whose bare branches have shed their leaves in the strong gale, did I not?' [2]

'The *konṟai* flowers spread on a pit cut in a stone resemble a box of the wealthy man, filled with gold coins and kept open.' [3] 'The cool flowers of the *tāḻai* (screw-pine), which has bent thorns, when scattered by the winds, run like the pearls of a garland when the thread is snapped, on the white sands of the sea-shore.' [4]

'The garden was crowded with tall bamboos from which thorns hang and on which rest the cuckoos, which have bent claws and thin blue feathers, after drinking the mango juice, sweet as if milk were mixed with it, and after that, the sour juice of the *nelli* fruit.' [5]

'The *mullai*, jasmine, which flowers in places adjoining a stream looks like the teeth of a cat laughing.' [6]

1 குரவுமலர்ந்
தற்சிர நீங்கிய வரும்பவிழ் வேனி
லறலவிர் வார்மணை லகவியாற் றடைகரைத்
துறையணி மருதமொ டிகல்கொள வோங்கிக்
கலுழ்தளி ரணிந்த விருஞ்சினை மாஅத்
திணர்ததை புதுப்பூ நிரைத்த பொங்கர்ப்
புகைபுரை யம்மஞ் சூர
நுகர் குயிலகவும்.

Agam, 97.

2 வேர்பிணி வெதிர்த்துக் கால்பொரு நரலிசை
கந்துபிணி யானை யயர்வுயிர்த் தன்ன
வென்றூழ் நீடிய வேய்பிறங் கழுவத்துக்
குன்றூர் மதியை நோக்கி நின்று நினைந்
துள்ளினெ னல்லனோ யானே முள்ளெயிற்றுத்
திலகம் தைஇய தேங்கமழ் திருநுத
லெமது முண்டோர் மதிநாட் டிங்கள்
உரறுகுரல் வெவ்வளி யெடுப்ப நிழற்பல.
வுலவை யாகிய மரத்த
கல்பிறங்கு மாமலை யும்பரஃ தெனவே.

Naṟṟiṇai, 62.

3 கவலை கெண்டிய கல்வாய்ச் சிறுகுழி
கொன்றை யொள்வீ தா அய்ச்செல்வர்.
பொன்பெய் பேழை மூய்திறந் தன்ன.

Kuṟundogai, 233.

4 கூன்முண் முண்டகக் கூர்ம்பனி மாமலர்
நூலறு முத்திற் காலொடு பாறித்
துறைதொறும் பறிக்குந் தூமணல்.

Ib., 51.

5 பால்கலப் பன்ன தேக்கொக் கருந்துபு
நீல மென்சிறை வள்ளுகிர்ப் பறவை
நெல்லியம்புளி மாந்தி யயலது
முள்ளி லம்பனை மூங்கிலிற் றூங்குங்
கழைநிவந் தோங்கிய சோலை. *Ib.*, 201.

6 அருவிசேர் மருங்கிற் பூத்த முல்லை
வெருகுசிரித் தன்ன. *Ib.*, 220.

Ideal of Feminine Beauty

A people so acutely observant of natural objects and capable of keen relish of their beauty would naturally deal largely in descriptions of feminine charms; of numerous references to this subject I shall quote but one:—The songstress had hair like the black sand on the sea-shore; her fair forehead was like the crescent moon, her eye-brow bent like the bow that kills; the outer end of her cool eyes was beautiful, her sweetly speaking mouth was red like the sheath of the fruit of the silk cotton tree; her spotlessly white teeth were like rows of many pearls; her ears were like the curved handles of scissors and their lobes were shaking with bright ear rings shaped like the crocodile. Her neck was bent down with modesty; her shoulders were like the waving bamboo trees; her forearms were covered with thin hair; her fingers were like the November flower which grows on the tops of high hills; her brightly shining nails, like the mouth of a parrot. Her breasts, covered with light coloured beauty spots, were such as people thought that it would cause her pain to bear them, and were so high that the rib of a cocoanut leaf could not go between them; her navel was very beautiful and resembled a whirl-pool in water. Her waist was so small that observers could not guess that it existed (and that it bore the weight of the body) with difficulty. Her pudendum was adorned with a *mēgalai*, many stringed waist band with many bells, looking as if it swarmed with bees; her thighs, straight and thin like the trunk of a female elephant; her lower legs were covered with hair, as it ought to be, up to the ankles, and her small feet were like the tongue of a tired dog.[1]

Industries

Carpentry began and was well developed in the Stone Age; for all sorts of carpenter's tools have been picked up from the settlements of the lithic epoch. Most of these tools were made of iron when the Iron Age succeeded. The workers in wood was called *tachchar*[2] or *yāṇar*.[3] Carpenters had a greater variety of work to do than in modern days, for besides making the wooden furniture and utensils in

[1] அறல்போற் கூந்தற் பிறைபோற் றிருநுதற்
கொலைவிற் புருவத்துக் கொழுங்கடை மழைக்க
ணிலவிதழ் புரையு மின்மொழித் துவர்வாய்ப்
பலவுறு முத்திற் பழிதீர் வெண்பன்
மயிர்குறை கருவி மாண்கடை யன்ன
பூங்குழை யூசற் பொறைசால் காதி
னாணடச் சாய்ந்த நலங்கிள ரெருத்தி
னாடமைப் பணைத்தோ ளரிமயிர் முன்கை
நெடுவரை மிசைஇய காந்தண் மெல்விரற்
கிளிவா யொப்பி னொளிவிடு வள்ளுகி
ரணங்கென வுருத்த சுணங்கணி யாகத்
தீர்க்கிடைப் போகா வேரிள வனமுலை
நீர்ப்பெயர்ச் சுழியி னிறைந்த கொப்பூ
ழுண்டென வுணரா வுயவு நடுவின்
வண்டிருப் பன்ன பல்கா ழல்குல்
இரும்பிடித் தடக்கையிற் செறிந்துதிறள் குறங்கிற்
பொருந்துமயி ரொழுகிய திருந்துதாட் கொப்ப
வருந்து நாய் நாவிற் பெருந்தகு சீறடி. *Pornāuṟṟuppaḍai*, 25-47.

[2] தச்சர். [3] யாணர்.

household use, they had also to build houses, palaces, and temples, carts and chariots. Turning and wood-carving were highly developed. The legs of sitting planks and swinging planks were turned according different designs. Every available corner of wooden articles in houses, carts, and chariots were filled with wood carving, of elaborate patterns carved in minute detail with the extraordinary patience that the Indian artist alone is capable of. No work, big or small, left the carpenter's hands without some art work on it so that there was no sharp distinction as there is in Europe between utilitarian and artistic work. So much so that one of the synonyms for *tachchan*[1] is *śittiran*,[2] artist.

Boat building was also an ancient form of wood-work, but was in the hands of men who lived in *Neydal*, that is, coast land. It is worth noting that the boat builders were affiliated with fishermen, so far as social status was concerned. The work of the boat-builder is no less skilful than that of other carpenters ; but yet the social position of the later was much higher than that of the former. This was partly because the boat-builders shared in the food and the personal habits of the fishermen among whom they lived ; moreover the wood-work of the boat builder is cruder than that of the carpenter and does not admit of art work like other forms of wood work, so that the boat-builder had the status of the journeyman worker whereas the carpenters were allotted the privileges of the artist. While the boat-builders were of low status, chariot-makers were the companions of kings.

Workers in metal were called *kammālar*,[3] *akkaśālaiyar*,[4] *aṟivar*,[5] *ōvar*,[6] *kaṇṇāḷar*,[7] *kaṇvinaiñar*,[8] *kammiyar*,[9] *kollar*,[10] *karumār*,[11] *taṭṭār*,[12] *tuvaṭṭar*,[13] *pulavar*,[14] *punaiyar*,[15] *vittagar*,[16] *vittiar*,[17] *vinaiñar*.[18] They worked in iron, steel, copper, bronze, silver and gold. They were very skilful workers as is proved by the specimens of jewels and utensils recovered from ancient graves. Huge vessels of these various metals were made by hammering into shape immense blocks of metals. This requires much more skill than the method of cutting out sheets, *adar*,[19] *tagadu*,[20] of metal, bending them into the shapes of the different parts of a vessel and rivetting or soldering them together, such as is done now. The import of large sheets of thin metal from Germany has made our workers forget the art of hammering out big vessels and making them without joints. The delicate carving on gold and silver that was the glory of ancient India is not yet dead, thanks to the love of personal decoration which modern civilization has not yet been able to root out of the souls of our ladies. Ladies loved jewels so much that there are many words which mean 'to wear jewels,' e.g., *aṇi*,[21] *ār*,[22] *śūḍu*,[23] *punai*,[24] *pūṇ*,[25] *malai*,[26] *miḷai*,[27] *milai*,[28] *vēy*,[29] *ey*,[30] *vey* ;[31] the noun forms of many of these words mean jewels. Some professions subsidiary to that of the goldsmiths 'who heat good gold and make shining jewels out of it'[32]

1 தச்சன். 2 சித்திரன். 3 கம்மாளர். 4 அக்கசாலையர். 5 அறிவர். 6 ஓவர்.
7 கண்ணாளர். 8 கண்வினைஞர். 9 கம்மியர். 10 கொல்லர். 11 கருமார். 12 தட்டார்.
13 துவட்டர். 14 புலவர். 15 புனையர். 16 வித்தகர். 17 வித்தியர். 18 வினைஞர்.
19 அகர். 20 தகடு. 21 அணி. 22 ஆர். 23 சூடு. 24 புனை. 25 பூண். 26 மலை.
27 மிளை. 28 மிலை. 29 வேய். 30 எய். 31 வெய்.

32 சூடுறு நன்பொன் சுடரிழை புனைநரும். *Maduraikkāñji*, 512.

were those of the *kadainar*,[1] who 'turn cut conch shells into bangles,[2] *kuyinar*,[3] 'who drill holes in beautiful gems'[4].

The weaver's art was equally well developed. They were called *kammiyar*,[5] *śeṇiyar*,[6] *kārugar*.[7] They hawked clothes about in the streets of towns. 'Young and old weavers assembled where four streets met, stood with their legs touching each other and spread clothes whose folds, short and long, resembled the waves of the sea.[8]

Similes derived from the work of these workmen are found in literature. One such runs as follows:—'The legs of the crab are like the open jaws of the smith who works at the furnace where air is blown in by pressing bellows made of soft skin.'[9] 'The leaves of the water-lily are caught in the thorny rasplike stem of the cane which grows on the edges of ponds and waves slowly in the unsteady north-wind and swells and swings like the bellows which drive air quickly into the furnace of the smith.'[10] 'The male bear which has a wide mouth, seeking food, breaks an ant hill whose surface is covered by curved lines and its grunt frightens the snakes which reside in the ant-hill; then it sighs like the nose of the furnace where the smith heats iron.'[11]

Here is a splendid simile derived from the work of the blacksmith:—

'His chest was as hard as the anvil which stands before the furnace lighted in the smithy where the blacksmith with strong arms turns iron into implements that may be used against the enemy.'[12]

1 கடைநர். 2 கோடுபோழ் கடைநரும்.
Maduraikkāñji, 511.

3 குயினர். 4 திருமணி குயினரும்.
Ib., 511.

5 கம்மியர். 6 சேணியர். 7 காருகர்.

8 தெண்டிரை யவிர்றல் கடுப்ப வொண்பல்
குறியவு நெடியவு மடிதரூஉ விரித்துச்
சிறியரும் பெரியருங் கம்மியர் குழீஇ
நால்வேறு தெருவினுங் காலுற நிற்ப.
Ib., 519–522.

9 மென்றோன்
மிதியுலைக் கொல்லன் முறிகொடிற் றன்ன
கவைத்தா ளலவன்.
Perumbāṇāṛṛupaḍai, 206–8.

10 பொய்கை யடைகரைப் பிரம்பி
னரவா யன்ன வம்மு ணெடுங்கொடி
யருவி யாம்ப லகடை துடக்கி
யசைவரல் வாடை தூக்கலி னூதுலை
யிசைவாங்கு தோலின் வீங்குபு ஞெகிழும்.
Agam, 96.

11 இரைதே ரெண்கின் பகுவா யேற்றை
கொடுவரிப் புற்றம் வாய்ப்ப வாங்கி
நல்லரா நடுங்க வுரறிக் கொல்ல
னூதுலைக் குருகி னுள்ளுயிர்த்து.
Naṛṛiṇai, 125.

12 பகைவர்க்
கிரும்பு பயன்படுக்குங் கருங்கைக் கொல்லன்
விசைத்தெறி கூடமொடு பொரூஉ
முலைக்க லென்ன வல்லா ளன்னே.
Puṛam, 170.

Other professions that deserve mention are that of the toddy-drawer, oil-presser, sugar-cane presser, manufacturer of jaggery and of liquor.

TRADE

The word for trade *vaṇigam*[1] is usually supposed to be derived from Sanskrit *vāṇijyam*. The probabilities are just the other way about. *Vaṇiyam* is derived from *vaṇik* or *baṇik*, merchant, and this later word is almost certainly from the vedic *paṇi*. The *paṇis* were the traders of Vedic times and as they were Dasyus and would not pay *dakshiṇā* to the performers of Ārya rites the Rishis denounced them as being niggards.[2] The *paṇis* being Dasyus were most probably the Tamil traders of the early Vedic epoch, for in those days the Tamils alone of South Indians were the most civilized tribes and the objects of internal trade, then and for long after, were, as it has been already pointed out, South Indian products like pearls, corals, sandal wood, pepper, and other spices. Hence the word *paṇi* and its variants and derivatives must have passed to North India from the South; hence Tamil *vaṇiga* became *baṇik* and *paṇi*. There is a Vedic root *paṇ*, to negotiate, which in later Sanskrit came to mean to stake. This root may have been coined from *paṇi*.

Trade first began in Neydal. For the *paradavar*[3] of that region, where cereals could not be raised, could get only fish and salt to eat. Now it may be possible to keep up life solely on fish, all the courses from soup to pudding being made from that one food-stuff, but one cannot live comfortably for any length of time on fish alone, notwithstanding the fact that the remote ancestors of all animals were aquatic beings; for very soon the hankering for vegetable food will assert itself. So the ancient dwellers of the littoral tracts learnt to carry fish and salt and (later salted fish) to the neighbouring *marudam* and barter their goods for cereals. Hence in the poems belonging to the *Neydal tiṇai*[4] there is frequent mention of the trade in salt. One instance of it may be given. 'His wounds caused by the sword-fish having been cured, my father has gone to the big blue sea for fishing; my mother too has gone to the salt fields to barter salt for white rice; so if the lover comes now he can without any hindrance meet his mistress'[5].

Sellers of salt were called *umaṇar*,[6] *umaṭṭiyar*.[7] This ancient trade in which a double bag of salt was placed like a saddle on the back of a bull, which was driven from place to place in the interior of the land, can be observed even to-day in far-off villages. When the salt trade reached greater proportions it was carried in carts. 'The wheel, *uruḷi*[8] of the cart was surrounded by a round rim *śuṭṭu*[9] which went round the spokes, *ār*,[10] tightly fixed to the hub *kuṛadu*,[11] which looked like a drum, *muḻavu*.[12] The strong yoke, *pār*,[13] was fastened to two long beams placed on the axle-tree, *parūkkai*,[14] which looked like an *eḻū*,[15] timber placed between two elephants to prevent them from fighting with each other. Its top, *vāy*,[16] bore a creaking mat of *ragi* stalks, *ārvai*,[17] as the hill bears clouds on its top. In the

[1] வணிகம். [2] R. V. vi. 51. 14 ; vii. 22. 6. [3] பரதவர். [4] நெய்தல்திணை.

[5] அறு வெறிந்த புண்டணிந் தெந்தையு
நீனிறப் பெருங்கடல் புக்கனன் யாயு
முப்பை மாறி வெண்ணெற் றரீஇய
வுப்புவிளை கழனி சென்றன ளதனாற்
பனியிரும் பரப்பிற் சேர்ப்பற்
கினிவரி னெளியள். *Kuṛundogai*, 269.

[6] உமணர். [7] உமட்டியர். [8] உருளி. [9] சுட்டு. [10] ஆர். [11] குறடு. [12] முழவு.
[13] பார். [14] பருக்கை. [15] எழு. [16] வாய். [17] ஆர்வை.

front of a hut which possessed a hen-coop, resembling a loft from which men guard the crops from being devasted by elephants, was a woman, with a child at her side, and a twig of margosa with flowers and leaves held in her hands to protect the child from demons; she stood near the yoke from which was hanging a pot of vinegar, tied with strings like the drum of a dancing girl on a dancing platform; and she beat the back of the bull with a wooden mortar whose mouth was as big as the knee of a female elephant with tusks resembling the shoot of a bamboo. Their men who wore garlands of flowers and leaves, whose shoulders were big, beautiful and strong, and whose limbs were supple and powerful, walked by the cart to whose yokes rows of bulls were tied with ropes passing through small holes; the men saw that the carts were not upset. They fixed the price of salt in terms of other articles and passed along the road with teams of reserve bulls to replace those that became exhausted.'[1]

What an extremely realistic and at the same time highly poetical description of a subject which no modern man would regard as capable of poetic treatment at all!

Another article hawked about from place to place was pepper. Grown in Malabar, the land of the Śēras, it was a necessary ingredient of curry throughout South India. 'Pepper bags looking like the small-pulped big jack fruit which grows at the foot of the majestic jack-tree are balanced on the strong, scarred, prick-eared donkey which carries the pepper along long roads where tolls are collected. These roads are guarded by bow-men.'[2]

Gradually as cities grew in size, the power of monarchs grew to ample proportions, civilization advanced, and trade in numerous articles of necessity and luxury grew in the land. In cities 'there were people who vended various things including many beautiful looking

1 கொழுஞ்சூட் டருந்திய திருந்துநிலை யாரத்து
முழவி னன்ன முழுமர வுருளி
யெழூஉப் புணர்ந்தன்ன பருவுக்கை நோன்பார்
மாரிக் குன்ற மழைசுமந் தன்ன
வாரை வேய்ந்த வறைவாய்ச் சகடம்
வேழங் காவலர் குரம்பை யேய்ப்பக்
கோழி சேக்குங் கூட்டுடைப் புதவின்
முளையெயிற் றிரும்பிடி முழந்தா ளேய்க்கு
துளையரைச் சீறா றூங்கத் தூக்கி
நாடக மகளி ராடுகளத் தெடுத்த
விசிவீங் கின்னியங் கடுப்பக் கயிறுபிணித்துக்
காடி வைத்த கலனுடை மூக்கின்
மகவுடை மகடூஉப் பகடுபுறந் துரப்பக்
கோட்டினர் வேம்பி னேட்டிலை மிடைந்த
படலைக் கண்ணிப் பரேரெறுழ்த் திணிதோள்
முடலை யாக்கை முழுவலி மாக்கள்
சிறுதுளைக் கொடுநுக நெறிபட நிரைத்த
பெருங்கயிற் றொழுகை மருங்கிற் காப்பச்
சில்பத வுணவின் கொள்ளை சாற்றிப்
பல்லெருத் துமணர் பதிபோகு நெடுநெறி

Perumbāṇaṛṛuppaḍai, 46–65.

2 தடவுநிலைப் பலவின் முழுமுதற் கொண்ட
சிறுசுளைப் பெரும்பழங் கடுப்ப நெறியற்
புணர்ப்பொறை தாங்கிய வடுவாழ் நோன்புறத்
தணர்ச்செவிக் கழுதைச் சாத்தொடு வழங்கு
முல்குடைப் பெருவழிக் கவலைக் காக்கும்
வில்லுடை வைப்பு.

ibid., 77–82.

articles of food, produced in the hill country, in the low country and in the sea. There were traders who, brought different kinds of brilliant gems, pearls and gold from far off lands.... There were men who assayed gold; there were sellers of clothes, vendors of copper vessels which were sold by weight, men who, when their business was over, tied the proceeds to their loin cloth, men who sold choice flowers, and scented pastes. There were clever painters, *kaṇṇuḷ vinaiñar*,[1] who painted pictures of all kinds of minute incidents'.[2] This description pertains to the trade of the beginning of the first millennium A.D., but this trade could not have differed from that of a very much earlier epoch, because civilization did not grow by leaps and bounds in any particular period, but grew so gradually that the life conditions of any one epoch resembled very much those of previous ages.

'Traders carried jewels to foreign countries on ships that had sails spread in the wind and that sailed on the ocean whose waves smelt of fish'.[3] They carried jewels for sale on land, but in a country where the *Maṛavar* followed as their only profession that of highway robbery, the travels of traders were fraught with adventure. 'The merchants who enabled all men to enjoy the grand things which are found on the mountain and in the sea have breasts full of scars made by the piercing arrows, clothes tied tight round their waists and a knife stuck into it, strong broad shoulders to which was attached the cruel bow and so resembled *Murugan* who wears the *Kaḍambu* flower. They held in their hands a big spear like *Yaman*. A stinging dagger with a white handle made of ivory, looking like a snake creeping on a hill, was tied with a belt to their shoulders; their strong feet were covered with shoes and they wore coats'.[4]

1 கண்ணுள் வினைஞர்.

2 பல்வேறு பண்டமொ டூண்மலிந்து கவினி
மலையவு நிலத்தவு நீரவும் பிறவும்
பல்வேறு திருமணி முத்தமொடு பொன்கொண்டு
சிறந்த தேஎத்துப் பண்ணியம் பகர்நரும்
... ...
பொன்னுரை காண்மருங் கலிங்கம் பகர்நருஞ்
செம்புநிறை கொண்மரும் வம்புநிறை முடிநரும்
பூவும் புகையு மாயு மாக்களு
மெவ்வகைச் செய்தியு முவமங்காட்டி
நுண்ணிதி னுணர்ந்த நுழைந்த நோக்கிற்
கண்ணுள் வினைஞரும். *Maduraikkāñji*, 503–6, 513–18.

'பண்ணியம்' in this passage meaning an article of trade is a derivative of *Paṇi* trader.

3 வாலிதை யெடுத்த வளிதரு வங்கம்
... ...
நனந்தலை வினைஞர் கலங்கொண்டு மறுக. *Ib*., 536 and 539.

4 மலையவுங் கடலவு மாண்பயந் தரூஉ
மரும்பொரு ளருத்துந் திருந்துதொடை நோன்று
ளடிபுதை யரண மெய்திப் படம்புக்குப்
பொருகணை தொலைச்சிய புண்டீர் மார்பின்
விரவுவரிக் கச்சின் வெண்கை யொள்வாள்
வரையூர் பாம்பின் பூண்டுபுடை தூங்கச்
சுரிகை நுழைந்த சுற்றுவீங்கு செறிவுடைக்
கருவி லோச்சிய கண்ணக னெறுழ்த்தோட்
கடம்பமர் நெடுவே ளன்ன மீளி
யுடம்பிடித் தடக்கை யோடா வம்பலர். *Perunbāṇāṟṟuppaḍai*, 67–

Balances for weighing articles of trade were of two kinds. One was the steel-yard called *ñemankōl*[1] or *niṟaikōl*;[2] this was made of wood and resembled the steelyards used in villages to-day; rich merchants, however, used steelyards made of ivory.[3] The second was the *tarāśu*,[4] a pair of scales. All this trade was carried on by barter, as old Indians did not like to coin metal, and when they got coins from foreign countries, made jewels of them for their bosoms or hoarded them deep in the bosom of mother-earth.

Traders, in the Tamil country, were and are called *śeṭṭi*.[5] This word has been sanskritized into *śreshṭhī* and assimilated to the adjective *śreshṭha*, excellent. *Śreshṭī* is by some supposed to have degenerated into *śeṭṭi*; I consider this derivation to be a topsy-turvy one. *Śeṭṭi* is the personal noun from *śeṭṭu*, trade, a *śeṭṭi* being one who pursues *śeṭṭu*, trade, as his profession; for it is absurd to think that the Tamil traders carried on their profession for ages without a name for their profession or for themselves as followers of the profession. Hence it is reasonable to infer that *śreshthi* is Tamil *śeṭṭi* dressed in a Sanskrit garb. Sanskrit scholars suffer from a form of superiority-complex and believe that Sanskrit, the language of the Gods, being a perfect language, could not stoop so low as to borrow words from the languages of men. Hence they are fond of inventing derivations, ingenious and plausible, but absurd from a historical point of view, for words borrowed from foreign sources. Thus they say that *hammīra*, borrowed from Persian *amīr*, is a contraction of *aham vīrah*; they explain *kshatrapa*, satrap, also borrowed from Persian, as *kshtram pātīti kshatrapah*; they derive *horā*, which was borrowed from Greek, from *ahorātram*, with its head and its tail amputated. The derivation of *śeṭṭi* from *śreshthī* is of a piece with these products of a perverse ingenuity.

The capital with which the ancient traders traded was called *mudal*,[6] initial stock. I wonder whether *mudaliyār*[7] meant originally men with *mudal*. There has always been a rivalry between *mudaliar* and *piḷḷai*[8] with regard to social status; does this point to an ancient rivalry between merchants and agriculturists? We have no materials which can help us to solve this question. Literary evidence merely indicates that both those who produced crops and those who sold them belonged to the class of *mēlōr*,[9] who were qualified to become the heroes of love poems.

Trade on any scale would scarcely be possible without debts. The word *kaḍan*[10] shows that debts were contracted in olden times. Interest was called *vaṭṭi*,[11] a word usually identified with prakrit *vaḍḍi* Sanskrit *vriddhi*. The Tamil word might as well be derived from Tamil *vaṭṭu*, a small piece, or *vaṭṭi*, cowries, cowries being small change, *sillaṟai*.[12] *Vāśi*[13] meant a deduction other than *vāṭṭi*; the literal meaning of the word seems to be 'additional'. The places where mercantile transactions took place were *kaḍai*,[14] *maḷigai*,[15] *aṅgāḍi*,[16] and *sandai*,[17] which has become in English 'Shandy'.

[1] ஞெமன்கோல். [2] நிறைகோல்.

[3] யானை வான்மருப் பெறிந்த வெண்கடைக்
கோனிறைத் துலாஅம். *Puṟam* 39.

[4] தராசு. [5] செட்டி. [6] முதல். [7] முதலியார். [8] பிள்ளை. [9] மேலோர். [10] கடன் [11] வட்டி. [12] சில்லறை. [13] வாசி. [14] கடை. [15] மளிகை. [16] அங்காடி. [17] சந்தை.

There are several minor subjects about which the evidence of pure Tamil words and of early literature can be profitably used, but which I have now no time to deal with. Those subjects are: Diseases and medicines, knowledge of human and animal anatomy, notions of jurisprudence, recognized terms of relationship, death-rites, division of time, astronomical notions, knowledge of colours, of meteorological phenomena, reading and writing, notions of psychology and ethics. Without the inclusion of these subjects, our reconstruction of the life of the ancient Tamils will not be complete.

This life of the Tamil people slowly evolved from the beginning of the Old Stone Age, that of the Āryas of North India began to influence. This was not a catastrophic inroad into the south from the north but a very slow process of infiltration. This infiltration began in the middle of the third millennum B.C. Then Paraśurāma settled with a number of followers, south of the Vindhyas. Many of Viśvamitra's sons, soon after, migrated to South India, as the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* informs us. But yet at the beginning of the second millennium B.C., when Rāma crossed the Godāvarī, the non-Aryan Rākshasas were predominant in Southern India and the southernmost Ārya colony was that of the Āgastyas on the banks of that river. In the age of the Mahābhārata, in which Tamil soldiers took part, Ārya influence in Southern India increased. But still in about the sixth century B.C. Āpastambha, the last of the Sūtrakāras, called a Rishi by courtesy, flourished near the banks of the Godāvarī and made laws for the Āryas there. Tamil India produced no Rishi, neither a Rishi of the *mantradrashṭā* type, nor even of the later type or the promulgator of the Śrauta, Gṛihya, and Dharma Sūtras. Into the Tamil land, Brāhmanas, Bauddhas, and Jainas spread in the centuries preceding and succeeding the beginning of the Christian era. The early Pallavas of Kāñchī were chiefly responsible for this migration of the Āryas. Notwithstanding the widespread of Brāhmaṇas, literature was chiefly in the hands of the Tamil *Pāṇar* and hence neither the Sanskrit language nor Sanskrit literature exercised much influence till about the fifth century after Christ. Early in that age, Tṛiṇadhumāgni, author of *Tolkāppiyam*, tried to adapt the social system of the northerners to the Tamil people, but without any success. Meanwhile the religious ideas of the *Itihāsas* spread among the common people. The teachings and practices of the Bauddhas and the Jainas were also promulgated from the monasteries of those monks. The complicated rites of Siva-worship and Vishṇu-worship as propounded in the Āgamas were adopted by the people and temple rites became the monopoly of a special sect of Brāhmaṇas; as a result of this, these two cults became wedded to the Ārya system of four varṇas, ill-adjusted to the old scheme of Tamil classes. One of the results of this was the extension of the idea of endogamous caste and the rise of innumerable castes marked by endogamy—an idea unknown to the Tamils of the early ages. Another result was that Tamil lost its linguistic and literary independence. A copious flow of Sanskrit words into the Tamil tongue took place. In the region of literature, the old ode, *agaval*[1] gave place to *kāviyam*.[2] Not only literary forms but also literary images, literary conventions, and poetic images, belonging to

[1] அகவல். [2] காவியம்.

Sanskrit, crept into Tamil poems. The *Mokshaśāstram* of the northerners, represented by the *Upanishads*, the *Bhagavad Gītā*, and the *Vedānta Sūtras*, prevailed in the South. Very soon South India more than amply repaid this debt to North India by producing the three great *Bhāshyakāras*—Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja and Ānandatīrtha.

The genius of Tamil is marked by the scientific temperament; concrete ideas and images appeal to the Tamil people and hence Tamil is peculiarly fitted to be the vehicle of scientific knowledge. The genius of Sanskrit is marked by the philosophical temperament; it revels in abstractions which are the life-breath of philosophy. It was the wedding of Tamil genius and Sanskrit genius that is responsible for South Indian thinkers having become the guides of Indian thought during the last thousand years. In our days the genius of Europe has begun to influence India. The great ambition of Europe is to amass wealth and to utilize it for raising the standard of life, by developing the means of attainment of the ever-increasing methods of appealing to the senses, not only the five senses, but also that of locomotion. How far the genius of Europe is going to alter the life of the Tamils is concealed in the womb of time. We have succeeded in tearing the veil of past time and getting a few glimpses of ancient life; but future time is covered by a veil of nebulous matter which cannot be pierced by any known methods of enquiry.

Reviews

'A HISTORY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE'

BY

A. BERRIDALE KEITH, D.C.L., D.LITT.

[Oxford. At the Clarendon Press. 25*s*. net.]

DR. A. B. KEITH is a voracious reader of Sanskrit literature. His is also a mind eminently fitted to make indexes not only of the contents of books but also of everything that has been said by anybody ; and his mind has been further trained by years of work on the making, in collaboration with Dr. Macdonell, of the *Vedic Index*. The result is that the book under review is a true index to the contents of classical Sanskrit literature and the researches, good, bad and indifferent, on that literature. By classical Sanskrit literature the author means the books, on all sorts of subjects, in classical Sanskrit, i.e., the Sanskrit posterior to the language of the Vedic *Samhitas*, *Brāhmaṇas*, and *Upanṣads*. He does not mean Sanskrit literary classics but embraces within his sweep every book on any subject, so far printed, but excludes the Sanskrit drama, on which he has already written and the great *Itihāsas* also. Thus he deals with the later epic, lyric, gnomic and didactic poetry, books on grammar, law, politics, philosophy, religion, medicine, astronomy and mathematics. Why he has omitted music, the handicrafts, metallurgy, chemistry, veterinary science and the arts of warfare we cannot guess. Besides these subjects he also discusses the literary relations of the East and the West, and the origin of Sanskrit and its relations with the literary Prākrits and Pāli. Dealing with such a large mass of matter, it is no wonder that, though he has given us more than 500 pages, the work has merely the merit of a good index, not alphabetically arranged, but arranged subject by subject and strewn with *ex cathedra* judgments on men and things. It so happened that though the body of the book was written in 1926, pressure of work delayed its printing for a year and a half; so the author has utilized the preface for bringing the book up to date in the matter of references to books and magazine articles published during the interval.

Dr. Keith is a profound admirer of the beauty of the Sanskrit language and is a trained connoisseur of beautiful sentiments expressed in happy ways, such as is a speciality of the *Kāvya* and the Lyric. This explains the great attention he has paid to this department of Sanskrit literature. He gives frequently tit-bits from poems, which are quite enjoyable. But the higher criticism which points out the artistic construction of the greater poems, and wherein lies the special superiority of each poem is absent from his book ; nor can the scale of the book afford room for such treatment. Thus the *Meghadhūta* and the *Kumārasambhava* are disposed of each in about a page, most of which dealing with an abstract of the poem ; the *Raghuvamsa* in five pages, which contain besides a summary of the poem, speculations, not original, about Raghu's exploits being a copy of the much-exaggerated deeds of Samudragupta, and the relations between Vālmīki's *Rāmāyana* and the *Raghuvamsa.* If the greatest Sanskrit poet is treated in this style, the reader may easily guess which would be the fate of the rest.

European scholars study Greek and Latin literature when they are young and impressionable and form exaggerated estimates of the perfection of the 'classics', and when later in life they study Sanskrit, they apply the rules derived from the practice of Greek and Roman poets to the literature produced in a quite different language. Pelion and Ossa, the Pierean spring and the Tiber inspired the genius of the poets who are models of perfection to European critics. But is it not absurd to use the literary products of Greek and Rome to guage the merits of those mighty souls which grew under the inspiration of the Himalayas and the Gangā ? This leads the author to make the ridiculous pronouncement that Kālidāsa was incapable of the vision and imagery of Virgil. But the compelling genius of Kālidāsa does not suffer so much depreciation by European critics as the rest of the long series of Indian poets. Bhāravi and many others are accused of want of taste because they use similes derived from grammatical science. In this age when the physical sciences are so much developed, similes based on scientific concepts abound both in poetry and prose ; but why grammatical science should be denied this privilege of helping to clarify thought by contributing images passes comprehension.

European critics in assessing the values of Indian poetry forget the

fact that whereas Greek or Latin poetry was a butterfly that shone for an idle hour and then passed out of existence, Indian poetry has lived and grown for millenniums. One kind of poetry repeated for thousands of years would create nausea. You can make a meal of honey for a day or two, but for a whole lifetime more variety in the dietary is essential. Hence at times passed on, Sanskrit poets have experimented in a vast variety of styles, each having beauties of its own. As the severe simplicity of the *Rāmāyana* has its function, so the elaborate word-play of Subandhu or Harṣa theirs. Moreover European critics sin against the basic canon of art-criticism that it is not the function of the critic to award marks as an examiner does to school-boys, but the true critic is he who tries to understand the aims of the artist and explain how far the artist is true to his own ideal and not to judge his performance by referring to another artist with totally different aims. The ignorance of this fundamental canon of criticism had led foreigners into making ridiculous remarks, such as that the great temple of Srirangam is lacking in unity which is the special mark of the Parthenon. One might as well say that the Himalayas are wanting in the unity that characterizes Mount Olympus or that a huge tropical forest cannot be seen at a glance as a miserable municipal park is. Throughout this book occur remarks such as, we prefer Māgha's eloquence to his comparison of the mountain with the sun setting on one side and the moon rising on the other, to an elephant from whose back two bells hang, one on each side, the humour and wit of Daṇḍin are more attractive to modern taste than those of other Indian authors. These appeals to European taste make the book less a history of Sanskrit literature than an exposition of European preferences.

To us moderns, chronology is the eye of history ; just as we cannot tell the forenoon from the afternoon unless we consult a watch, so history without dates is to us a meaningless tangle of facts. Not so to the ancients to whom history was but the hand-maiden of *Dharma* and the tales of great men were but the means of illustrating ethical principles. To them a truth was a truth whenever it was announced, and the beauty of a work of art was independent of the date of its production. Hence they did not possess the acute chronological sense which oppresses us and which is too often confounded with the historical sense of which the ancients had as much of a supply as the

moderns. They possessed no era from which to count the passage of years and they cared more for the sequence of events in time than to work it in years. After all it is the temporal sequence of events that is valuable for the study of evolution than the arithmetical demarcation of it. As regards the chronological sequence of the numberless authors that have contributed to the growth of Sanskrit literature there is no doubt. But when we proceed to find accurate dates for them, we find the task absolutely impossible; in some cases even the centuries when they lived is difficult to fix. Hence there is ample room for European scholars to pull them forward in the scale of time, and for Indian scholars to push them back. But when the former, in this work of pounding husk, import *a priori* assumptions and indulge in phrases like 'we cannot believe that Apastamba lived before the second century B.C.,' 'Pāṇini cannot be assigned an earlier date than thrid century B.C.,' 'it would be wise to assign the seventh century A.D.,' it cannot but degrade this misapplication of the critical method. The true scientific spirit bids one to keep one's soul in patience when no evidence is available. Moreover this method of telescoping Indian literary events in a small space of time would remove the development of Sanskrit literature to the region of miracles; for to believe that this vast literature which grew in ancient times when thought moved slow is but to believe in the marvellous. It is impossible to discuss in a review the thousand and one points of chronology where we have to differ from the author. Hence the book can serve but the function of an elaborate index to Sanskrit literature and no more.

P. T. S.

'LANDMARKS OF THE DECCAN'

A Comprehensive Guide to the Archæological Remains of the City and Suburbs of Hyderabad

BY

S. A. ASGAR BILGRAMI

[Printed at the Government Central Press, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1928
226 pp. Price, Rs. 5.]

THIS is the English edition of the *Maathir-e-Deccan* which was published sometime back when the author who is an Assistant Secretary to H. E. H. The Nizam's Government was acting for Mr. Yazdani, the Director of Archæology. It is an attempt to make up for the extreme

paucity of information regarding the monuments of the city and suburbs of Hyderabad given by Mr. Cousens in his *List of Antiquarian Remains of the Nizam's Dominions*, published in 1899; and this volume is the author's first instalment of a plan for the completion of a complete list of antiquarian remains for all the *subahs* of the Nizam's Dominions. In the descriptive account of the various monuments Mr. Bilgrami follows the principles laid down by the Superintendent of Archæology, Northern Circle, for the classfication of monuments and for the dating of uninscribed ones. Some of the inscriptions detailed in the book have appeared in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemico* edited by Mr. Yazdani. The list is made on a chronological basis, first for the monuments of Golconda. A retrospect at the end gives a short accountof the history of the Deccan region from early times down to the end of the Qutb Shahi dynasty and the subsequent appearance of the Nizams of the Asaf Jahi line. The photo-illustrations of kings, inscriptions, etc., appearing in the book are certified to be authentic copies.

In the notes of the monuments, important and historic ones—like the Chār Minār, a phototype of the Tarzia of Imam Husain; the Mecca Musjid, built by Muhammad Qutb Shah VI; the dome of Jamshed Quli in Golconda; the fine inscription on the facade of the Mecca Darwaza at the same place, dated A.D. 1559; the dome and sarcophagus inscription of Sultan Muhammad VI who was a great friend of learning, and the Musa Burj which is so closely connected with the defection of Mir Jumla from the Golconda throne, occupy much space and are treated fully in their architectural and epigraphical details. New sources of information regarding the doings of Mir Jumla and his son, Muhammad Amin, are given, besides the concerned Persian and Telugu inscriptions on the Musa Burj which are fully translated. The foot-notes, though few, are useful; and the book gives us valuable descriptive information about the Golconda style of architecture, charcterized by narrow-necked domes of peculiar form, distinguished in some respects from the sister style of Bijapur; and it forms a fairly useful contribution to the literature on the antiquities of the Nizam's Dominions rendered peculiarly rich by their possession of Maski, Ajanta, Ellora, Warangal, Bidar, Galburga and Golconda.

C. S. S.

THE MARATHA RAJAS OF TANJORE'

BY

K. R. SUBRAMANIAN, M.A.

WITH A FOREWORD BY

P. T. SRINIVASA IYENGAR, M.A., L.T.

[Published by the author, at 60, T. S. V. Koil Street, Mylapore, Madras—pp. ii and 106. Price, Re. 1.]

THIS small book is an attempt to sketch the cultural and political history of the wealthy Kingdom of Tanjore under Maratha rule which lasted in full vigour for less than a century. The Vijayanagar domination over the Kaveri delta ending in Nayak rule, as in other cases, was marked by a rich output of Sanskrit and Telugu literature of which the chief ornaments were Govinda Dikshitar and Yajnanarayana, the author of *Sāhitya Ratnākara*. The Maratha state which may be said to have begun life in 1676, might have linked itself in a vital chain with the main base of the Marathas in the Deccan; but the interposition of Mughal rule followed by that of the Asaf Jahi and Arcot dynasties prevented any continued co-operation, while the jealousy of Venkoji's branch towards the house of Sivaji served to act as an additional barrier. Unaided by the parent stock, the isolated Tanjore Kingdom was torn by jealous neighbours, unruly allies and rapacious Mussalmans and after the Europeans came upon the scene it was bled by the greed and corruption of the Nawabs of the Carnatic fortified as it was with French, and later, English countenance and support. The sorry tale of gradually degenerating kings and the increasing peculation that marked the dealings of the Nawab towards his so-called feudal vassal of Tanjore is relieved only by the continuous patronage of learning from the time of Shahji I (1684–1712); this patronage comprehended works in Telugu, Marathi, Sanskrit and to some extent in Tamil as well. Sarfoji II, who was only a ruler by courtesy, was an apt pupil of Swartz and enriched the Palace Library with a large number of printed books and manuscripts. The Marathas superimposed their own culture on that of Tamil Tanjore, enriched it already had become, by the Nayak connection. The dynasty went its way like the others before it; but it has left its own impress on the culture of the district and enabled Tanjore to retain its prominent place as a home of indigenous art and learning and music.

The author has made ample use of the epigraphic, literary and bibliographical materials available for the period, including the Marathi inscription, dated Saka 1725; and he has stressed on the isolation and the consequently arrested growth of the Maratha state, though a fuller notice of the causes contributing to the decay would not have been unwelcome. He has given a brief, but useful, account of the economic and social conditions and of the administrative system of the Kingdom—a picture that is bound to be useful for getting an idea of the better phase of pre-British administration which prevailed in the land.

C. S. S.

'THE GURKHAS'

BY

MAJOR W. BROOK NORTHEY AND CAPTAIN C. J. MORRIS

WITH A FOREWOOD BY

GENERAL THE HON. C. G. BRUCE

[London, John Jane The Bodley Head—18*s*. net—pp. xxxvii and 282—with illustrations and a map.]

THIS book, dedicated to H. H. Maharaja Sir Chandra Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, Prime Minister and Marshal of Nepal, attempts to give a fairly full and authoritative account of the history, the administration and the people of that interesting land, on the basis of material embodied in standard works on the subject like that of Professor Sylvain Levi, and of other accounts collected by the authors. Professor Turner of the University of London contributes a learned chapter on the languages of the country, while the two collaborating authors describe in two chapters their respective journeys in Western and Central Nepal. The Foreword traces the formation of the present Gurkha rule under Prithwi Narayan and the modernization of the state going on since the time of the famous Jang Bahadur Rana. The history of Nepal is mainly the history of an attempt at Aryanization of hill-races, with frequent reactions exerted by the Tibetans and the Chinese. It is traced in the first book through the mythical and half-mythical epochs to the Thakuri Dynasty of Amsuvarman in the seventh century, and thence along fairly reliable ground to the reign of Joya Deva and Ananda Malla who founded a new era in the thirteenth

century and possibly began a new cultural stage as well. From thence the interplay of political forces became complicated until the warring principalities of Khatmandu, Bhatgaon and Patan were united under Prithwi Narayan Sah of the new Gurkha race which was to dominate Nepal from now. Gurkha politics till the advent of the Jang family to supreme power and to the position of Mayor of the Palace was 'one of steady progress as regards arms, and of the disgusting succession of murders and intrigues and atrocious cruelties as regards the court.' English commercial relations with Nepal began in 1791; their political relation became settled after the Gurkha War of Lord Hastings, friendly after the visit of Jang Bahadur to England and positively cordial from the Mutiny onwards. Sir Jang's tradition has been kept up by his successors; and the present Prime Minister practically placed the entire man-power of his state at the disposal of the English during the Great War; and the chief object of the book under review is to rouse an interest and appreciation in Nepal, in its difficulties and of the services it has rendered to the British Empire.

Professor Turner deals with the linguistic distribution of the land, and points attention to the fact that here, more than in other regions, identity of language does not necessarily connote identity of race, and that the aborigines have largely changed their language for that of the Mongolian invaders, while the language of the latter is gradually replaced by the Aryan. The official language is an Indo-Aryan are variously known as Parbatiya, Gorkhali and Nepali and is closely allied to the Kumaoni dialect. The religion and religious festivals and the customs of the people are described in a popular, but not learned manner; and the chapter dealing with the administration is supplemented by one dealing with the recent abolition of slavery and the labour problem, of the land. Separate sections of the book are denoted to the description of the three definite regions into which the land may be divided; and to the chief classes of the population in each division, like the Brahmans and the Khetris, the Magars and the Gurungs, the Newars, the Limbus and the Kirantis of the East. The part played by Nepal in the Great War is told in the end; while a skeleton survey map of Nepal adds to the usefulness of this gazetteer-like publication.

C. S. S.

'THE STATE IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY

BENI PRASAD, M.A.
University of Allahabad

[Published by the Indian Press, Allahabad, Rs. 10.]

THIS is a thesis approved for the degree of Doctor of Science (Economics) in the University of London. The book aims at giving the structure and practical working of political institutions in North India in ancient times, though the institutions of the Deccan and the south of India are touched upon only as auxiliaries to the main theme of the work. The opening chapter of the book discusses the basis and scope of the study of the Hindu political institutions. At the outset the author makes us understand that the term 'Hindu' has been used in its comprehensive sense—followers of the Brahmanic, Buddhist, Jains and other indigenous Indian persuasions.

From the chapter on the 'Age of the *Rig Veda*', one has to conclude that the author has taken for granted that the Aryans were foreigners to India, and the Dasyus the aborigines, in spite of the fact there is a growing volume of opinion that the Aryans were as much natives of the soil as the Dasyus, the latter forming themselves into a separate class, having fallen from the duties expected of the Aryans. Again we often meet with statements throughout the work that the state in ancient India is federal-feudal or feudal-federal. We do not think it right to make these modern political terms fit in with ancient Indian conception of the state. The arguments cited are neither convincing nor conclusive. The author, as an apologia for having constantly used the term 'feudal', explains in the concluding pages of his work. 'Nor was the economic site of mediæval European feudalism present in the Hindu state organization. These words have to be used for the sake of convenience' (p. 504.) What is convenience to the author may cause confusion to a lay reader. It will be well if and in our survey of ancient Indian polity, we avoid as far as possible modern political phraseology.

On p. 104 Dr. Prasad remarks that the Lanka of the *Rāmāyana* is hardly likely to be Ceylon. To us the location of Lanka in Assam or

Central Provinces seems absurd. We have internal evidence that Lanka lay beyond *Pāṇḍya-Kavātā* on the south. Besides this, there is a strong tradition about the *Ramasetu.* In reconstructing Indian history we cannot easily ignore tradition, one chief source of information.

The chapter on the *Jātakas* opens with the statement 'the literary productions of the Brahmans—the Dharmasūtras, the epics, and later Dharmasutras studiously ignore the heretical movements which had arisen or were flourishing contemporaneously. Each school follows its own tradition in a cloister or grove' (p. 114). There is nosupport for this view. In the *Jātakas* we only find the social order of the Dharmaśāstras—castes and sub-castes with classifications of inferiority and superiority. The kings are Kṣatriyas doing their *svadharma.* There are true Brahmans and fallen Brahmans exactly as we have in the *Mānava Dharma Śāstra.* Thus Buddhist literature has not discarded the established tradition. Coming to the Brahmanic literature, it is not correct to say that they have ignored these movements. References are made to them whenever there is occasion for them. The Buddhist monks are referred to as Bikkhu both by Manu and Yājñavalkya. Kauṭalya knows male and female *sanyasins* who took to asceticism for belly's sake, as we find in the *Vinaya*, and gave it up again for the world, if their object was not served. Why there was no oftener reference can be accounted for. When these works were composed these movements did not attain any influential ascendency. It may be noted in passing that heretical movements were before and after Gautama and Mahāvira.

Lack of space forbids us from examining in detail other statements equally important. We cannot accept the author's theories about the date of Kauṭalya and Bhāsa. In our opinion there is no denying the fact that the *Kauṭaliya* is the accredited work of the chancellor of Candragupta Maurya, and Bhāsa prior to the *Kauṭaliya*, as the late Ganapati Sastri believed.

Beni Prasad takes us epoch by epoch in his interesting study of the political institutions. The concluding chapter is of value and interest. He shows that it is wrong to speak of a Muhammadan period, and that the Scythians and Greeks exercised little influence on the development of Indian institutions. There is yet another untenable statement, viz., that the *Śukraniti* records mediæval Hindu political

theory and is a composition of the thirteenth century extending even to the seventeenth. The statement is unsupported by facts. We agree with Jayaswal who rightly includes it as one of the sources of information for ancient Indian polity.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

'STUDIES IN HINDU POLITICAL THOUGHT'

BY

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[Published by Chakraverthy Chatterjee & Co., Ltd., Calcutta. Price, Rs. 5.]

THIS is yet one more addition to recent researches in Indology. In this little book which is rather loosely arranged, and where only some aspects of political thought of the ancient Hindus are dealt with, Mr. Ajit Kumar Sen desires rather legitimately to establish the theory that the ancient Hindus were as much advanced on the secular side as they were on theological and metaphysical sides. Being a collection of a number of articles some of which had already appeared in learned journals, and others intended for the journals, we can easily imagine why the arrangement lacks unity. Throughout the book the accepted diacritical marks are omitted, and what is more, there is no index. Even in transiliteration of some proper Sanskritic names, Mr. Sen has used his own method of spelling the names like Maurjya for Maurya or Yagnabalka for Yājñavalkya. But these are only minor items which a reviewer may well pass by.

Coming to the contents of the books, excepting the chapter on the 'Concept of Law and the Early Hindu View' we do not find anything striking or original. The author has to a considerable extent followed the writings of Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar and Upandranath Ghoshal. There is a discussion on the political literature, especially of the terms *Dandaniti*, *Arthaśāstra* and *Nitiśāstra*, as if some significance is attached to each of these terms. The fact is the same science is known by different names, and nothing more is meant.

In chapter v, Mr. Sen has tried to show evidence in support of the view that the ancient Hindu monarch was no tyrant or despot as some scholars make him out to have been usually, but a constitutional

monarch, fetterd by a number of preventive and retributive checks in the exercise of his authority. Among the retributive checks are given fines, deposition and tyrannicide.

In the course of the book there are some statements with no authority to support them. For example we can quote the following : 'The Brahmins are beginning to assert their supremacy in the society and they are frequently coming into collision with the king representing the Kṣatriya caste. Another aspect of this friction is represented by the Jaina and Buddhistic revolts against a Brahman ridden social system.' (pp. 107–8.) If anyone had gone to the originals in an impartial spirit, one canot say that at any time in the history of ancient India the Brahman suffered from supremacy or there was conflict between him and the Kṣatriya. Again the Jaina and Buddhist movements were neither social or political movements. They were out and out monastic movements, and in their anxiety to get public support, they respected the age-long tradition, and befriended the Brahman householder (see *Itivuttaka* 107).

Equally misleading is the theory that Kauṭalya can be compared to Machiavelli. There is no correspondence to show that this comparison will hold good. There are inconclusive statements here and there such as Kauṭalya prostituting religious institutions for political purposes, education finds no place in his catalogue and so on. Lack of space forbids us from making further remarks. We shall conclude that such works as the one under review will serve as an introductory to students of Indian Historical research.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

'ŚIVABHĀRATĀ'

BY

SHRI KRISHNA VENKATESH PUNTAMBEKAR, M.A. (OXON) BAR-AT-LAW,
Head of the History Department, Benares

'ŚIVABHARATA' is a noteworthy publication, relating to the early life of Śivāji and his ancestors. We possess very little authentic information about this period of Maratha history. S. M. Divekar has done a great service in editing and translating it. He has written a perface to the book of twenty-eight pages where he details the difficulties and labours he underwent in getting a copy of the original Sanskrit work

from the Tanjore Palace Library and also describes the general character and contents of the book, the author, his date and place, and the date of the composition of the book. Then follows D. V. Apte's 200 pages of introduction. In it he gives a short summary of the contents of the treatise, and then discusses the historical value and importance of the work. In doing this he makes a critical estimate of the original sources of Śivāji's life or early Maratha history and of modern historians, Grant Duff, Rajwade and Jadunath Sarkar, and also examines critically, the contents and character of *Śivabhārata* in the light of other original sources and of modern state of historical research in Maratha history. He gives us their difficulties, faults and merits in writing their works. His criticism is based upon the original evidence now available from contemporary letters, accounts, documents or records. The Poona historians inspired by the example and researches of Rajwade now depend for the facts of Śivaji's life on contemporary accounts and letters which are authentic, and available in Marathi, Sanskrit, Persian, English, Portuguese, Dutch, French and other languages. The loose traditions and biassed accounts of old Bakhars, Tawārikhs or Nāmāhs which are not contemporary and largely based on memory are not fully accepted as authorities unless they are corroborated in material particulars and in dates of events from contemporary sources. It was unfortunate that much of the material in the form of contemporary state documents and records of Śivāji's period was lost during Aurangzeb's invasion of Mahārāstra. But a few family records in the shape of letters, family histories, chronologies, accounts, ballads, jagir and inam grants, and legal documents and charters have escaped the ravages of man and time. There is also a class of well-known historical literature of Bakhars or accounts of kings, families and battles, none of which is contemporary. The earliest one of Krisnaji Anant Sabhasad was written about fifteen years after Śivāji's death. It is largely based on memory. This Bakhar material was generally used by earlier historians from the time of Grant Duff, wherever contemporary or more reliable authorities were not available or silent. The Bakhars not being contemporary were full of faults in the matter of facts, dates, and order of events; hence wherever they were relied on by earlier writers, their account was later on found to be incorrect in a number of particulars when contemporary records came to light.

The greatest service which Sane, Rajwade, Khare, Parasnis and a few others have done to the cause of Maratha history is the search for collection and editing of contemporary records. It is due to their labours that our notions of Maratha history have to be revised and that old histories have to be re-written in a number of particulars and view-points.

Whatever material Grant Duff could get he tried to utilize in writing his history of the Marathas. But he mostly relied on Marathi Bakhars and Persian Tawarikhs and Nāmāhs where he could not secure a better class of authorities. Therefore a number of mistakes and wrong view-points have entered his history. In some places he has been led to use his imagination and has suggested probabilities which cannot be accepted.

It was the late historian Rajwade who critically examined the value of the Bakhar sources of Maratha history in his introduction to the fourth volume of *Marathyanchya Itihasachi Sadhane.* He accuses most of them as being defective in chronology and geography, in realizing the importance and inter-relation of various facts, in laying too much emphasis on minor facts and factors, in not giving details of battles, administration and the political conditions of various kingdoms in the country and their inter-relations, and in not mentioning many events of importance. Though some of them may have used contemporary records, still they largely relied on their memory or current traditions when they wrote. Some of their statements are improbable. Their accounts of early Pauranic and historical periods are useless. Their references to Śivāji's ancestors are also unreliable. They have in places misplaced, misjudged and mistaken personalities. They had not realized the true value and method of writing history. Therefore without the help of corroborating material from authentic sources it is very inadvisable to rely completely on Bakhars. And wherever Grant Duff has relied on them without any critical examination of the particular events which he has accepted, he has committed the same blunders which the Bakhar writers had committed. Really speaking Grant Duff, in not excluding such accounts and in giving some play to his biassed judgments or imagination, did not rise above the contemporary art of writing history. Moreover in quoting authorities for the statements he makes he refers to Bijapur (Persian) manuscripts or Maratha manuscripts collectively as a whole. He

gives us nowhere a complete dated list of his authorities one by one. It is now also admitted that he was prejudiced in some of his statements and inferences.

D. V. Apte brings to bear the same criticism on these early accounts of Bakhars and Grant Duff. He does not think that time has even now arrived for writing a reliable and complete life of Śivāji and his ancestors unless more authentic materials became available and are properly valued and used. G. S. Sardesai also emphasizes the same opinion in his Patna University Lectures (1926) on 'the Main Currents of Maratha History'. Even all the available material has properly to be sifted and synthesized, and for some periods we have to wait till further research brings out additional material.

Apte also examines the contributions of Jadunath Sarkar to the writing of Maratha history. Along with Sardesai he admits the value of contemporary Persian, English, Portuguese, French and Dutch letters, documents and records which Sarkar has utilized in his book on Sivāji and in other places, and which were not available to and were not used by earlier historians. But there is, Apte says, an another side to Sarkar's writings on Maratha history. He has not used even the reliable contemporary letters and documents which have been published in Marathi a long time ago as a result of the labours of so many research scholars like Rājwade and others. It seems that Jadunath Sarkar, without critically reading and analyzing them, stamps them as being not genuine and does not admit the correctness of Rājwade's editing and transcription. Sarkar has shown in various places in his writings his prejudice and even hatred of Maratha historians and their work. But Sarkarian satires and insinuations will not change history or historical view-points. Those who have read these original Marathi records carefully and critically have realized the important value of facts and dates, political and other, contained in them. We do not know whether it is prejudice against the Maratha people or Maratha scholars or scholarship or whether it is his ignorance of a proper understanding of the Marathi language or want of patient study which have made him take up this adverse attitude. But the wonder is that he uses fully in embellishing his book on Śivāji those very Bhakhars, Tawārikhs and Nāmāhs which he condemns as utterly useless or incorrect or mere guess work or as of no authority or as loose traditions for making many of his

statements about the early period of Śivāji which is so full of controversial incidents. Jadunath Sarkar's attempt as a whole is to present the Muslim side relying mainly on Persian sources, and to a certain extent neglecting the Maratha side given in contemporary Maratha documents and the views of Maratha historians even if they be based on incontestable evidence.

The new original materials in Marathi which have to come to light lately and which have not been fully valued and used by earlier writers are

1. Jedhe's *Chronology*.
2. Jedhe's *Kareena*.
3. Various letters, chronologies, family-histories, legal documents, charters, grants in the possession of old families published by Rajwade in his *Maratha Historical Material* (volumes 8, 15–22) by Bharata Itihāsa Samsodhaka Mandal in its various reports, magazines and publications and by others independently in books or magazines.
4. *Parṇāl Parvata Grahaṇā-khyanam* of Jayaram Kavi rendered into Marathi by S. M. Divekar,
5. *Radha Madhava Vilaschampu* of Jayaram Kavi, edited by Rajwade, and
6. *Śivabhārata* of Paramananda Kavi rendered into Marathi by S. M. Divekar.

Mr. Apte emphasizes the great value of all these works and publications and of similar contemporary accounts from other sources. In his Introduction of *Śivabhārata* he examines the character and contents of that book and states the historical value of incidents recorded in it. It is a contemporary work and in the light of additional facts which it gives and which are corroborated in many particulars by other original sources he re-examines our present historical material and the present state of our knowledge of the early history of the Marathas and especially of Śivāji and his ancestors up to the time of Shaista-Khan's invasion of Mahārashtra in 1660.

This treatise on the early life of Śivāji and his ancestors was composed by Paramananda Kavi at the request of Śivāji and was narrated to the pandits of Kasi by him under the name of *Śivabhārata*. He was a renowned pandit at the time of Śivaji. He narrated the history of Maloji, Shahaji and of Śivāji up to the taking of Sringarpur in 1661. It does not contain (in the present available copy) the famous Shaista

Khan incident. But it gives surprisingly new and accurate details about Shahaji and Śivāji, though it does not care to mention all important incidents and events. It gives only two dates, one of Śivāji's birth, and the other of Afzal Khan incident, and they are accurate and corroborated by other authentic sources. There is no confusion of persons, places or order of events. Its authenticity in many particulars has been tested and corroborated by other records. For example, the battle of Bhātāvadi (1624), the birth date of Śivāji (1630), the famine (1631), the belief in Śivāji's being an *avatar* of Viṣṇu, the beginning of *Swaraiva* or independence (1645), the arrest of Shahaji (1648) and his release (1649), the meeting of Śivāji and Afzal Khan (1659), the siege of Panhāla (1660), the battle of Umbarkhind, and the loot of Rājapur, the coming of Shaistakhan (1660), and other incidents are found recorded here with new details which give a correct and reliable picture of many of them. None of the incidents and particulars have been shown to be definitely wrong or unreliable. Our information from other sources is not full and hence the new details especially names of new persons perplex us. No doubt the author of *Śivabhārata* has eulogized Śivāji, his hero, and his aims, and has sometimes overstated the effects of his achievements. We may value them justly and in proper proportion and perspective. But there do not seem to be misstatements about facts in it and the order of events is observed. He has not mentioned all the important events and that is a fault of omission.

Mr. Apte has shown from other sources the truth of some of the important facts recorded in the book. The new material in the shape of persons and other details which were unknown before cannot at present be corroborated from other authoritative but scanty sources at our disposal. Futher research alone may help us.

The final position which Apte has adopted is that writers of Maratha history should take to careful research and study of contemporary materials from whatever source they come, and then after a critical estimate of the information given and view-points adopted by various writers, a comprehensive but incontestable history of the Marathas should be written. One point I may note here in the end for consideration. There is no mention of Rāmdas and his visits or contacts with Śivāji. If it were a fact that they had met or come in contact with each other in 1649 as asserted by some writers, it is more likely than not that Paramananda Kavi would have mentioned it

in his treatise. But there is no reference to it. Mr. Apte has in this Introduction made a critical and balanced survey of the present position of historical studies in early Maratha history. He has not been carried away by any passion or prejudice to overstate or understate it. I think his Introduction will serve a useful purpose.

S. V. P.

'EARLY LIFE AND LETTERS OF JOHN MORLEY'

BY

F. W. HIRST

[Macmillan & Co., Ltd. Two vols.]

READERS of Morley's Reminiscences would have felt the need of a biography of John Morley in order that they may understand to the full the significance of some parts at any rate of the Reminiscences, and a biography of Morley by one who had been associated with him intimately and on the lines of the model that Morley himself has set in his monumental Life of Gladstone, should certainly be a welcome addition to the biographical literature of the time. Mr. F. W. Hirst who is the biographer is very well qualified for the task that he has undertaken, having collaborated with Morley and earned his unstinted appreciation in his work on the Life of Gladstone. The prefatory note indicating obligations shows the extent of the sources from which Mr. Hirst collected the material which may become somewhat difficult of access as time goes on. Though the conventional limit of time has not passed for a really dispassionate biographical sketch of the man, the period of life covered by this work is remote enough for a writer of the qualifications of Mr. Hirst to bring it as near a standard biography as it is possible for a friend to come to.

Mr. Hirst disclaims any authority to the work as an official biography, and, allowing for this shortcoming, it is undoubtedly an authoritative work. Mr. Hirst has turned out a life of the early years of Lord Morley, bringing his account to the general elections of 1885, which marks an epoch in the life of John Morley. Thus ended his 'career as a journalist, man of letters, and private member of Parliament; and here we may leave him, not without regret that he was giving up so much to a barren controversy. Had he foreseen the extent of the Irish sands which he would have to plough in the next ten years he might have hesitated. But when the call came he

accepted it with alacrity and exultation. Nor did he ever regret the choice. The air of Olympus agreed with him. He enjoyed it; and he enjoyed also the pomps and ceremonies and privileges of high office. How far responsibility changed his character and opinions is a question which I hope some day to answer.'

In taking leave of Morley on his acceptance of appointment as Chief Secretary for Ireland, Morley's life as a writer and private politician comes to a close and he becomes a public figure thereafter, whose public activities are, too well known to contemporaries to need the work of a biographer ; but even so, there are points that would certainly find elucidation if Mr. Hirst would keep to his promise and answer the question that he has propounded to himself. In the two volumes before us, he has attempted to be impartial and independent in his criticism of the character for whom the biographer has full admiration demanded in one who has undertaken to write a biography. The writer has throughout indicated points in the work of Morley both as a journalist and as a writer of books, and had not failed in his duty as a critic notwithstanding his whole-hearted admiration for his hero. We have felt throughout our reading that the *Early Life and Letters* is an absolutely necessary introduction to the Reminiscences. 'To revile bad men is easy. Anybody can do that. What demands moral strength is to revile good and kind men, who happen to be doing bad things. You always break down at that,' wrote Morley on one occasion and with duty not of reviling, but criticizing like an honest man, Mr. Hirst does wherever it is called for. Notwithstanding his admiration for the hero, the biography would be regarded as eminently well done by posterity when the time for dispassionate judgment should arise.

'ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN ARCHÆOLOGY' FOR 1926

PUBLISHED BY

KERL INSTITUTE, LEYDEN (HOLLAND), 1928

THIS is the outcome of a project which Prof. Vogel had discussed personally with workers in the field in India, while he was here last. His idea was to give a more or less complete index and summary of publications appearing on Indian Archæology interpreted in the

widest acceptation of the term. It takes into account publications relating to India, Ceylon, further India, Indonesia, as well at territories adjoining India, namely, Iran, Turan, Tibet and Afghanistan on the one side and Far East, China, Japan and Korea on the other. Thus it provides a complete book of reference in regard to work done in the field of Archæology practically in all Asia and provides a ready reference book for those who may be doing work on the subject. The first issue of this important publication relates to the year 1926 and is an extremely good piece of work as such. It comprises 107 pages of matter including an index, and covers a vast field pretty fully. The more important publications are dealt with separately in articles, and of such, the publication under review contains as many as fourteen items covering subjects of importance extending from the excavations at Mohenjodaro in Sindh and the discoveries in the Iran on the one side of the temple of Īśvarapura in Cambodia on the other. Then follows a bibliography divided under the heads 'General', then 'India' with ten divisions according to subjects, then 'Ceylon' followed by Further India, Indonesia and other adjoining territories.

In a prefatory note Prof. Vogel discusses the plan of the work and rightly insists that 'for a publication of this kind, it is important that it should appear with the least possible delay and that the bibliographical information it contains should be as exhaustive as practicable. We are aware that in the last mentioned respect, the present publication is not entirely adequate.' Let us hope it will reach the stage of adequacy presently. There is no doubt that the work actually supplies the want which it was intended to and it may be safely expected that those interested in it would come forward with assistance. It is a matter for gratification that the Government of Netherlands India gave some substantial aid, but it is rather disappointing that the Governments of India and of Ceylon should have turned the cold shoulder upon a project which ought certainly to receive more sympathy and consideration. Let us hope that it may yet be possible for them to see their way to rendering the project some substantial assistance as it promises to be of great assistance to workers in the field of Indian Archæology.

One little point in which it has proved inadequate is in the publication of work that is being done in the various vernacular

languages of India. I hope it would be possible to bring into view in the Bibliography the work of these journals. We hope to be able to get that done in the first instance in the *Journal of Indian History* so that it may be transferred bodily if need be to the Bibliography. We wish the enterprise all success, and what is more, the sympathy of the Government of India and other Governments concerned.

'BUDDHISM IN PRE-CHRISTIAN BRITAIN'

BY

DONALD A. MACKENZIE

[Blackie & Son, Ltd.]

THIS is a work from the pen of Mr. Mackenzie, already well-known as the author of the Myths Series, and investigates the question whether there is anything in the Christianity of Britain that might have been borrowed from Buddhism. This line of enquiry arises from the recently discovered silver bowl at Gundestrup in Jutland, the bas-reliefs of which contain features which throw considerable light upon the matter. According to Mr. Mackenzie, the relief, of which a very good illustration is given on plate iv, contains the representation of a human figure, Cernunnos, with two hands and two legs, holding a torque in the right hand and a snake in the left with elk horn on the head. Other features of the picture are animals and fishes together with what the author regards as the representations of the Indian lotus. Proceeding on the basis of this and after a close, comparative study of the cult of Cernunnos, the author arrives at the conclusion that it incorporates a considerable amount of Buddhist influence, particularly what he terms Northern Buddhism, the Buddhism that advanced landwards perhaps ultimately to China. He regards the Cernunnos represented in the bowl showing striking similarities to the Buddhist God Virupaksha of Northern Buddhism. He finds it possible that Buddhism could have exercised considerable influence on early Christianity from the fact of the important colony of the Gauls or the Galatians in the centuries on either side of the Christian era in the north-western corner of Asia Minor, a region, which, to a considerable extent, was exposed to the influence of foreign religions. Proceeding on a detailed examination of the cults prevalent in Celtic Britain and comparing them with Buddhism as adopted and developed in China

on the one hand and of similar myths current in Greece and the Near East, he comes to the conclusion that the Buddhism traceable in Celtic Britain is different from both, and shows features which are ascribable to that form of Buddhism, which is generally described as Northern Buddhism, such as is incorporated in the treatise, the Gods of Northern Buddhism by Alice Getty. Mr. Mackenzie deals with the subject with his usual mastery of detail and makes out a fair case for the thesis with which he starts. While in certain parts the details upon which he builds may not carry conviction straightaway, the book, as a whole, shows that he has made out a case for postulating Buddhist influence in Pre-Christian Britain.

Asoka's influence on the Celts in Asia Minor is possible. But Asoka's Buddhism does not postulate the existence of a God nor does it provide exact analogies to the Christian faith as a matter of religion. The likeness between the Gundestrup figure and Virupaksha may be near or remote. But when did Virupaksha enter the Buddhist pantheon and what was the contact of Buddhism then with Celtic Britain or Christian Europe? Questions like these may be raised on various points of investigation on the Indian side as well as of the European, on the evidence. At any rate the work raises various issues which may be worth the while of enquirers. Hence the book is quite welcome, though it cannot yet be regarded as carrying conviction.

Obituary

THE LATE PROF. SAMADDAR

WE regret to record the death of Prof. J. N. Samaddar of University of Patna at an early age of forty-five. He was Professor of History at the Patna Government College since 1912, and had interested himself in research in ancient Indian history and culture. In 1921 he delivered a course of lectures on the 'Economic Condition of Ancient India' under the auspices of the Calcutta University. In 1923-24 he was appointed Honorary Reader by the University of Patna, and in that capacity he delivered a course of Lectures on the 'Glories of Magadha.' Recently a second edition of this work was published. Lately he edited the Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume. . He was connected with a number of research societies in one capacity or other. His interest in archæology acquired for him the title of Pratnatwabagish.

Principal Contents from Oriental Journals

Sen Tamil

Vol. XXVI, No. 8

Somasundara Desikar: 'Concludes that Nambiyándár Nambi lived in the second half of the tenth century A.D.'

Journal of the Department of Letters

Vol. XVII

N. K. Dutt: 'Some Central Problems of the Rig-Vedic History: and the Vedic Scholars.'

Illustrated London News

August 18, 1928

Prof. Herzfeld: 'The Past in Persia.' Part IV. This concludes a series of four articles on his discoveries in Persia.

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

(New Series)

Vol. XXIII, No. 1

H. Hosten: 'Fr. N Pimenta's Annual Letter on Mogor.'

H. Hosten: 'Eulogy of Father Jerome Xavier, a Missionary in Mogor.' Translated for the first time into English from *Chrono-Historia de la Compañia.*

H. Hosten: 'Three Letters of Fr. Joseph de Castro, and the Last Year of Jahāngir.'

The Journal of Oriental Research

July–October, 1928—

A. G. Wariar: 'The Tali Inscriptions in the Cochin State and their Importance' (Nos. 341–48 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection).

K. V. RAMACHANDRAN: 'The Age of Manimekalai': Indentifies the Goddess Manimekala of the poem with Tara and assigns the work to a period subsequent to the sixth century A.D. following the view that the Tara cult was unknown in India prior to sixth century A.D. The author presumes that Āputra symbolizes the extinction of Buddha in India and its revival in other lands and conjectures that the Sailendra dynasty that dominated Java in the seventh and eighth centuries was the same as the Indra dynasty that ruled Nagapuram.

Y. MAHALINGA SASTRI: 'Appayya Dikshita's Age:' Proves that he lived between 1520–1593 A.D.

Journal of the American Oriental Society

September, 1928—

M. BLOOMFIELD: 'The Rome of the Vedic Sacrifice.'

A. K. COOMARASWAMY: 'Indian Architectural Terms.'

The Rupam

January–April, 1928—

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI: 'Some Ramayana Reliefs from Prambanan.'

The Indian Antiquary

October, 1928—

D. R. BHANDARKAR: 'The Antiquity of the Idea of Chakravartin.'

R. R. HALDER: 'Who were the Imperial Pratiharas of Kanouj?' expounds the view that the Imperial Pratiharas of Kanouj derived their family name from the office of *pratihara* (door-keeper) that they belonged to the Solar race and not to the Gurjara clan.

W. C. BHATTACHARJEE: 'The Home of the *Upanishads*.'

R. C. TEMPLE: 'Hindu and Non-Hindu Elements in the *Kathasaritsagara*.'

November, 1928—

J. CHARPENTIER: 'Kathaka Upanishad.'

R. C. TEMPLE: 'Notes on Seven Pagodas.'

R. GOPALAN: 'Notes on Seven Pagodas.'

Journal of the Bombay Historical Society

VOL. I, NO. 2

K. G. KUNDANAGAR: 'Hosahalli Copper-plate Grant of Harihara II.' Discusses the historical importance of the plates and furnishes text and translations.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI: 'The Salivahana or Saka Era.'

M. S. COMMISSARIAT: 'The Emperor Jahangir's Second Visit to Ahmadabad.' (April–September, 1628).

G. M. MORAES: 'A Marriage between the Gangas and the Kadambas.'

H. HERAS: 'Three Catholic Padres at the Court of Ali Adil Shah I.'

A. G. WARIAR: 'The Rajasimhas of Ancient Kerala.'

'Monumenta Historiae Indiae': 'Extracts from the Dutch Diaries of the Castle.'

Indian Historical Quarterly

September 1928—

J. N. CHOWDHURI: 'Life of Mahmud Gawan.'

R. D. BENERJI: Balaji Baji Rao: 'A Historical Retrospect.'

N. RAY: 'The Maitrakas of Valabhi.'

S. R. DAS: 'The Hindu Calendar.'

B. M. BARUA: 'Old Brahmi Inscriptions in Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves.' The old Brahmi Inscriptions in this paper refer to the Hathi-Gumpha Inscriptions of Khāravela, the Vaikunthapura Cave Inscription of Kharavela's Chief-Queen, the Patalapura Cave Inscription of King Kadampa—Kudapa, Yama Cave Inscription of Prince Vadukha-Varikha, etc.

A. GOVINDA WARIAR: 'Some Historical Sites and Monuments of Kerala.'

E. N. GHOSH: 'Notes on the Laṅkāvatāra.'

Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society

VOL. III, PART I

G. RAMDAS: 'Madras Museum Plates of Sri Ramachandradeo.'

S. BHIMASANKARA RAO: 'The Evolution of the Brahmanical Heirarchy in Ancient India.'

M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI: 'Literature on Music conveys an ærial View of the Musical Literature now extant in Sanskrit.'

SATYANARAYANA RAJAGURU: 'The Phulasara Copper-plate Grant of Kirtirajadeva.'

B. SINGH DEO: 'Tosali and Tosala.'

J. RAMAYYA PANTULU: 'Kota Chiefs of Amaravati.' (A correction).

R. SUBBA RAO: 'The Jirjingi Copper-plates of Indravarma.'

P. SATYANARAYANA RAJAGURU: 'The Tirlingi Copper-plate Grant.'

R. SUBBA RAO: 'Ramareddipalli Buddhist Sculptures.' Gives a description of the various sculptures here.

M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI: 'Literary Gleanings.'

Modern Review

December, 1929—

K. CHATTERJI: 'Enamelling in Ancient India.'

R. D. BANERJI: 'The Kara of Orissa.'

The Illustrated London News

January 5, 1929—

'The Wrecked Statues of Hat Shepout': Describes the remarkable results of last season's excavations at Thebes.

Journal of the Bombay Historical Society

September, 1928—

K. G. KUNDANAGAR: 'Hosahalli Copper-plate Grant of Harihara II.'

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI: 'The Salivahana or Saka Era.' Expresses the view that the era was most likely a foundation of Vima-kadphises who 'again subjected India to the sway of the Sakas' and appointed as his Viceroy either Chashtana or Yasomatika whom Sten Konow identifies with Bhumaka.

M. S. COMMISSARIAT: 'The Emperor Jahangir's Second Visit to Ahmadabad.'

G. M. MORAES: 'A Marriage between the Gangas and the Kadambas.' Concludes that the Kadamba King Krishnavarma who married his sister to the Ganga King Madhava, was Krishnavarman II and not Krishnavarman I as stated by Rice.

H. HERAS: 'Three Catholic Padres at the Court of Ali Adil Shah I.'

A. GOVINDA WARIAR: 'The Rajasimhas of Ancient Kerala.'

Monumenta Historiae Indiae—'Extracts from the Dutch Diaries of the Castle of Batavia.'

OUR EXCHANGES

1. *The Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute,* Deccan, Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Bharat Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona City.
3. *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient*, Hanoi.
4. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London University, London, Longmans, Green & Co., London.
5. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London Institution, Finsbury Circus, London.
6. *Calcutta Review*, 3, Senate House, Calcutta.
7. *Hindustan Review*, 3, Mission Row, Calcutta.
8. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 96, Amherst St., Calcutta.
9. *Journal Asiatique*, Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, Paris.
10. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna.
11. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Managing Editor, 'The Ashrama,' Luz, Mylapore.
12. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
13. *Journal of the Kern Institute*, Leiden, Holland.
14. *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Exchange Building Sprott Road, Bombay.
15. *Muslim Review*, 3, Government Place, Calcutta.
16. *Nagari Pracharini Sabha*, Benares.
17. *The Political Science Quarterly*, Kent Hall, Columbia University, New York.
18. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Andhra Historical Society, Rajahmundry.
19. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Daly Hall, Cenotaph Road, Bangalore.
20. *The Yale Review*, Washington, U.S.A.
21. *Yoga-Mimansa*, *Kun'javana*, Lonavla, Bombay.
22. *The Modern Review*, 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
23. *The Vedic Magazine and Gurukula Samachar*, Gurudatta Bhavana, Lahore.

24. *The Ceylon Journal of Science*, Office of the Archæological Survey, Anuradhapura (Ceylon).
25. *The Historical Studies*, Accession Department, University Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.
26. *The Indian Review*, Esplanade, Madras.
27. *The Servant of India, Servant of India Society*, Poona City.
28. *The Shrine of Wisdom, Aahlbu*, 6 Hermon Hill, London, E. 11.
29. *The Telugu Academy Journal*, Cocanada.
30. *The Mysore University Journal*, Mysore University, Mysore.
31. *The People, 2 Court Street*, Post Box 116, Lahore.
32. *The Young Men of India*, The Thottam, Salem.
33. *The Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, Oriental Institute, Baroda.